

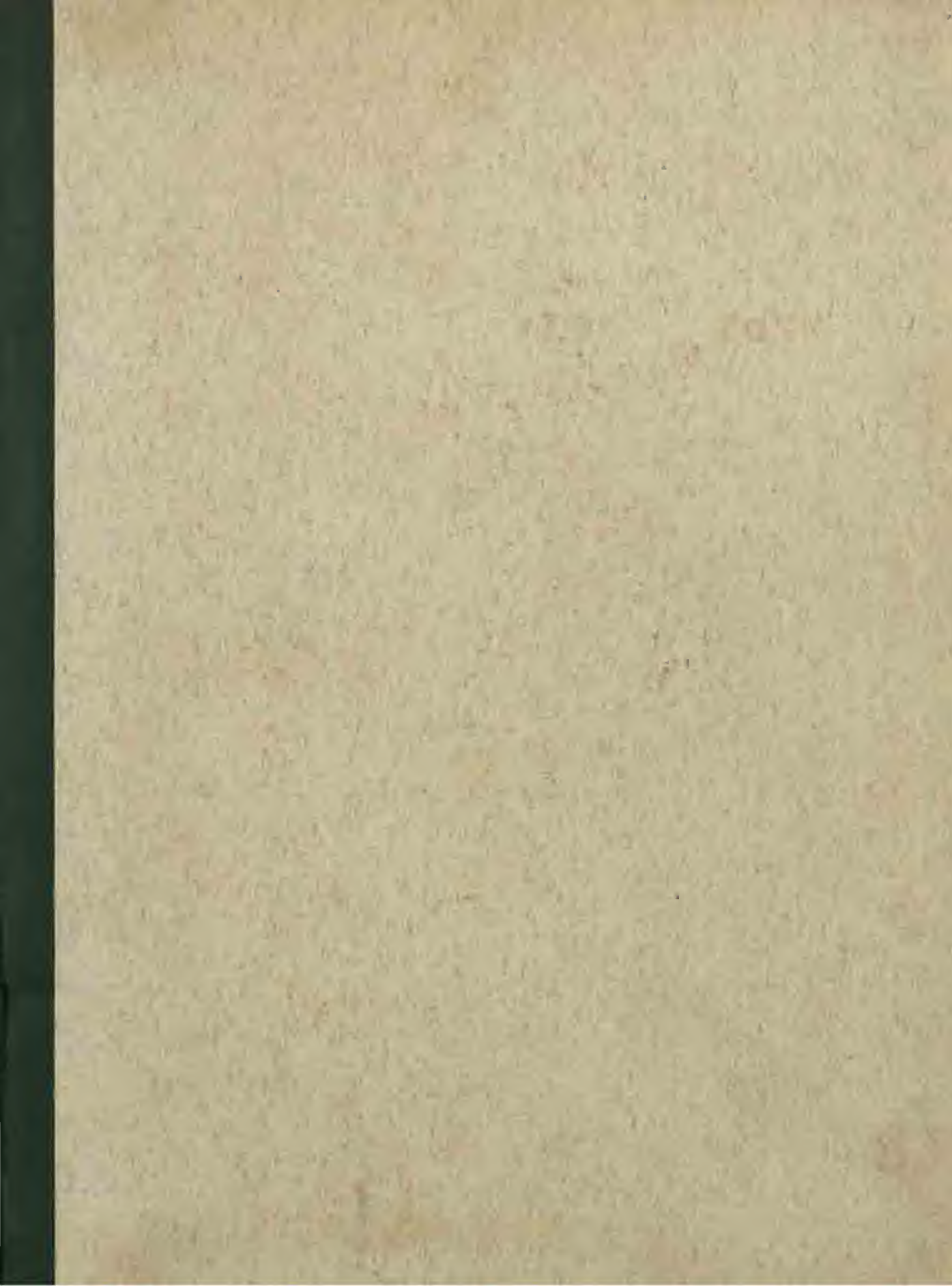
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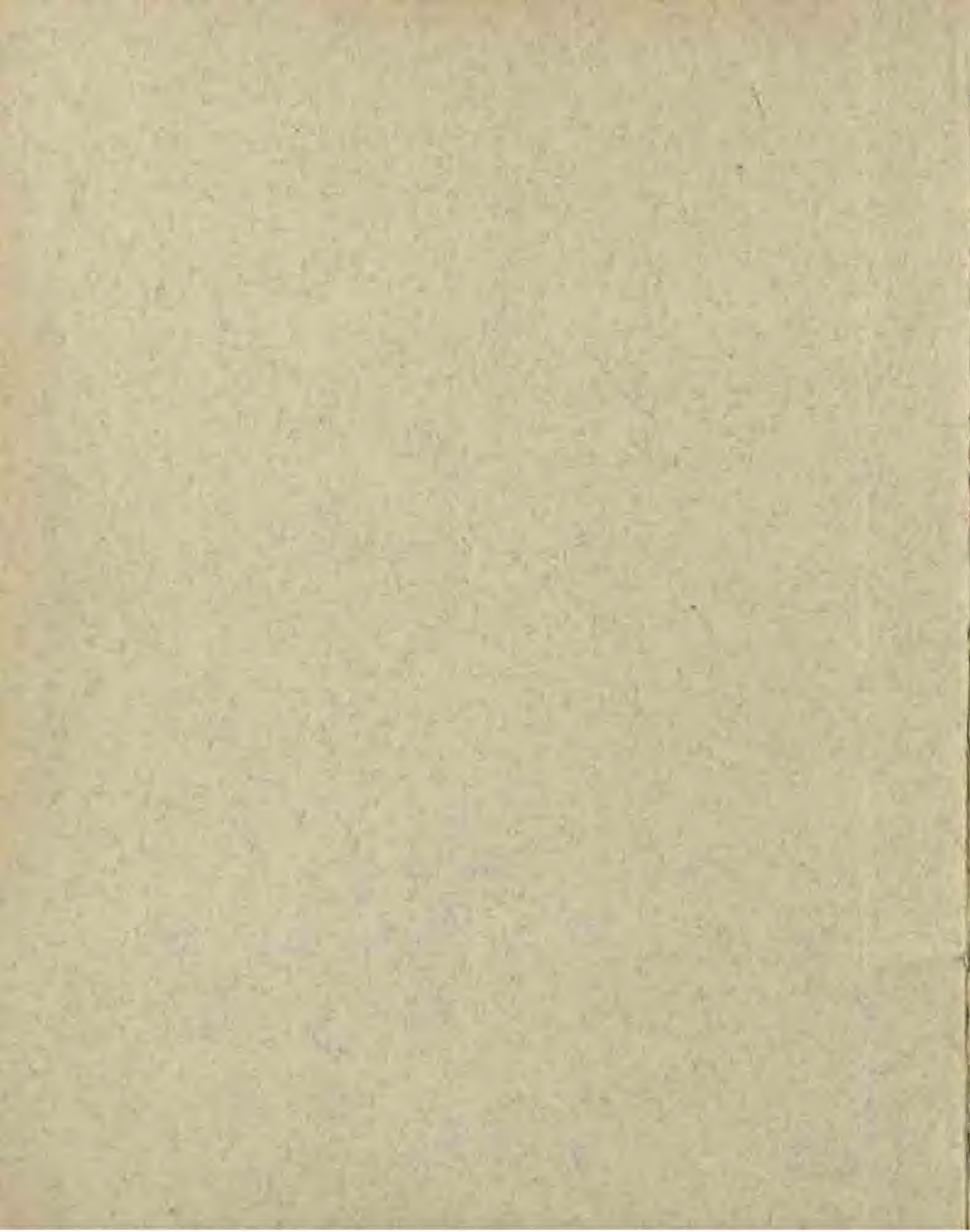
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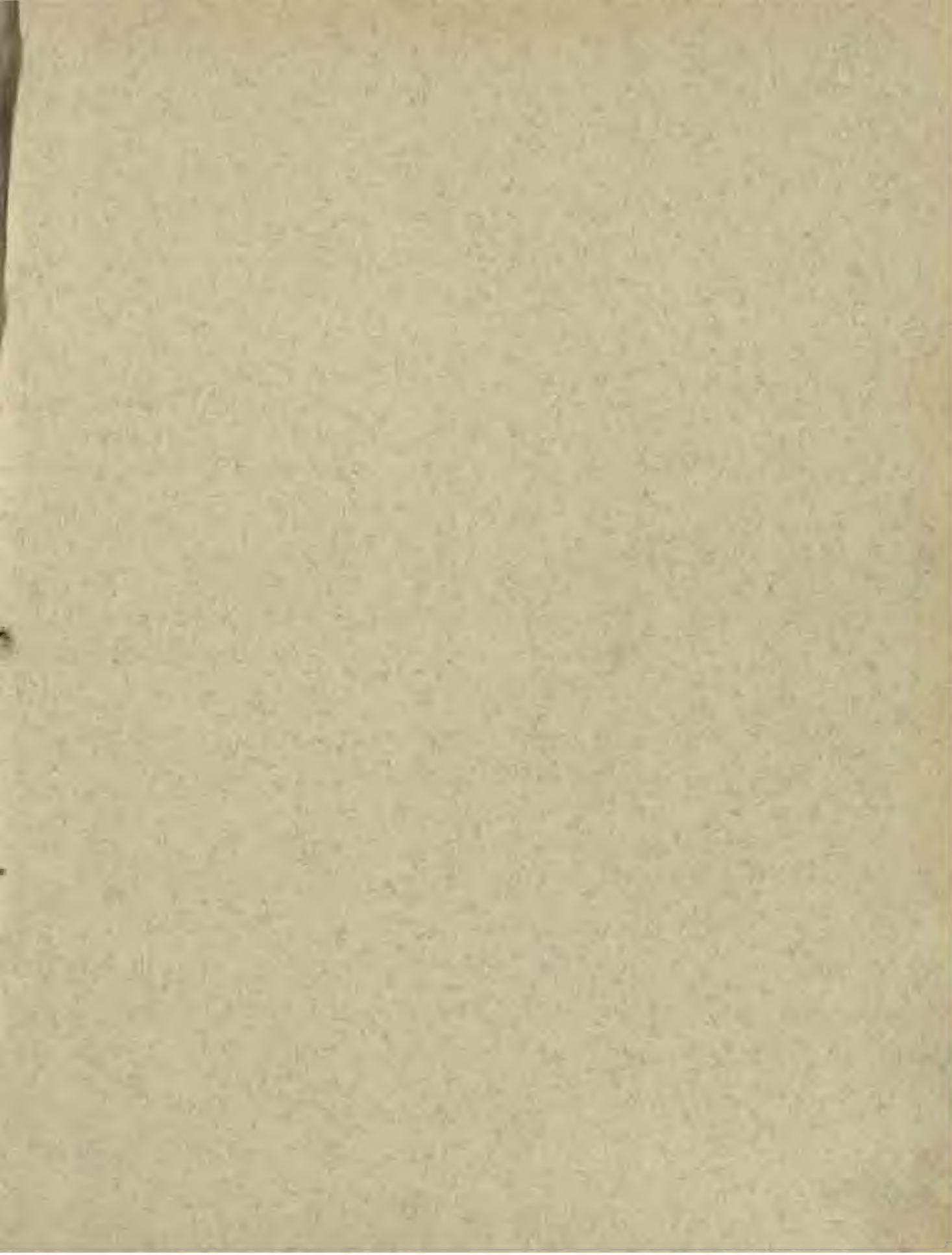
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Dr. B. Ch. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lond.), F.A.S.
Government Epigraphist for India
(Parts I to IV)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.
Government Epigraphist for India
(Parts V to VII)

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Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D.
Government Epigraphist for India
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- Page 93, Ln. 6.—*Add editorial note.*—The word *nripātara* means 'a ruler'. Rājāditya was the personal name of the executor.
- „ 95, f. n. 9.—*Add editorial note.*—For the correct meaning of the expressions, see *The Successors of the Śātarūhanas*, p. 196.
- „ 99, line 26.—*For has read have.*
- „ 100, line 9.—*For Gorakhapur read Gorakhpur.*
- „ 100, line 28.—*For for read to.*
- „ 101, f. n. 6.—*For danda read danda.*
- „ 112, lines 17 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—The rule of Gōvinda of the Aihole inscription cannot be assigned to 630-55 A.D. since he is known to have come into conflict with Pulakēśin II about the beginning of the latter's career, i.e. about 610 A.D. Pulakēśin II did not meet Gōvinda in the course of his campaign in the region of the Rāvā and the Vindhya, but in the area about the northern bank of the Bhīmarathī (Bhīmā) much nearer his capital.
- „ 113, line 31.—*Add editorial note.*—There is no proof that Padmanagara was a capital city.
- „ 114, text line 8.—*Read Kāntaḥ-kāruṇikāḥ-kala.*
- „ 114, text line 9.—*Read rahitaḥ-kṛtaḥ-karṣiṣ.*
- „ 114, text line 11.—*Read patil-kalpa.*
- „ 115, text line 18.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading is *Varanullata*.
- „ 115, text line 20.—*For karmamā(ṇṭa)(ṇṭā) read karmamā(ṇṭa)°*
- „ 115, text line 20.—*Read tachechha(ch-cha).*
- „ 115, text line 23.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading seems to be **matṭ-echchhīndhalat=([bh])°*. The name of the locality was therefore *Achchhivāhalatā* and not *Uchchhī(chhī)vāhalā* as assumed by the author (cf. pp. 110, 114).
- „ 115, last line.—*Read Ju(Yu)(dihā)ṇṇaḥ.*
- „ 120, text line 12.—*For grāmakūṭyayuktaka read grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka.*
- „ 125, line 16.—*Read stupa°*
- „ 125, line 32.—*For Meters read Metres.*
- „ 129, f. n. 9, line 2.—*For vijay-avahah read vijay-āvahah.*
- „ 138, lines 3 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—A *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* of this type was discovered in the course of excavations at Kondapur and is now in the Hyderabad Museum. A damaged terracotta female figure from Bhīta (near Allahabad) now in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) and a bas-relief on the wall of the Vātkaṭ-śivara temple on the Vaikunthapuram hill in the Guntur District have the lower part fashioned in the same posture.
- „ 138, f. n. 5, line 1.—*For Khuvuja read Khuvula.*
- „ 147, line 4.—*Read Kṛishṇa.*

Page, 147 line 36.—Read Chūdāmani.

151, line 34.—*Red Mahāgaurī.*

152, line 21.—Read a geographical.

153.—For 135 read 153 in the number of page

154, text line 25.—For *dripta* read *dripta*.

11 155, text line 34.—For °bbis=cha read °bbid=cha.

.. 155, fn.4, lines 4-5.—Read "Ākāṃpābhī".

157, line 35.—*Reed Vialing.*

.. 157, fn. 1.—Read *Puerto*.

158, line 15.—*Read subduere.*

160, line 27.—Read Davidson r.

n 180, line 31.—Read *Ḥayyūq māmūn r-awīq*

162, line 36.—For Cuddapah read Guntur.

163, lines 18 ff.—*Road*—covering a considerable area extending in a north-easterly direction over a tract from Turimella in the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District right upto Kocheerlakōṭṭa in the Dami Division of the Nellore District.

163, f. n. 11.—For was omitted ~~read~~ had been omitted.

174, lines 29-30.—*Add editorial note*—The palaeography of the record seems to suggest a date in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

176, text line 2.—Add editorial note.—Repeal *“killing and burning”*

n. 177, text line 3.—*Add editorial note.*—Beas! "rā)ā vy—ānuyānā yā

177, text line 4.—Add editorial note.—The name *Sydratāngi* stands for Sanskrit *Syāmālāngi*. She made a gift of 50 golden bars as *dalāḥṇā* to the dance of the *agrohāra* granted by Prabhārati.

177, text line 6.—Add editorial note.—Read "litti(iti)naḥ(naḥ)."

177, lines 7-8.—Add editorial note.—The intended reading may be 'anhi-jano-hriday-ānandam
maharandhasantya.

177, text lines 8-9.—*Add editorial note*—The reading is *vanāśayayata* for *vanāś-ānnayantyā*. *Āryā* Prabhāvatī seems to have granted the *agrahāra* to a Brāhmana whom Śyāmalāṅgi gave 50 golden bars as *śakṣhapā* of the said gift. Prabhāvatī may have been Śyāmalāṅgi's mother-in-law. There is no reason to identify Vibhuraṣa and Māga(na)raṣa.

177, line 11.—Add editorial note.—Read **cjiló(ta)-chāru(ta)-bha(ta)-a(t-ā)jārānāyā(ā)**.

177, line 13.—Read *danō(kō)[ua*].

.. 177, line 16.—*Add editorial note.*—Read **kūtoya*.

.. 178, line 2.—For Harkēli read Hurakēli.

178, line 17.—*Read* inscription.—Omit bracket before *Mr.*

- Page 178, line 23.—*For* *nd* *read* *and*.
 „ 178, line 29.—*For* *lases* *read* *places*.
 „ 178, line 30.—*For* *inscriptin* *read* *inscription*.
 „ 178, f. n. 3.—*Read* Vol. III.
 „ 181, text line 11.—*Read* Hiranyakaśi(śi)pō.
 „ 180, line 4.—*For* *callec* *read* *called*.
 „ 186, line 6.—*Read* pañcha.
 „ 186, line 16.—*Omit* *redundant* *o* *before* *mayāḥu*.
 „ 186, line 17.—*Add* *full-stop* *at* *the* *end* *of* *the* *line* *in* *the* *place* *of* *apostrophe*.
 „ 186, line 19.—*Read* sattva.
 „ 186, line 20.—*Read* Sandhi.
 „ 186, line 22.—*For* *descriptin* *read* *description*.
 „ 186, line 22.—*For* Brāhmadā *read* Brāhmaga.
 „ 186, line 23.—*For* *epithet* *read* *epithet*.
 „ 186, line 25.—*For* śātra *read* śātra (in two places).
 „ 186, line 30.—*For* *belived* *read* *believed*.
 „ 186, line 40.—*For* *Indējā* *read* *Indējā*.
 „ 186, f.n.3, line 3.—*For* *empti* *read* *empti*.
 „ 188, text line 15.—*For* ātumājō *read* ātumājō.
 „ 188, text line 16.—*For* *smtha-sam* *read* *sūdhā-sam*.
 „ 188, text line 21.—*For* *manōhāriṣy* *read* *manōhāriṣā*.
 „ 188, text line 22.—*For* *pulshā-āriti* *read* *plushā-āriti*.
 „ 188, text line 25.—*For* *pītri* *read* *pitri*.
 „ 188, text line 27.—*Read* Jilōpā.
 „ 188, text line 27.—*For* *bhaviṣyād* *read* *bhaviṣyād*.
 „ 188, text line 27.—*For* *°tā(n-rā)* *°japutrān* *read* *°tā(n-rā)* *°japutrān*.
 „ 188, text line 28.—*For* *°jivinaḥ* *read* *°jivinaḥ*.
 „ 188, text line 29.—*For* *vahaya* *read* *vishaya*.
 „ 190, line 41.—*For* *Jaipur* *read* *Jajpur*.
 „ 191, f.n.2, line 13.—*For* *suggests* *read* *suggest*.
 „ 193, f.n. 4.—*Read* Āshāḍhasya.
 „ 196, line 8.—*For* *wich* *read* *which*.
 „ 196, line 11.—*For* *callec* *read* *called*.
 „ 196, line 21.—*For* *Sārdūla* *read* *Sārdūla*.
 „ 196, line 22.—*For* *audākṛāntā* *read* *Mandākṛāntā*.
 „ 196, f.n. 3. *For* *ust* *read* *must*.

No. 24. Hingni Berdi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vihhuraaja, Year 3	<i>between pages 176 and 177</i>
„ 25. Ajmer Stone Inscription	<i>to face page 180</i>
„ 26. Two Grants from Daspalla—Plate I :	
A. Daspalla Plate of Devananda ; Year 184	<i>between pages 188 and 189</i>
„ 27. „ —Plate II :	
B. Daspalla Plates of Satrubhanja Tribhuvanakulasa, Year 198	<i>„ 192 and 193</i>
„ 28. Būaigarh Plates of Kalachuri Prithvidava, Year 896	<i>„ 196 and 197</i>
„ 29. Talangere Inscription of Jayasinha	<i>to face page 208</i>
„ 30. Two Plates from Tribhuvanamahadevi from Band	<i>between pages 216 and 217</i>

APPENDIX

Rajaprasasti Inscription of Udaipur :

I. A View of the Nauchanki Ghat, Rajasamudra	<i>to face page 2</i>
II. A View of one of the Pavilions, Rajasamudra	<i>„ 3</i>
III. Slab III	<i>„ 10</i>
IV. Slab XVI	<i>„ 56</i>

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 6, text line 4.—For Śrīmā⁴ read Śrīmā³.

" 9, text line 57.—For Śrīmā⁴ read Śrīmā³.

" 16, text line 13.—For *[vala read *][*]vala.

" 17, text line 33.—For dattam read dattam(ttam).

" 19, line 31.—For i and t read i, t, u and d.

" 19, line 44.—For for chandrasārahā read for chandra-srahā.

" 23, line 18.—Omit comma after predecessor.

" 24, line 24.—For re-conquest read conquest.

" 28, text line 13.—For kṛtām read kṛtām(tah).

" 35, line 28.—For Srikakulam read Ganjam.

" 37, text line 35.—Read (kū) |).

" 41, fn. 5.—Read yā for yā.

" 45, line 40.—For churaṁ read chūrṇi.

" 45, f. n. 2.—Add note—*Prasāda* is mentioned in an early inscription from Bengal (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 356). It may be the same as *prasaṁ* mentioned in Sarva-nanda's *Amarakūṣa-sūtra* (under verse 29 of Vāṇya-varga) as equal to 5 *Khāṇḍa*.

" 47, lines 2-3.—For Srikakulam District of Madras read Ganjam District of Orissa.

" 47, line 21.—For Tiruchirappalli read Tiruchirappalli.

" 47, line 50.—Add at the beginning of the last paragraph—Lines 40-42 of the inscription refer to the king's request to the people addressed as well as to the

" 54, line 1.—For parts read of parts.

" 55, text line 24.—For iṣṭi read iṣṭi.

" 58, line 8.—For *ākūṣaṁ read *ākūṣa[ḥ].

" 59, f. n. 2.—For *Copa Studies* read *Studies in Cōpa History and Administration*.

Page 62, f. n. line 3.—*Read* 10th year (1021 A.C.).

.. 64, line 13.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.

.. 64, line 15.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.

.. 65, text line 5.—*For* Dōvakih *read* Dōvakih.

.. 65, text line 8.—*For* kānanati *read* kānanam(nam).

.. 68, text line 60.—*For* sa-dvipān *read* sa-dvipām.

.. 69, text line 65.—*Read* daṇḍēsām-a(śāś-a)śhavaḥ¹⁸

.. 69, text line 86.—*Read* śhayaṭh(nam).

.. 69, text line 87.—*For* vivipā *read* vivipā.

.. 69, text line 88.—*For* bhṛitah(tāś-cha)la *read* bhṛitahcha(tāś-cha)la.

.. 69, text line 89.—*For* pī *read* pī¹⁹.

.. 70, text line 95.—*For* Karvāḥ(nā)ṭaka *read* Karvāḥ(rvā)ṭaka.

.. 70, text line 95.—*For* *n-aśvikē²⁰ *read* *na(n-ā)śvikē²⁰.

.. 70, text line 98.—*For* haṣṭikēna *read* h[ā*]ṣṭikēna.

.. 70, text line 108.—*For* Krovvināḥṣaṭh-bāṣ *read* Krovvināḥṣaṭhbaṣi.

.. 73, line 10.—*For* īmapre *read* ill.

.. 73, lines 11 and 12.—*For* purify *read* cure.

.. 73, f.n.1, line 1.—*Omit* comma after *Bohāḡlchārpa*.

.. 73, f.n.1, line 2.—*For* engaging *read* engaging themselves.

.. 73, f. n. 7, line 1.—*Read* burn on the occasion.

.. 74, f. n. 3, line 10.—*Omit* comma after *Vide*.

.. 75, line 38.—*For* Kīṭpalāṅu *read* Kīṭpalāṅu.

.. 75, line 40.—*For* Māṭpalāṅu *read* Māṭpalāṅu.

.. 76, f. n. 4.—*For* after n *read* after n.

.. 81, f. n. 5.—*Read* year 70 or 60.

.. 84, f.n. 7.—*For* 820-25 A.C. *read* 831 A.C.

.. 89, line 24.—*For* īmportuace *read* īmportuace.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTACAMUND

The village of Belwā lies a few miles to the west of the Hili railway station on the East Bengal Railway, in the eastern fringe of the Dinajpur District, not far from the borders of the Bogra and Rangpur Districts. Some time in 1948, a Santal inhabitant of the village, named Khāṇṇ Sāṭāl, discovered two inscribed copper plates while digging the compound of his house with a view to enlarging a fire-place. Mr. Manoranjan Gupta of Calcutta soon secured the plates with the help of Muhammad Baṣīr Sarkār who is an official at the Zamindar's Katchery at the village of Kadupāri, not far away from Belwā. Mr. Gupta studied the inscriptions and published both of them in the *Vanṅiya Sāhitya Parishat Patricā* (Bengali), Vols. LIV, B. S. 1354, pp. 41-56; LVI, B. S. 1358, pp. 60-65, with plates.¹ The original plates were also presented to the Museum of the Vanṅiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. One of the records belongs to king Mahipāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, and the other to his grandson Vīrāhapāla III (circa 1055-90 A. C.). As, however, the inscriptions appeared to me to have been neither carefully read nor correctly interpreted, I requested, several times, the authorities of the Parishat to lend me the original plates for a few weeks for examination or to supply me with a set of good impressions of each of the inscriptions. Unfortunately neither of these requests was complied with.² At last impressions of both the plates were available to me through the kindness of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. I edit the inscriptions from these impressions.

A.—Plate of Mahipāla I; Regnal Year 5

The record is incised on a single copper-plate, measuring 15" × 14-6". The weight has not been recorded. The seal, which closely resembles those attached to other charters of the Pāla rulers, is, as usual, soldered to the upper part of the document. It is the celebrated *dharmachakra-mudrā* of the Pālas who were Buddhists. It has in the centre a circle with raised rim and beaded border which is surrounded by arabesque work and is surmounted by a *chātīya* symbol. The upper half of the inner circle of the seal is occupied by the Buddhist 'Wheel of the Law' having an umbrella above it and a deer couchant on either side. Below the central demarcation line, forming a pedestal for the above, is the legend *śrī-Mahipālabhoṣṇya*, the space beneath being covered by arabesque foliage. There are altogether 58 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, 33 lines on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. The incision is deep and clear, and the

¹ For an English version of these papers, see *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-33.

² In December 1950, when I happened to be in Calcutta, I was allowed to examine the original plates in the Parishat's office. My thanks are due to Mr. Gupta and the authorities of the Parishat for this help.

preservation of the plate is fairly satisfactory. Six lines of writing at the top on the obverse and five lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle, owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the only other copper-plate charter of king Mahipāla I so far known to the students of history. This is the Bāngarh plate finally edited by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the pages of this journal, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., with plates. The introductory verses at the beginning of the record, the description of the place of issue, the list of officials and others to whom the royal order was addressed, the list of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee and the imprecatory and benedictory verses about the end are practically the same in both the charters. Indeed most of these are common to all charters of the Pāla family. It is only the actual grant that is different in the Bāngarh record and the charter under review. The present epigraph, like some other Pāla records, usually indicates superscript * by a horizontal short stroke below the top mātrā of the consonant towards the left, sometimes making the sign almost undistinguishable.

The date of the record, given in one figure in line 49, is the year 5 (of the reign of Mahipāla I), the 26th day of the month of Śrāvapa. Line 46 speaks of the grant being made by the king on the occasion of a ceremonial bath taken by him in the waters of the Ganges on the day of the *visuvat-sankranti* (i.e., *visakha-sankranti*) which indicates the sun's equinoctial passage into Mēsha on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha or into Sīṃha on the 1st day of solar Kārttika. In the present case, it is possible to think that the grant had been made on the 1st of Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later on the 26th of Śrāvapa. A ceremonial bath and offering of gifts on the occasion of the *visuvat-sankranti* are both enjoined by the Hindu scriptures.¹ The action of the Pāla king, who was a Buddhist, as recorded in the document, no doubt points to the fact, often noted, that there was little difference between the life of a lay follower of Buddhism and that of an ordinary Brahmanical Hindu in the age of the Pālas at least in Eastern India. As we have elsewhere observed, when the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers were busy in refuting one another's views, the life of the lay man appears to have been marked by absolute religious toleration and the Buddhist laity was gradually nearing absorption into Brahmanical society.²

The charter begins with the *akṣara* *ni* (an abbreviation of the word *nibaddha* meaning 'registered') which is also found at the end of line 1 as in the Bāngarh plate of the same king and in many other records. This kind of double endorsement by the king himself and by one of his officials is also known from other records from Bengal such as those of the Senas.³ The first *ni* is followed by the usual symbol for *siddham* and the introductory word *asti*. Next come 12 verses in lines 1-23 forming the introduction of the charter. It is well-known that the fashion of quoting

¹ Cf. *Brahma Purāṇa* quoted in the *Saddatātprastāva*, s.v. *sankranti*; *Nityam dravyānyonyāgārāṇi-nityam viśvavāśāṇāṃ* | *cāṇḍr-ārka-yōr-praharānyāgārāṇāṃ pātāke* | *parvān* | *At-rātr-ekāṅk* *śāntam* *brāhmiṇā* *dānam* *lābha* *yaṃ* | *paś* *karṣṭi* *grāma-ānāṃ* *śānta* *spāt-mahābhayā-cha* *tu* ||

² See *J.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 124; *J.A.S.B.*, L, Vol. XV, p. 104. Most of the grants of the Buddhist Pāla kings were made in favour of Brahmanas. The Maṇḍali plate (*Gowāliṭhāmāli*, pp. 145 ff.) records a grant of king Maṇḍapāla to a Brahmana as *śakṣiṇ* for his recitation of the *Mahābhārata* before the *Pañcamaḍāri* *Chitramatikādevī*. The Bhāgpur plate (*ibid.*, pp. 54 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 309) of the *Parasamāyapa* king Nārāyaṇapāla speaks of his Śaivite leanings and records a grant made by the king "for the suitable performance of *pūja*, *huti*, *charya* and *astra*, for the *śāntarman* (i.e., repairs or extensions of the temple) and for other requirements of the divine *Siva-bhadraka* at *Kaladapōta*, for whom Nārāyaṇapāla himself has built a *śāntar-āṣṭana* (possibly a temple with thousand pillars) and whom he has put up there (at *Kaladapōta*); in order to provide couches and seats, medicines for the sick, requiem, etc., to the congregation of *Pāsupata* teachers (at *Kaladapōta*); and in order to enable the *Pāsupatas* to bestow blameless enjoyments, consisting of a share fixed by them, on other persons as desired by them".

³ See *Ind. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 64, 75, 88, etc.

verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became prevalent in the Pāla house amongst the descendants of Vīrabhāpāla or Śūrabhāpāla I (circa 850-84 A. C.) who was the cousin's son and successor of Dēvapāla (circa 810-80 A. C.). The first six verses of our record describe the exploits of Gōpāla I (circa 750-70 A. C.) who was the first imperial ruler of the Pāla dynasty, his son Dharmapāla (circa 770-810 A. C.), his younger brother and general Vākpāla, his son Jayapāla who was a general of Dēvapāla, his son Vīrabhāpāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A. C.). These verses are noticed for the first time in the charter¹ of Nārāyaṇapāla and are found quoted in all the later grants of the family. It is as yet unknown whether the first five of these verses were quoted by Nārāyaṇapāla from a charter of his father, as no copper-plate grant of Vīrabhāpāla I has so far been discovered. We have also as yet no charter of the time of Rājyapāla (circa 908-40 A. C.), son and successor of Nārāyaṇapāla, although the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II (circa 940-85 A. C.), son and successor of Rājyapāla, was published some time ago in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* (B. S. 1334, part i, pp. 264 ff.).² It is therefore no wonder that verses 7-9 of our record dealing with Rājyapāla and Gōpāla II are also found in the Jājilpārā plate. Verse 10 speaks of Vīrabhāpāla II (circa 985-88 A. C.), son and successor of Gōpāla II, and the following two verses (verses 11-12) of his son and successor, the reigning monarch Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.). Verse 11 says that Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal *rājya*, which had become *anulīkṛta-nilupta* (lost owing to the occupation by usurpers), after having killed all the enemies in battle by the prowess of his own arms. Our inscription, dated in the king's fifth regnal year, shows that Mahīpāla attained success against the enemies quite early in his reign. The enemies who dispossessed Mahīpāla I of his paternal kingdom are usually identified with the Kāmbōja rulers of northern and south-western Bengal known from the Bāgarh pillar inscription and the Iṛda plate, although there is a theory challenging the suggestion of Kāmbōja occupation of parts of Bengal in the second half of the tenth century A. C.³ Whatever be the truth of the suggestion regarding the recovery of northern and south-western Bengal by Mahīpāla I from the Kāmbōjas, we know that the Pāla king very probably reconquered south-east Bengal from the Chandras quite early in his reign. As I have elsewhere shown,⁴ the Chandras originally ruled over Chandradvīpa, otherwise called Vāṅgāladēsa, in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal; but Śrīchandra, the first imperial ruler of the family, conquered and ruled over wide regions of south-east Bengal in the second half of the tenth century. There was a short eclipse of Chandra power after Śrīchandra apparently owing to the success of Mahīpāla I. This is suggested not only by Mahīpāla's claim referred to above, but also by the Rāghaurā⁵ and Nārāyaṇpur⁶ inscriptions, dated respectively in his 3rd and 4th regnal years, which speak of Mahīpāla's rule over Samatāja, i.e., the present Tippers-Noakhali region, although Chandra suzerainty was re-established in eastern and south-eastern Bengal by Gōvindachandra during the life-time of Mahīpāla I himself. Verse 12 of our record says that the war elephants of Mahīpāla I roamed in the eastern countries, then in the valleys of the Malaya mountain range (the modern Travancore hills), next in the Maru country (i.e., the Marwar region in the Rajputana desert in the ancient Western division of India) and ultimately in the valleys of the Himalayas. This has often been taken to indicate aimless wanderings of the Pāla army owing to a great catastrophe that befell the Pāla kingdom.⁷ But,

¹ *Gaudulāṭhāmālā*, pp. 55 ff.

² See *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 137-44.

³ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. 1, pp. 133 ff., 190 f.

⁴ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 410 ff. The Chandras originally owed allegiance to a dynasty of Harikēla kings possibly represented by Kāntidēva of the Chittagong plate. See also *J.B.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XVII, pp. 90-91.

⁵ *Alore*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 136.

as I have demonstrated elsewhere,¹ it refers to the usual conventional claim of *dig-vijaya* over the *chakravartī-kshētra* covering the whole of India. That the claim has not much history behind it is clear from the fact that the same verse, describing the exploits of Mahīpāla's forces in the present record, has been employed in the Bāngārā plate of the same king to eulogise the achievements of the army of the king's father Vīrabhāpāla II. Again, the same verse is also found in the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II as well as the Āngāchhī² and Belwā plates of Vīrabhāpāla III (grandson of Mahīpāla I) in the description of the exploits of the armies of the reigning monarch.

Lines 23-27 of the charter introduce the place of issue which was the *jaya-kundhādēva* at the city of Sāhasagandhā. It is interesting to note that the same description is employed in all the Pāla charters, beginning with those of Dharmapāla, although the *jaya-kundhādēvas* (probably temporary capitals) themselves were different. This stereotyped description suits only a city on the Bhāgirathī (i.e., the Ganges) and it suggests that the various *jaya-kundhādēvas*, some of which cannot be satisfactorily identified, were all situated on the Ganges.³ This is supported by the fact that most of the grants were made by the Pāla kings after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges. Lines 27-28 introduce the reigning monarch, who was in good health while making the grant, as the *Paramasvargula* (devout Buddhist) *Paramōvaram Paramahattāraka Mahārājādēva* Mahīpālādēva who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of the *Mahārājādēvinīya* Vīrabhāpālādēva.

Lines 28-31 give details regarding the gift land which consisted of three localities all situated in the *Pundravardhana bhukti*. The first of the three was Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛttī which measured 210 and was attached to the territorial unit called Amalakshudhūga within the Phāpita vithī. The expression *su-numbadh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpita* (i.e., 'land that pertains to the king's own self and has its ground not yet alienated'), found in the description of the piece of land, is also known from other Pāla charters. The standard land measure, according to which the area of Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛttī was calculated to have been 210, has not been specified. The Belwā plate of Vīrabhāpāla III, edited below, speaks of the land measures *ulamāsa*, *āṣṭavāpa*, *drōṇa* (i.e., *drōṇavāpa*) and *kulya* (i.e., *kulyavāpa*) as prevalent in the same locality. Of these, 4 *āṣṭavāpas* made 1 *drōṇa*, 8 of which were equal to 1 *kulya*. As I have shown elsewhere,⁴ about 15 *ulamāsas* (otherwise called *udāna* or *namina*) probably made an *āṣṭavāpa* (originally from 4 to 5 modern Bengal *Bighās* of land). It is difficult to determine as to which of the four land measures has been regarded as the standard one in the record under discussion, especially in view of the fact that all the four are known to have been the standard land measure in different localities, although the area of each may not have been the same in all places. The high number in the specification of the area suggests that the reference is possibly not to the *kulya* or *kulyavāpa*.

The second piece of the gift land comprised the locality called Nandivāminī which measured 490 of the standard land measure and was situated in *Shatjāpāyīkhatra* which incorporated Pāṭchakāṇḍaka and lay in the *Paṇḍarikā maṇḍala*. The third plot of the gift land was the locality called Gaṇḍēvara to which some village tanks were attached. The area of this plot was 151 of the standard land measure and it was situated in the *Pāṭchagaurī vishaya*.

¹ *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, Vol. V, pp. 407-15, especially p. 410.

² *Above*, Vol. XV, 295 ff.

³ The following *jaya-kundhādēvas* are known to have been places of issue of the Pāla charters: Pātāliputra (near modern Patna), Mudugiri (modern Munger), Rāmavati (near modern Gaur in the Maida District), Vajraparvata (modern Vajraparvat near Pātharghat in the Bhāgalpur District), Villāpura and Sāhasagandhā. The name of the place, whence the Āngāchhī plate of Vīrabhāpāla III was issued, is doubtful; but to me it appears to be Villāpura.

⁴ *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 300-13.

The list of officials and others associated with the above three pieces of the gift land is quoted in lines 31-40. This is practically the same in all Pāla records.¹ In this list is included servants like *chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers, or policemen and peons) of various nationalities such as Gauda, Mālava, etc. These are for the first time noticed in the Nālandā plate² of Dharmapāla. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee specified in lines 41-44 are also common with other records of the Pāla kings.³ As in so many other records of the Pālas, the above three villages are said to have been granted in the name of (*uddiṣṭya*) the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka for the increase of merit and fame of the king and his parents. The specified land was made a permanent rent-free holding in favour of the Brāhmapa Jivadharadēvaśarma, who belonged to the Hastidāsā *gōtra* having the Āngirasa, Āmbarīsha and Yauvanāśva *pravaras* and was the son of Dhīrōśvara-dēvaśarma and grandson of Vishnudēvaśarma. The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the area for the protection of his grant and his order to the cultivators to offer in due time to the donee all dues including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kāra* and *hiranya* are couched in the same language as in the other Pāla charters. After giving the date (*Saṃvat 5 Śālavasa-dinī* 28) in line 49, the imprecatory verses, found not only in the Bāngarā plate of the same king but also in other grants of the Pāla kings, are quoted in lines 50-56. The last two verses of the record mention the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that Mahipālādēva made the *mantrī* (minister) Lakṣmīdhara the executor of the charter. The plates are said to have been engraved by the artisan Pashyāditya who was the son of Chandraditya hailing from the village of Pōshali. The artisans of Pōshali are also known to have engraved some other records of the Pāla kings such as the Bāngarā plate of Mahipāla I and the Āmgāchikī plate of Vigrahapāla III.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the *jaya-skandhārā* called Sāhasagandhānagara, which was apparently situated on the Ganges, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The gift villages, viz., Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛitti (i.e., Ōsinna which had been once allotted to the Kaivarttas for their service), Nandivāminī and Gaṇēśvara cannot also be identified. These three villages

¹ These are: *rājā* (subordinate king); *rājagṛha* (feudatory chief); *rājaputra* (possibly, noble man); *rājā-mitra* (minister or executive officer); *madantadhirajabhaṭa* (minister for war and peace); *madantachapālita* (accompanyant); *madantamata* (feudatory); *madantapati* (general); *madantadhara* (officer in charge of the palace-gate); *madantadhipāta* not mentioned in our record; *madantadandanika*; *madantadandapala* (judge); *madantamarādāya* (minister of the rank of a prince of the royal blood); *rājasthān-apatya* (viceroy); *dādāntadhipāta* (minor judge); *chāvarādākarasāha* (prefect of the police); *dāntika*; *dāntapāta* (police officer); *śālita* (customs officer); *gaulmika* (officer in charge of a police station); *kādhipa* (officer in charge of the royal lands); *prahatpala* (master of the marches); *kōṭipala* (governor of a fort); *bhāradvāja* or *śaṅkṛāja*; those appointed or commissioned by the above-mentioned; those in charge of elephants, horses, camels, navy and army; those in charge of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats and sheep; *dāntpraharita*; *paṇḍyanika*; *śāhānāyaka*; head of a district; head of a village; ferry-man; *chāṭa*, *bhāṭa* and other servants of such nationalities as Gauda, Mālava, Khāsa, Hūṇa, Kūṭika, Kargūṭa and Lāṭa; other unnamed subjects and servants of the king.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 294 ff.

³ These were: 'up to its boundaries, grass and pasture land' (*sa-sam-iriyayāti-gōchara-paryanta*); 'with its ground' (*sa-tāla*); 'with the spaces (above the ground)' (*śa-dāṭṭa*); 'with its mango and mulkula trees' 'with its water and dry land'; 'with its pits and saline spots' (*sa-gaṭi-dāṭṭa*); 'with the tax from temporary tenants' (*śa-āparāṭha*), although this is omitted in our record; 'with *dāntāpachāra* (*dāntāparādha* of other records which refer to the fine realised for ten minor offences)'; 'with things recovered from thieves' (*sa-chāra-dāṭṭarāsa*); 'with exemption from all oppressions'; 'not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* (usually interpreted as regular and irregular troops, but may be policemen and peons)'; 'nothing to be taken (by way of tax, etc.)'; 'together with all revenues such as *bhāga* (royal share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.), *kaṇa* (taxes), *hiranya* (tax to be paid in coins), etc.'; 'according to the maxim of Māmi-śākhya'; 'to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure'. *Bhāṇicākhya-nyaya* refers to the custom of allowing a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation to enjoy it without paying rent.

were situated respectively in Amalakashudduṅga within the Phāpita vāṭī (subdivision),¹ in Śhaṭṭā-pāṇāyichatra incorporating Pañchakāṇḍaka within the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (smaller district or its part), and in the Pañchanagari *viśaya* (district). Of these, the Pañchanagari *viśaya* no doubt had its headquarters at the city of the same name whence the Baigram plate² was issued. We have elsewhere³ suggested that this city is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and is no other than modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravarḍhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, originally comprised northern Bengal, although in later times its jurisdiction is known sometimes to have extended over certain parts of south-eastern and southern Bengal. The village of Pōshālī, whence the family of the engraver hailed, seems to be the same as the Pōshālī *pāṇi* of the Rājāḥya Brāhmanas of Bengal. The village has been identified with modern Pōshālā about 5 miles to the south-east of Maṇḍalkōṭ in the Burdwan District of West Bengal,⁴ although little can be said in favour of the identification.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : Verses 1, 8 *Stagdhari* ; verses 2, 3, 5 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Āryā* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Maṇḍākrāntā* ; verses 13-17, 20, 21 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 18 *Sālinī* ; verse 19 *Pushpajagrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Nī[⁶][⁷] [Siddham⁸] | Svasti [⁹] Maitrī-kāruṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ prēyasi[m] nī¹⁰
- 2 sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō[m]bōdhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-ja-
- 3 ka-kāhālī-śjōāna-paṅkaḥ | jitrā-yaḥ [kāma¹¹]kāri-prabha-
- 4 vaṃ-abhūbhavaṃ kāsavatīm-prāpa śānti[m] sa śrīmā-
- 5 ī-Lō(ī-Lō)kanāthō jayati dāsa-va(ba)lō-nyas-cha Gōpā-
- 6 indēvaḥ | [¹²] Lakṣmī-jaṇma-nikētanam sama[ka¹³]rō vōdhuḥ kṣha-
- 7 mah kāmā-bharam |¹⁴ pakṣa-chaḥhōda-bhayēd-upasthitavatām-āk-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām |
- maṇḍā-paripāla-aika-nirataḥ śaury-āla-
- 8 yō-smād-abbūd-dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-bāsi-maṇimā śrī-Dharmmapālō nṛpaḥ | [¹⁵] Rā-
- masy-ēva grihīta-satya-tapasa-tasy-ānurūpō
- 9 guṇaiḥ Saumitrār-udapādi tulya-mahimā Vāk-pāla-nām-ānajaḥ [¹⁶] yaḥ śrīmān-naya-vikram-
- aika-vasatir-bhṛatuh sthitaḥ dāsa-
- 10 nō bhūnyāḥ śatru-patākiniḥhir-akarōd-āk-ātapatrā dīśaḥ | [¹⁷] Tasmād-Upāndra-charitai[r]-
- jaḥatīm punānaḥ putrō va(ba)bbhūva vijayi
- 11 Jayapāla-nāmā | dharma-dvishāṃ śu(śa)mayitā yudhi Dēvapālō yaḥ pūrvajō bhuvana-
- rājya-sukhāny-a[n]śahit | [¹⁸] Śrīmān-Vigrahapāla-
- 12 a-ta[¹⁹]-sūnur-Ajātaśatru-iva jātah [²⁰] śu(śa)tru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilōpi-vimal-śai-jala-
- dhātah | [²¹] Dīpāluḥ kṣiti-pālanāya da-
- 13 dhataḥ dōhō vibhaktā[n-gu]o[ka²²]n śrī(mantaḥ-jaṇayāniva(mba)bbhūva tanayam Nātāyapaṇi
- sa prabhuḥ | yaḥ kṣ[²³]pātibhiḥ śiśo-maṇi-ruch-āśiḥt-ā[m]ghri-pi-

¹ Mr. Gupta is inclined to identify Phāpita with Panitāl or Pannāl on the Karatoya east Amalakashudduṅga with Amalgiri not far from Belwā. He also equates gōndā in *śūdras-gōndā* with the post-ending of modern names.

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

⁴ N. N. Vams, *Farmer Jāṅga Itihāsa*, Brāhmanas-kāṇḍa (Bengal), Vol. I, p. 123.

⁵ From an impression.

⁶ Nī is a contraction of the word *nibodhita*, "registered," "endorsed."

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The *danda* is superfluous.

A.—PLATE OF MAHIPALA I; REGNAL YEAR 5

२ यत्कृतं नः यन्मया यत्
 ४ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 ६ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 ८ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 १० तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 १२ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 १४ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 १६ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 १८ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 २० तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 २२ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 २४ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 २६ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 २८ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 ३० तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्
 ३२ तन्मात्रं तासु नयत्

[illegible]

- 14 tñ-ōpalam nyāy-ōpāttam-alañchakāra charitalā evair-ēva dharmm-āsanath(nam) || [6*]
Tōyāsayair-jaledhi-mūla-gabbhira-garbhair[r]-da(r-dē)vālayais-cha
- 15 kala-bhūdhara-tulya-kakabail | vikhyāta-kīrttir-ahhavat-tanayaś-cha tasya śri-Rājyapāla
iti madhyama-lōka-pālah || [7*] Tasmāt-pū[r]va-kshiti-
- 16 dhrān-nidhir-iva mahasāgā Rāshtrakūt-ānvay-āndōs-Tuṅgasy-ōttuṅga-manib[r]-dehitari
tanayō Bhāgyadēvyāś prasūta || [8*] Ārimān-Gōpāladēvaś-chi-
- 17 ratarum-avanēr-ēka-patuyā iv-aikō bhattrā(rtt-ā)bhūn-maika-ratna-ḍyanti-khachita-chatuh-
sindhu-chitr-āśhukāyā || [8*] Yash svāminudh rāja-gupair-onūna-
- 18 [m-ā]śēvatō [chā]rutay-ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-prabhuśakti-lakshmi | pithvīn aspatulm-
iva śilayanī || [9*] Tasmād-va(d-ba)bhūva savitur-vasu-
- 19 kōpi-varahi |¹ kālēna chandra iva Vighrahpāladēva | nōtra-priyēṇa vimalēṇa kalāmayēna
yēn-ōditēna dalitō bhuvā-
- 20 nasya tāpā || [10*] Hata-sakala-vipakshah saagarē vā(bā)hu-du[r]pa(rpā)d-anaadhikṛita-
viluptaś rājyam-āśēdya pitryadu(tryam) | nihita-charapa-padmo bhū-
- 21 bhujāś mūrdhni tasmād-abhavad-avanipālah śri-Mahipāladēva || [11*] Dēśē prāchi
prachura-payasi svachchham-āpiya tōyāś svairam bhrāntvā ta-
- 22 d-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu | kṛitvā sūndarair-Marushu jadatām ākarair-abhva-tulyāś
Prālēyādrāḥ kaṭakam-abhujan tasya sēnā-
- 23 goj-āndrā || [12*] Sa khalu Bhāgirathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvūha-nau-vāṭaka-sam-
pādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-taila-śikhara-śrēṇī-rībhra-
- 24 māt |¹ m[ra]tīśaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmi-samāravdha-
(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt |² ullichī-
- 25 n-ānēka-narapati-prā[bh]īr[ī]kṛit-āpramēya-baya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhōsarita-
digantarālāt |³ paramēśvara-ōtvā-sa-
- 26 māyāt-āśēha-Jamvū(mbū)dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pō(dā)ta-bhara-namad-avanōb śri-Sāhasaga-
ḍa-nagata-samāvāś(tā*) | Ārimaj-jayaakandhāvārā-
- 27 [t-] paramasaugatō mahārājadhīrāja-śri-Vighrahpāladēva-pād-ānuśhyātāḥ paramēśvara-
paramabhat[ī]raka-mahārājadhī-
- 28 rājāś Āriman-Mahipāladēvaḥ kuśāl |⁴ śri-Puṇḍravarādhanā-bhuktā |⁵ Phāgita-vithī-samva-
(mba)ddha-Amala[kshuddu]jag-āntahpātī-eva-samvā-⁶
- 29 vichchhinna-tal-ōpēta-[dā]ś-ōttara-sata-divya-pramāṇ-Anu[una]-Kāivartta-vṛitti- |⁷ Puṇḍa-
rikā-maṇal-āntahpā(pā)ti-Pañchakōṇḍak-ādihika-
- 30 Shaṭṭāpāpāyichatrē⁸ navaty-uttara-chatuh-sata-pramāṇa-Nandivāminī- |⁹ Pañchanagari-
vishay-āntahpātī-¹⁰ Akapāñchāsad-uttara-śa-
- 31 ta-pramāṇa-Gaḍḍvara-samēta-grāma-pushki(śhka)ripīshu |¹¹ samupagarā(t-ā)śēha-rājapu-
rushūn |¹² rāja-rājanayaka- |¹³ rājaputra- |¹⁴ rājāmā-
- 32 tya- |¹⁵ mahāsāndhivighrahika- |¹⁶ mahākshapaṭalika- |¹⁷ mahāsānanta- |¹⁸ mahāsēnāpati- |¹⁹ mahā-
[pra]tīhāra- |²⁰ dachśādhāsūdhani-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.² Originally *ai* was engraved.³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.⁴ Read *amāhadda-ā*.⁵ Better read *chakra*. *Chakra* may be the same as *chakraka* (cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94).

- 33 [ka]-¹ mahādāṣṭanāyaka-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthān-ōparika-¹ dāśāparādāhika-¹ chaurōddharāṇika-¹ dāṇḍika¹ dāṇḍa-

Reverse

- 34 pāsī(śi)ka-¹ śaulika-¹ gaulmika-ksūētrapa-¹ prāntapāla-¹ kōṭṭapā-
 35 la-¹ āṅgaraksha-¹ tad-śyukta-vīniyuktaka-¹ hasty-sāv-ōshjra-
 36 nau-va(ha)la-vyāpṛitaka-¹ ki[śō]ra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-ō-
 37 vik-ādhyakaha-¹ dūtaprēshaṇika-gamāgamika-¹ abhitva[rā*]-
 38 māṇa-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika-¹ Gaṇḍa-¹ Mālava-¹
 39 Khasa-¹ Hūya-¹ Kulika-¹ Karpāṇa-¹ Lāṇa-¹ chāṇa-¹ bhāṇa-¹ sēvak-ādīn¹ anyāmā-cha-
 ākirtitān¹ rāja-pād-ōpaṣṭvinaḥ prativā-
 40 sīnś Vrahma-attarān¹ mahattam-ōttamā-kupumvi(mbi)-purōga-Mōd-Āndhra-Chaṇḍīla-pary-
 antān¹ yath-ārham mānayaṭi¹ vō(hō)dhayati sa-
 41 mādiati cha¹ viditām-asu bhavatām¹ yath-ōparilikhitā,tri-grāmā¹ sva-sīmā-tṛipayūti-
 gōchura-paryantāḥ sa-tala-
 42 s-ōddēśāḥ s-āmra-madhukāḥ¹ sa-jala-sthulāḥ¹ sa-gratt-ōgharāḥ¹ sa-dut-āpachācāḥ¹ sa-
 chaur-ōddharāṇāḥ parihṛita-sarva-pādāḥ¹ a-
 43 chāṇa-bhāṇa-pravēśāḥ¹ a-kiñchit-pragrāhāḥ(hyāḥ)¹ samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-
 pratyāya-samōtāḥ¹ bhūmī-chohkhidra-nyāyā-
 44 na ā-ubandr-ārka-kahiti-sama-kālaḥ¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha punya-yasō-bhivṛddhayaō
 bhagavantam Va(Ba)ldha-hhāṭārakam-uddiṣya ā-
 45 āgiras-āva(mba)riṣha-Yā(Yau)mo(va)ṇāsva-pravarāya¹ Hastidāsa-sagotrāya Viśvaudēva-
 sarmāṇaḥ putrāya¹ Dhīrōśvaradēvaśattmāṇaḥ
 46 putrāya¹ śrī-Jivadhara-dēvaśattmāṇaō¹ viśu(śu)vat-saōkrāntau vidhūvat¹ Gaṅgāyān-
 sūlīvā āśanikṛitya pradattō-smābhīḥ¹ a-
 47 tō bhavadbhīḥ-sa-jvair-ēv-ānamantavyaḥ bhāvibhīḥ-cha bhūpatibhīḥ¹ bhūmēr-dāna-phala-
 gauravāḥ¹ apaharaṇō cha mahā-naraka-
 48 pāta-hhaya(yā)ḥ¹ dānam-ulam-anumōdy-ānupālaniyati¹ prativōsibhīḥ-cha kshātrakarāḥ¹
 ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kālā[di]
 49 samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kārīya¹ iti || Samva(sachva)ḥ [5]
 Śāvaṇa-dina 26 [1*] Bhayanti ch-ātra dha-
 50 ruma(rum-ā)nnāśamīnāḥ ālōkāḥ [1*] Va(Ba)huhir-vasadhā bhuktā rājābhīḥ Sagur-ādibhīḥ¹
 yasya yasya yudā bhūmīs-asya [tasya*] tadā phalam(lam) || [13*] Bhū-
 51 mīn¹ yaḥ pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti yas-cha bhūmīm prayachēhhati¹ ubhal(bhan) tan punya-karmma-
 (mīmā)ṇau niyataḥ avarga-gāminau || [14*] Gām-ekā[di] svarṇam-s-
 52 kaṇ-cha bhūmēr-apy-ardham aḡulam(lam)¹ haran-narakam-a(m-ā)yāti ya(yā)va(d-ā*)-
 hūta-samplavash(vam) || [15*] Shashṭim-va(śhṣṭim va)riṣha-sahākrā(śrā)ḥ svarṇgō mōdati
 bhūmīla-

¹ The dāṇḍa is superfluous.

² The designation *rājasthān-ōparika* is found as *rājasthān-ōparika* in most of the Pala records.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *Brahma-attarān*.

⁵ Originally *paripatāḥ* was engraved.

⁶ *Lūkito-gam grāmā* was originally engraved. All the epithets of grāmā in the singular in lines 41-42 were later made plural to suit *tri-grāmā* by the addition of an *ā* suffix. But *pradattō-smābhīḥ* in line 46 escaped the engraver's notice and was left uncorrected.

⁷ Read *pradattō smābhīḥ*.

- 53 h | ākshēptā śh-ānumantā śha tāny-śva marakṣ vaaṣṭ || [16*] Śva-dattān para-dattān (vā*)
yō hārē[ta*] vaasudharān(tām) | sa viśbhūyān kṛimī-śhūtvā pi-
- 54 tṛibhūḥ saha paśhyatē || [17*] Sarvān-ētān-bhāvīnāḥ pārtīv-āndrān-bhūyō bhūyāḥ prārthayatē-
(ty-ē)śha Rāmāḥ | sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sōter-nṛi-
- 55 pāpāḥ kāṣṭh kālā pālaniyāḥ kramēṣa || [18*] Iti kumala-dal-amva-(l-āmba)-vindu-lālāḥ
śriyam-anuvichintya' ma[ṇu*]śhya-jivita-
- 56 ā-śha | sakalam-īdam-udāhṛtaḥ-śha va(ba)dhātvā na hi parushaḥ para-kirttayō viśōpyā itī ||*
Śri-Mahipālādēvēna dvija-śrē-
- 57 śhṭh-ōpapādītē ||* | śri[māl-La(-La)kshmidharā mantri āśanē dūtakaḥ kṛitāḥ || [20*] Pōahall-
grāma-niryāta-Cha[ndrā]dityasya śh(śh)annā (-i-
- 58 dant śāsanam-utkṛṇṇadi śri*-Pushyādityēna śilpīnā || [21*]

B.—Plate of Vignrahapāla III : Regnal Year 11

The inscription is written on a single plate which is of the same size as the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, edited above. The seal, which is broken at the top, very closely resembles that of Mahipāla's plate. The legend on the seal, attached to the charter under discussion, reads *Śri-Vignrahapālādēvāḥ*. There are 54 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, the obverse containing 29 lines and the reverse 25. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not quite satisfactory. Some of the letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion. Five lines at the top on the obverse of the plate and four lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

Little calls for special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription as they very closely resemble those of the Āngkōhī plate,⁴ the only other copper-plate charter of king Vignrahapāla III so far published. In most cases in our inscription, the left curve of the letter *a* does not start from its top but from the middle of its central vertical. The letter *i* usually resembles in form the conjunct *ih* or *ihh* as found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age.

The charter is dated on the 19th day of Bhādra in the year 11 of the king's reign (line 46). Like the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I and several other records of the family, the grant under discussion was made by king Vignrahapāla III after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *vishvāt-sukrānti*. It appears therefore, as in the case of Mahipāla's record discussed above, that the grant had been made on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later.

As in the grant of Mahipāla I edited above, both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of our charter occurs the letter *ai* which is a contraction of the expression *aiśiddhā* meaning 'registered.' The actual record begins with the *śiddham* symbol and the word *śaṁti* which are followed by fourteen verses (lines 1-23). These verses are also found in the Āngkōhī plate of the same king. Of these, twelve verses are common with Mahipāla's plate edited above. But, as already pointed out, the verses referring to the exploits of the king's elephant force in all the four corners of the *chakravartī-kāṣṭha* (verse 14) is employed in the description of Vignrahapāla III himself instead of that of Mahipāla I. Verse 12 of our record speaks of king Nayapāla (circa 1038-55 A. C.), son and successor of Mahipāla I, and verse 13 of Nayapāla's son and successor Vignrahapāla III (circa 1055-80 A. C.) who issued the charter under discussion. These verses are not only found

* Read *anuvichintya*.

* Read *vishōpyā* || [16*] *śh*.

* Omit *śri* for the sake of the metre.

* Above, Vol. XV, pp. 295 ff.

in the Āṅgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III, but also in the Manahali plate¹ of Madanapāla (1144-62 A. C.),² great-great-grandson of Vīgrahapāla III. As no other copper-plate charter of the successors of Vīgrahapāla III, in which the verses are expected to have been quoted, has as yet been discovered and as the text of verse 13 of our record could not be satisfactorily read either in the Āṅgāchhi or in the Manahali plate, the charter under discussion offers the correct reading of the verse in question for the first time.

The charter was issued from the *jaṅga-kāṇḍhāpāra* of Vilāsapura which was also the place of issue of the Bāṅgāyā plate of Mahīpāla I and possibly of the Āṅgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III. Its description (lines 22-26) is the same as in other Pāla charters including the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I, edited above. Lines 26-27 introduces the *Paramasaṅgata Paramādeva Paramabhāṭṭāraka Māhārājādhirāja śrīmad-Vīgrahapālādēva* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Māhārājādhirāja śrī-Nayapālādēva* and as enjoying good health at the time of making the grant. The land granted comprised parts (*ardha*) of the village called Lōvanikāma which was then recently cultivated and was attached to the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (subdivision) within the Phāṇitavithi *viśaya* (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. Phāṇita was originally the name of a *vīṭhi* (subdivision); but later Phāṇita-vithi came to be the name of a *viśaya* or district.³ It is said that Lōvanikāma was partitioned (*trīṇa-kṣayāḥkṛita*) and that one part measuring 1 *kulya* (i.e., *kulyasūpa*) 2 *drōṇas* (i.e., *drōṇavūpas*) 3½ *āḥavūpas* and 3½ *udamāwas* was left out, while the other measuring 3 *kulyas* 7½ *drōṇas* and 11 *udamāwas* was made the subject of the grant.

The list of officials and others associated with the gift land (lines 29-37) and that of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee (lines 38-49) are the same as in other Pāla charters including the one edited above. The grant was made in the name of the lord Buddha-bhāṭṭāraka for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jayānandadēva-śarmaṇ who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* having the Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīma and Bārhaspatya *pravaras* and was the son of Śrīpatidēva, grandson of Hṛishikṣidēva and great-grandson of Mitrakuradēva. The words *śrī* prefixed and *śarmaṇ* suffixed only to the name of Jayānandadēva appear to suggest that he was living while his ancestors were all dead and that *śarmaṇ* was already regarded as a distinctive Brahmanical name-suffix, although it was not an integral part of the family's cognomen. The donee is said to have been a student of the Pippalūda *śākhā* and to have been reputed for his scholarship in *mīmāṃsā*, grammar and logic. He was an inhabitant of Vāllāvagrāma, but his family hailed from Vahāḍagrāma. His epithet *śrī-Ananta-subrahmaṇyachārīn* literally means that he was a co-student of a Brāhmaṇa named Ananta. It however seems to me that the reference is here not to a co-student of the donee but to his preceptor.⁴

The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the locality and his order to the cultivators to offer the dues payable to the donee in due time come next in lines 44-46. The date (*Samvat II Bhādra-dinā 19*) is also given in line 46. The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 47-53. The two concluding stanzas in lines 53-54 speak of the *dātaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that one Trībhāṇa was made the executor of the charter by king Vīgrahapāla. The plates were engraved by the artisan Prithvidēva who was a son of Haradēva hailing from the village of Tinnīḍi.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Vilāsapura, whence the grant was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it was apparently situated on the Ganges. The

¹ *Chandabikāṇḍā*, pp. 147 ff.

² *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27-31. For the date of Vīgrahapāla III, see our paper on the Bargaon plate to be published in this journal.

³ Cf. Khajak-śākhā and Khajakākhā-śākhā; Kudār-śākhā and Kudārākhā-śākhā in *Successors of the Śāmaṇyanas*, p. 42.

⁴ See our paper on the Bargaon plate to be published in this journal.

Obverse



Puṇḍravardhana śhukti and the Puṇḍarikā maṇḍala are also mentioned in the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, discussed above. The Phāṇita-vīthi vishaya of our inscription is mentioned in that record as the Phāṇita vīthi only. The village of Lōvanikāma and that of Timiḍi which was the original home of the engraver's family cannot be identified with any amount of precision. The village of Vellāvā, where the donee lived, is no doubt the same as the present Belwā, the findspot of the charter; but the village of Vahēḷā, whence the donee's family hailed, cannot be identified.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 11 Mālīnī ; verse 12 Śiśhariṇī ; verse 13 Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; verse 14 Manda-krīṇṭā ; verses 15-19, 22, 23 Anuṣṭubh ; verse 20 Śalīnī ; verse 21 Pushpāḍgrā :]

Obverse

Lines 1—17²

- 18 bhūbhujāṅg-mūrdhni tasmād-abhavad-avanipālāḥ śrī-Mahipālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyaṅga-dōshā-
saṅgati śirasi kṛita-pālāḥ kṣitibhṛitāḥ vitanvan sarva-śāḥ prosa-
19 bhūm=Uday-ādṛer-iva raviḥ | hata-dhyānta[h*] anigdha-prakṛitir-anurāg-aika-vasanti[h*] autō
va(dha)u[y]aḥ puṇyair-ajanti Nayapālō narapatih || [12*] Pitaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ Sma-
20 ranipōḥ pūjāsu raktāḥ sadā saṅgrāmā dhavalō-dhikāś-cha Haritaḥ kōḣaḥ kulō vidvishāṁ-
(śhām) | chāturvvarṇya-samūtrayaḥ sīta-yaśāḥ-pūrait-ijagad-raḍjaya[m*]=ta-
21 smād-Vigrahapālādēva-nripatih puṇyāḥ-janānām-abhūt || [13*] Dōṣō prakṛi prachura-puyam
svachchham-āpiya tōyam svairam bhṛāntvā tad-ann Malay-ōpatyākā-chandanēṣu |
22 kṛitvā sāndrair-Marushu jaḍatām ākarair-arvha(bha)-tulyā | Prāḷyādṛēḷ kṛakam=
abhaḷayi(n=ya)ya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14*] Sa khala Bhāḡirathī-patha-pravarattamāna-nā-
23 nāvīdha-nar-vāṭaka-sampādita-sētu-va(ta)ndha-nihita-śāla-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhramā[h*] |³ nirati-
śaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭṭā-śyānāyamaḥ-vāsāta-lakṣmī-
24 samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jaladā-samaya-sandēhātā(bāt) |⁴ adichin-ānka-narapati-prābhṛit-
kṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhīnī-khara-khur-ōṅkhāta-dhūli-dhūṣari-
25 ta-digantarālāt |⁵ paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-śēṣha-Jamva(mba)-dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-
pādāta-bhara-namad-avanāḥ |⁶ Vilāsapura-samāvāṣita-śrīma-
26 j-jaya-akandhāvārāt |⁷ paramasaugatō mahārājadhī(dhī)rāja-śrī-Nayapālādēva-pāl-ānandhyā-
taḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramahattārakō mahārājadhīr-
27 ja-śrīmad-Vigrahapālādēva[h*] kuṣaiḥ |⁸ śrī-Puṇḍravardhana-bhaktau Phāḡiḡavīthi-vishay-
āntahpāti-Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ldha⁹-adhunā-hala-kulī-
28 [t-śārdūha-Lō]vanikāmah(ma)¹⁰-piḡu-khaḡḡikṛita-sārdūha¹¹-udamāna-tray-ōttara-sapad-ādḡhav ipa-
tray-ādḡhika-drōḡa-dvay-ōpāta-kulya-pramāḡ-āmāna-varijita-sva-
29 samva(mba)ldh-āvichchhīma-tal-ōpāta¹²-śkādāt-ōdamān-ādḡhika-sārdūha-sapta-drōḡ-ōpāta-ku-
lya-traya-pramāḡ-āmāḡ |¹³ samupāgat-śēṣha-rājapurnashū |¹⁴

Reverse

- 30 rāja-rājanyaka-|¹⁵ rājaputra- |¹⁶ rājāmātya- |¹⁷ mahāśāndhivigrahika-|¹⁸ mahā-

¹ From an impression.

² The reading of these lines is practically the same as that of lines 1-20 of the plate of Mahipāla I, edited above.

³ The *śayā* is unnecessary.

⁴ The *vīṣarga* was at first omitted and later made an *ś*.

⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 31 kshapaṭalika-¹ mahāsāmantā-¹ mahāsāntāpati-¹ mahāpratilāra-¹ dau-
 32 hśāhassāhān[ka*]-¹ mahādaṇḍanāvala-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthā-
 33 n-ōparika-¹ dāśāparādīka-¹ chaṇḍōddhanapika-¹ dāḍika-¹ dūḍa-
 34 pāḍika-¹ sau[sa]llika-¹ gaulmika-¹ kahōtrapa-¹ prāṇapāla-¹ kōṭa(tta)pāla-¹ aṅgaraksha-¹
 tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-¹ hasty-aly-śak[ra]-nau-va(ba)la-vyūṣṭitaka-¹
 35 kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-muḥishy-a-śrik-ādhyaksha-¹ dūtaprēhanika-¹ gamāgamika-¹ ābhita-
 ramāna-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika-¹ Gauḍa-¹
 36 Mālava-¹ Khasa-¹ Hūya-¹ Kulika-¹ Karṇāṭa-¹ Lāta-¹ chāṭa-¹ bhāṭa-¹ sēvak-ādīn-¹
 anyāmā-cha-ākittitān-¹ rāja-pād-ōpajīvamā-¹ prativā-
 37 aino Vra(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n]-¹ mahattam-ōttama-kuṣamvi(mbi)-[purōga]-Mēd-Āndhra-Chag-
 ḍāla-paryantān-¹ yath-ārham mānayatī-¹ vō(bō)dhayatī-¹ samāśīatī
 38 cha-¹ viditam-astu bhavatān-¹ yath-ōparilīkhitō-¹ yath grāma-¹ svā-simā-[trijayūti-
 gōchra-paryanta-¹ sa-tala-¹ s-ōddēśa-¹ s-ānra-madhukā-¹
 39 sa-jala-ethala-¹ sa-daś-ōpachāra-¹ sa-¹maur-ōdhikarapa-¹ paribrita-sarva-pīḍa-¹ a-chāṭa-
 bhāṭa-pravēśa-¹ n-kiñchit-puṅgā[ya](hya)-¹ samanta-bhāga-
 40 bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-panmā-¹ bhūmi-chahhidra-nyāyēna-¹ s-[cha*]jod-ārka-kshiti-
 sama-kālam-¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yaśō-
 41 bhūvridhaya-¹ bhagavanān-¹ Va(Bu)ddha-bhāṭārakam-ōddīśya-¹ Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya-¹
 Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(Bā)haspatya-puṣkarāya-¹ śrī-¹ Ananta-savra(bra)hmachā-
 42 rō-¹ Pippalāda-ākha-ādhyāyine mīmāṃsā(mūṃsā)-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vid-¹ Vahōḷā-grāma-
 vin[er]gōjāya-¹ Vōllāva-grāma-vāstavyāya-¹
 43 Mitrakarādēva-prapauṭrāya-¹ Hrishikāśadēva-pauṭrāya-¹ Śrīpatidēva-putrāya-¹ śrī-Jayā-
 nandadēvaśarmas-¹ Vishuvāt-saṅkrāntau vidīrat-¹
 44 Gaṅgāyā[n] snātva-¹ sa(ś)-saṅkṛitya-¹ pradattō-¹ amābhī-¹ utō bhavadbhī-¹ sarvair-¹ sv-ānuman-
 tavyam-¹ bhāyibhī-¹ api bhōpatibhī-¹ bhūmēr-ōddāna-phala-
 45 gauravāt-¹ apaharap-¹ cha mahānara-¹ pāta-bhayāt-¹ dānam-ōdam-anumōdya-¹ pālanīyam-¹
 prativāśibhī-¹ cha kahōtrakarū-¹ ājñā-śraya-
 46 na-vidhāyibhīya-¹ yathā-kāla[n]-¹ sammehita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanaya-¹
 kārya-iti-¹ Samva(Samva)t-11 Bhādra-dinē 12-¹
 47 Bhavanti ch-ātra dharin-ānūśāsina-¹ āśā-¹ Va(Ba)hubhir-vrasadhā dattā rājabha-Sagar-
 ādibhī-¹ yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmī-¹ tasya tasya tadā phala-
 48 m-¹ [15*] Bhūmī-¹ ya-¹ pātigrīhātī-¹ ya-¹ cha bhūmī-¹ prayachchhati-¹ ubhau tau puṇya-kar-
 māṇau niyatā-¹ svarga-gāminau-¹ [16*] Gām-¹ Ekām-¹ svargam-¹ āka-
 49 ā-cha bhūmī-¹ apy-urddham-aṅgulam(ham)-¹ haran-narakam-āyātī-¹ yāvad-āhūta-samplavam-¹
 [17*] āśāstīn-va(āstīn-va)śha-sakamāyī-¹ svargō-¹ mōdatī-¹ bhūmidā-¹ āksh-
 50 [ptā] ch-ānumantā-¹ cha tāny-ōva narakē-¹ vāṭa(āt)-¹ [18*] Sva-dattām-¹ para-dattām-¹ vā(ttām-
 vā) yō harēta-¹ vāmadharām-¹ sva(sa) viśhāyām-¹ kṛimī-¹ bhūtvā-¹ pitribhī-¹ zaha pa-
 51 chyatē-¹ [19*] Sarvān-¹ ātān-¹ bhā-¹ pārtiv-¹ (rthi)-¹ v-¹ endrō(mitrān)-¹ bhūyō-¹ bhūya-¹ prārthayaty-
 āha Rāmā-¹ āmānyō-¹ yan-dharma-¹ sūtra-¹ pṛapāṇā-¹ kālā-¹ kālā-¹ pāla-¹

¹ The danda is unnecessary.

² The danda is unnecessary. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

³ The danda is superfluous.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 52 nī(nī)yaḥ kramēṇa || [20*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu) vinda-lāliḥ Ariyam-aunchintya
manushya-jivitaḥ-cha || sakalam-ādam adāṅgitaḥ-cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi
53 puruṣhaiḥ para-kirtayā vilōpyā iti¹ || Śrīmād-Viṅṇapālōna kṣmāpāla-kula-maṇi[nā] ||
[kṛitō*]-tra āsane dūtaḥ [suma]tḥ
54 Śri-Trilohanaḥ || [23*] Tinnāḍi-grāma-niryāta Haradēvāya sū[nu]nā | śleṣā sāsanam-utkir-
ṣṣaḥ Prithvīdēvāna śilpinaḥ || [23*]

No. 2—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA BHOJA II ; SAKA 1104

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUNDAR

This inscription, now preserved in the wall of the Hari-Harēśvara shrine in the compound of the famous Mahālakṣmī temple at **Kolhāpur**, was first noticed by me in December 1945, when I visited the place for the excavations on the Brahmapuri mound, near Kolhāpur. The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have been found while digging the foundation wall of Mr. Panditirao's house in close vicinity of the temple several years ago and later built into the outer wall of the above-named shrine for the sake of preserving it. I edited the inscription some years back in Marāṭhī in my book¹ *Select Inscriptions from Mahārāṣṭra*, pp. 73-80. I re-edit it here in English for the sake of a wider circle of scholars. The text of the record presented here is based on the inked setampage² which I owe to the courtesy of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, has been kind enough to make several useful suggestions in preparing the article.

The inscribed area of the stone slab is about 4½ feet in length and 2½ feet broad. At its top, figures of the sun, the moon, a *maṣṣala kulaṭa*, a milking cow with a calf, and a sword are carved in high relief and are now worshipped daily by the visitors to the shrine. There are 39 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. Some parts of the record, however, are damaged and worn out, probably on account of the constant watering of the stone resorted to by its worshippers. A few letters at the ends of lines have also been damaged while fixing the slab in its present position.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, of which lines 1-17 and 34-39 are in verse. The rest is in prose as also the concluding sentence in line 39. The **characters** are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet current in the 12th century A.C. and do not call for any remarks.

As regards **orthography**, the following deserve mention. *Kaḥ* is used for *ḥya* in line 5. *Ś* is substituted for *s* occasionally ; e.g., *śāt* in line 2, *yaśyā* in line 6, etc. The word *Naigirīya* is spelt as *Naigirīya* in line 23. The rules of *sandhi* are often disregarded. The style of the inscription is in general agreement with another inscription from Kolhāpur published in this journal previously.³

The inscription is dated **Saka 1104, Śubhakṛit-samvatsara, Pushya suddha 4, Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti**. The date which is expressed in words only in lines 20-21 corresponds regularly to 1st December 1182 A.C.⁴

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Bhoja II**, the **Śiṣhāra** ruler of Kolhāpur, who is stated to have obtained a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī and is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. It was issued from his residence at Valavāga. The **object** of it is to record several donations by

¹ Reet *śilōpāṭh* || [21*] *id.*

² Published by the Bhārata Jihvā Samśādhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, in 1947.

³ *As. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, No. 355 of 1945-46.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

⁵ *Pilāḍ, Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 267.

the king to the religious establishment (*maṭha*) founded by Lōkapa Nāyaka, a Sāhāvāsī Brāhmaṇa, in the premises of the Mahālakṣmī temple, for carrying on the worship of the god Umā-Mahāśvara, a form of Aṃṛtēśvara (Śiva), for maintaining the granary of the *maṭha*, for keeping it in good repair, for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, and for similar other purposes.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then comes the genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty which commences with the *Vidyādhara* Jīmūtavāhana, its mythical founder, and is brought down to Bhōja II. Most of the verses containing this description are identical with those occurring in the Kāśī plates¹ of the same ruler, dated Śaka 1116, except verses 6, 13 and 14 which are new in the present inscription. Unfortunately these verses are too much damaged to yield any coherent sense. Verse 6, devoted to the praise of Bhōja I, son of Mārasūdhā, contains the names Gōvinda and Kōṅgaja. As gathered from the Kolhāpur plates² of Gaṇḍarāditya, these persons appear to be some petty chiefs defeated by Bhōja I. Verses 13 and 14 seem to contain the praise of Bhōja II and do not appear to be important historically.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that this is an early dated inscription of the Śilāhāra ruler Bhōja II. An earlier inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1101, is said to have been found near Kōjīrthā, a sacred tank in the precincts of Kolhāpur; and Major Graham in his *Statistical Account of the Principality of Kolhapur*, pp. 382 ff., gives a kind of a facsimile of this inscription, but its original cannot be traced now.

The *maṭha* founded by Lōkapa Nāyaka, referred to in the present inscription, is already known from the town-hall inscription of Bhōja II,³ dated Śaka 1112. Its mention here carries the date of its existence further back to Śaka 1104. It is interesting to observe that the residents of the *maṭha* are practically the same as are mentioned in the town-hall inscription, except Janārdana Bhāṭṭa who appears to have succeeded Lakṣmīdhara.

The Sāhāvāsī Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in these and other inscriptions, claim to have arrived in the south from Ahicchéhātra and Kāśhmīr. They seem to have been a fairly well settled community in the Deccan and Karmāṭak as can be gathered from the references to them in several mediaeval inscriptions of this period.⁴ Even now Kolhāpur retains a large population of this class of Brāhmaṇas who are engaged mostly in trading and banking activities.

The following geographical names occur in the present inscription: Tagarapura (line 18), Valavāḍa (line 19), Kollāpura (line 21), Paṇaturage-golla (line 26) and Seleyavāḍa (line 26). Of these the first three are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur. Tagarapura is modern Tār in the Hyderabad State; Valavāḍa which was the seat of the permanent residence (*athira sibiru*) of the Śilāhāras is taken to be identical with the site of modern Rāḷhānagarī near Kolhāpur; and Kollāpura is undoubtedly modern Kolhāpur. Paṇaturage, which appears to be the name of a tract (*golla*), may be identified with the village Paṇutrā, 14 miles S. W. W. of Kolhāpur, situated on the bank of the river Dhāmpī. Seleyavāḍa is probably modern Shejoshi, about 7½ miles further S. W. of Paṇutrā, on the bank of the same river.⁵ The change from Paṇaturage to Paṇutrā appears to be natural as suggested by the change from Ājirage to Ājra. Paṇaturage would thus have some form like Paṇutare and this is exactly the form in which the name occurs in certain

¹ *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 393 and the *Annual Report of the Dharmatā Tithāsa Samādhāna Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 176-82; the plates were earlier edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Source of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

⁴ Cf. for instance *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Haṁsa 61; *A. S. J. A. S.*, 1927-28, p. 144.

⁵ Both these villages can be traced on the 1 inch=1 mile Survey Sheet, Old No. 206 and 240 published by the Survey of India in 1922.

old Marāṭhī documents of the 17th-18th century.¹ The expression *golla* can be equated with Kannada *kolli* which means a valley or low land. The Panaturage *golla* would therefore correspond to the valley formed by the river Dhāmṇi, bounded on the east by the Bhōgāvatī river and on the west by the Kumbhī river, as seen on the maps. There are several mountainous tracts in this region which appear to have been mentioned in the Tālale copper plates² of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya, as forming the boundary of this Panaturage *golla*. This *golla* again seems to have been mentioned in the Bāmaṇi inscription³ of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya, where it is read as '...pavu[ka]-gogolla' wherein the village of Mada[ā]ra was situated. The doubtful nature of the reading can be seen from the dots and the square brackets enclosing it. So it is possible to restore the reading as [Pa]ṇṭa[rā]ge-golla and Madalūra may be identified with Mandūr, which is about 3 miles west of Paṇṭrā.

My thanks are due also to Sri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for his useful suggestions in connection with this paper.

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1-3, 10, 15, 18-20 *Anuṣṭubh*: vv. 4, 5, 9, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*: vv. 7, 8, 14 *Upajāti*: v. 13 *Mālinī*: v. 17 *Sālinī*: vv. 6, 11, 16 *Vasantatilakā*:]

- 1 ॥प्रो॥ स्वस्ति श्री ॥ जयत्मा[विष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षो]⁵भिताण्वं(वम्) ।
दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्रायविष्णु(श्रां)तभुवनं वपुः ॥[१॥*]
- 2 आशी(सी)दिवाधरः पूर्वं नाभ्ना जीमूतवाहनः । परार्धं श्री]⁶वितं येन
गरुडाय निवेदितं(तम्) ॥[२॥*] शिलाहाराख्यं-
- 3 शोय ।⁷ तगरेस्वरभूभूतां(ताम्) [। तद्वंशे जतिगो राजाज्जनि भूभू]⁸छिच्छ(च्छि)-
खामणिः ॥[३॥*] स्वस्ति श्रीजतिमक्षितोशतनयो ना-
- 4 विमतामा नृपः ।⁹ पुत्रस्तस्य [च चंद्रराट् पृथुपशास्तस्यापि सुनुः]¹⁰ किल ।
सजातो जतिगो जगज्जननृतः श्रीमां[श्च]
- 5 तं(तन्नं)दनो गोकल्लो भुवि [भूमिपालतनयः श्रीमारसिंहो नृपः]¹¹ ॥[४॥*]
तत्सुनूनृपमौलिलालितपदः[*] श्रीगुवलाक्षो(स्मो)नृपः[*] । तद्भ्राता भुवि
- 6 भोजदेवनृपतिः वैरो[भर्पचाननृचक्रे राज्यमखंडितं पृथु]¹²पशा लंकेशतुल्यः किल ।
[१५॥*] य[ष्ट्या](स्या)स्मजो कृतनिः.....
- 7 मांयर्गो गोविदकोणजः...यकमुतां...बभूव भुवि विक्रमः...[१६॥*]

¹ [K]āśī, Marāṭhībhāṣyā Itihāsaśīlā Sūtraś, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff. In this record the tract is referred to as Panaturage-kholia.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Readings restored from the Kāśī plates.

⁷ The *dupda* is unnecessary.

⁸ This reading is restored conjecturally though it is not actually found in the Kāśī plates.

- 8 ॥ तस्यानुज्ञातो विदित[प्रतापो बलालदेवशि]¹तिपस्सदेव । श्रीकामिनीनां विनताव-
नीशो दिक्प्रांतनापः प्रथि[तप्र]-
- 9 ताणः ॥[13॥*] तस्यानुज्ञो धर्म्म[धरो धरिष्यं दधार]¹ धर्म्मानखिलान्स्वधर्म्म ।
धर्म्माभिधुयो धनदो धनानां श्रीगंडरादित्य इति
- 10 प्रसिद्धः ॥[14॥*] दीनानावदरिद्रदुःखविकलव्याकीर्णनानाविधः(ध)प्राणित्राणपरायण[ः*]
प्रतिदिनं गुप्ताख्यदानेन यः । यः
- 11 कुष्णाजिनधेनुभूम्युभयतोमृदा(व्या)दिदानप्रदः [1*] स(श)श्वद्धर्म्ममतिप्रवीणहृदयो
भूदेवकल्पद्रुमः ॥[15॥*] तुलापुरुषदाना[दिषोड-]
- 12 शक्तुकारकः । सो(शौ)चगांगेयकीर्त्त[त्यं]कनिलयः स्वगुणैर्भुवि ॥[16॥*]
तनं(तन्न)दन(नः) प्रबलमंडि(ड)लिकद्विपेद्र[पंचाननो]²जनि जगत्त्रितयैकवीरः ।
- 13 प्रत्यधिगायिकललाटतटस्थपादपीठस्फुटोज्ज्वलयशो(शा) विजयाकर्कदेवः ॥[17॥*] दानाय
इविषाज्जंत जनपरित्राणाय वीरव्रतं [सत्या]-
- 14 य पृ(प्रि)यभाषण हरिपदध्यानाय चेत[ः*]स्थितिः । सप[त्ति]मु(स्सु)मनोविपद्दि-
[हतये यस्य प्रकामं]¹ कविः [1*] कः स(श)क्तः प्रविबिच्य तस्य
विजया[दित्य]-
- 15 स्य वक्तु(क्तु) गुणाः(णान्) ॥[18॥*] जगति विजयसुनुर्वीर[नी]हारभानुनिज
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ बल्लीलवित्र[ः*] विभवविजयशक्रः खंडिता-
राति-
- 16 चक्रो वरतुपहुतसेवो भूपतिर्भोजदेवः ॥[19॥*] रामो यथा.....
- 17 या.....देवेन तेनाजति भोजराज्ये ॥[20॥*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंच-
[महासे(श)ध्व] महामंडलेश्वर सिलारकुलवंसो(शो)द्वव.....³
- 18 गेय परनारीसहोदर शरणागतवज्रपंजर कलियुगमुधिष्ठिर...विद्याधर श्रीमहालक्ष्मि-
(क्ष्मी)देवीलब्धवरप्रसाद [श्रीतगर]-
- 19 पुरवराधोश्वरो(र) इत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीविराजित[ः*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वरो(र) श्री-
भोजदेवो बलवाडसिबि(सिबि)[रे मुखस]-

¹ Reading restored from other inscriptions.

² Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.

³ Read वैरिपन्नगतैरनतेयशोचयां- as in other inscriptions.

- 20 कदाविनीदेन राख्यं कुर्व्वाण(ः) शक[नृपकाला]दारभ्य वर्षेषु चतुरो(ः)त्तरशताधिक-
सहस्रेषु निवृत्तेषु वर्तमानशुभक[त्सवत्स-]
- 21 [रातर्गंतपुष्या]सु(शु)द्धचतुर्थ्यां भौ[म]... [रु]त्तरायणसंकमणपर्वणि निज[राख्या]भिवृद्धये
श्रीमत्कोल्हापुरमहालक्ष्मि(ः)दे-
- 22 बालयाभ्यन्तरे पश्चिमद्वारीत[र]... सह[वासिलोकजनायकेन] समुत्प्रेष्यरमूत्युमा-
महेश्वराय वा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं च [कारितस्म्य]
- 23 मठस्य कोष्ठागाराय तदे... मठस्याभ्यन्तरे तै[मि]रित्य(ः)दिशो भागे
द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणं गृहमेकं तन्मठनिविष्टसह-]
- 24 वास्यादित्यभट्ट जनार्दनभट्ट [करहाटकप्रभा]¹करचंसास वासियणधैसासेत्येवं
[प्रमुखां(ः)न्नेमो] ब्राह्मणेभ्यो... पुरवर्गः दक्षिणदि-
- 25 [शो ग्रामे] धवलगृहचतुष्टयं... पूजार्थं... पूर्व(ः)वर्गः दिशि पुष्पवाटकमेकं
तस्यैव [देवस्य] पूजार्थं वा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं]-
- 26 यं च पणतुरगेगोत्तातर्गतसेलेयवाइग्रामसीमाभ्यन्तरं(रमु)त्तरदिग्भागे... शादधिक
च चतुः[शत]-
- 27 क्षेत्रं तत्प्रतिव(ः)द्धं पंडरंन[त्ता]नुग्रामाभ्यन्तरे द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणगृहमेकं एतत्सर्वं
पूर्वो... शासनसहित [घा]-
- 28 रापूर्वकं सर्व्वेभ्य(न)मस्य(स्य) सर्व्वेवा(वा)धागरिद्वारं राजकीयानामनंगुलिप्रे-
क्षणीयमाचंद्राकं... [त]स्यैव देवस्य [पंचोप]-
- 29 चारपूजार्थं तन्मठस्यइस्कृतिजोर्णोद्वाराय [त]दीयवा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं च
एडेनाइ...
- 30 [त]देशद(ः)डेन पंचविंशत्यधिकद्विस(ः)तवप्रकं क्षेत्रे द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं
निवेशनं च... प्रतिव(ः)द्धं...
- 31 निवर्ततं क्षेत्रं द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं निवेशनं च अखणसहितं अष्टभोग[तेजसांभ्य
सहितं काव्यप]सगोत्रस्य उड[वा]-
- 32 येस्य पौत्राभ्यां महत्तरमाधवार्यस्य पुत्राभ्यां नेम[ण]लक्ष्मणयोर्दत्तां तेनैव लोक-
जनायकेन सर्व्वतम-
- 33 स्यसर्व्ववाधागरिद्वारं सर्व्वविशु[द्ध] [शासन]सहितं दानक्येन(ः) गृहीतं
आचंद्राकंतारं चिरं दत्तं ॥६॥²

¹ Reading restored from the town hall inscription.² The letter zha indicates the end of the topic.

- 34 बहुभिर्जमुधा दत्ता राजभिस्तनवाभिभिः । [१*]यस्मा यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फल(तम्) ॥ [११५॥*] मङ्गलवा[२*]परमहोष-
- 35 त्रिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भूमिपालः । ये पालयन्ति ताम धर्म्ममिमं
समस्त तेभ्यो मया [वि]रचितोऽत्रलिखे मू[ञ्जि] ॥ [१६॥*]
- 36 सामान्ये(न्यो)य धर्म्मसेतुर्नृणाणां काले काले [पालनीयो भव]द्भिः । सर्वान्ये-
(ने)तान्भावित्वा(नः)पाधिदेन्दान्भूयो भूयो बाधते राम-
- 37 चन्द्रः ॥ [१७॥*] दानं वा पालनं वापि दत्ता[त्*] श्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ।
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादक्षुप्तं पदं(दम्) ॥ [१८॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता
वा यो हरे-
- 38 त वसुधरा(राम्) । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः । [१९॥*]
[सयुक्षप]क्षयक्षय(यि)णि जीविते वो द्विजादाहरे....
- 39 तस्यां जीवीक्ष[यो]क्षयः ॥ [२०॥*] ययुक्चिद्व्यसहस्राणि....

No. 3—MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was copied in the year 1930-31 by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, at the village of Māser, Basodā Pargana, District Bhilsa.¹ The record is fragmentary and its concluding portion is not traceable. The existing portions of the inscription are contained in two broken pieces of a mutilated stone discovered amidst the ruins of a fallen house of a Brāhmaga in the village of Māser. The only other ancient relics found in the locality were a few broken sculptures and carved stone fragments lying near what looked like the basement of a small shrine. From a perusal of the summary of the contents of the inscription published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, for the year 1930-31*, I realised the importance of the record for the history of Central India and the Deccan in the 10th century A.D. At my request the Government Epigraphist for India secured two estampages of the inscription which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph must have been engraved on a large slab which later broke into several pieces. Of them, only two have been found, the rest are not forthcoming. The first of the extant fragments, which forms the beginning of the record, containing, as it does, the opening lines, measures 3' 6" by 11" and bears portions of 10 lines of writing engraved on it. The other piece which is a continuation of the first one and has been put together with the first measures 2' 3" by 1' 1" and contains portions of 12 lines of writing. Both the pieces have suffered considerable damage. Since the ends and beginnings of lines do not follow in sequence, considerable portions of the full inscribed

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, 1930-31*, Ines. Nos. 1 and 2; pp. 10 and 22.

stone towards the right side of the existing fragments are missing. On their left side, however, there has been only a slight damage and a little mutilation of the stone extending to a space covering one or two *aksharas* and affecting about five to six lines. In respect of the second fragment which is smaller than the first, still larger portions of the inscribed slab towards its right are missing. Though the impression of the second piece shows some uniform blank space at the end of each line, suggesting thereby that the lines do not continue further, yet it becomes clear from the study of the text of the record, which is metrically composed, that the lines must have continued on to the same extent of space as they do in the first piece of which the second is only a continuation. Evidently the second fragment was touched by some human agency and dressed with a view to its utilisation in some construction. However, it is fortunate that it is possible to judge the extent of the loss on the right sides of the two fragments. The record being in verse, the number of *aksharas* forming the metrical portions of the missing text can be counted. It would appear that about eight to ten *aksharas* in each line up to line 10 are found wanting in respect of the first fragment and about thirty-six to thirty-eight letters from line 11 onwards in the case of the second piece. In addition to these losses, some more *aksharas* are effaced owing to the damage sustained by the extant pieces. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, the present record embodies much historical information, although its elucidation is rendered difficult owing to the incomplete and disjointed text that is available for study.

Altogether we have portions of twenty-one lines of the inscription.¹ Of these the last three are completely damaged, only a few letters here and there being visible. Except for the obeisance to god Śaṁbhu with which the record opens, the entire inscription to the extent now available is in verse. As many as twenty-five verses composed in different metres can be counted. They are, however, not numbered in the inscription. (The first four of them are introductory, in invocation of the mother divine and her consort, lord Śiva.) Verse 5 traces the origin of the Sulkī *vanśa* and introduces one Bhāradvāja, an early ancestor of the family. Verses 6 to 10 speak of King Narasimha born of the same family and they embody an elaborate description of his conquests. His son Guṇāditya, famous as Kēśarin, is then introduced in verse 11. Verses 12 to 15 evidently contain a description of this chief and his achievements.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. The size of the letters varies from 6 to 7 of an inch in height. Medial diphthongs and medial vowels (except *i* and *ī*) are indicated by both *īrā-mātrās* and *prishtha-mātrās*. Medial *i* and *ī* are indicated by *prishtha-mātrās* alone. The consonant *pā* is written in two forms: *phala*, line 1: *phalāni*, line 7, and *phalāya*, line 18. Similarly *ḍ* has two forms; the *ḍ* in *vidānu(bi)ḍā* in line 8 and in *vaḍuṇṇaḍā* in line 19 may be compared with the *ḍ* in *Vīḍa*² in line 5, *maḍḍapā* in line 6, and *puṣhpāḍānuraḍā* in line 7.

The language is Sanskrit and except for a few words in the beginning, the rest of the record is in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The consonant following a *r* is mostly doubled. *B* is indicated throughout by the sign for *v*. *Ṣ* is used in place of *s* in certain cases: e.g., *śrīṣṭyāḥṣṭāḥ*, line 4; *śrīṣṭā-ṣṭā*, line 8; *śrīṣṭāḥṣṭāḥ*, line 11. *Ḫ* is used for *h* in *śrīṣṭāḥṣṭāḥ*, line 11. The *visarga-sandhi* is not observed in cases like *dharaḥ śrīmān*, line 5; *gubhāḥ*, line 13. There is one instance of the use of *jihvāmālīḥ* in *gubhā-Kṛishṇa*, line 6, where the sign for it resembles *ḍ*. The *anusvara* has been used mostly for class nasals. The *anudatta* is conspicuous by its absence. There are practically no scribal errors. What may be counted as one such seems to be in respect of the word *chandra-śrīḥ* for *chandraśrīḥ* in line 2. Otherwise the record is composed in faultless Sanskrit.

¹ Line 10 of the text is divided between the two fragments, the first containing only the upper parts of some few letters towards the end.

² This may also be read as *Vīḍa*.

After the obeisance to god Śaṃbhva in the words *namah Śaṃbhavā*, there follow four *manjāla*-*Mālar*, the first of which is in praise of Dēvi, the divine mother, who pervades the animate and the inanimate. The second, parts of which are not quite clear, seems to contain a prayer for the destruction of sin by Śiva who is described as the bee around the lotus face of Gaurī. The third stanza is also an invocation of Śiva whose glance, though cool and refreshing for Gaurī, acted as the very blazing fire for cupid. The fourth verse invokes the aid of Śiva's consort, Pārvatī, for the destruction of all evils through her eyebrows which were knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavī (i.e., Gaṅgā).

Then begins the historical portion of the record. It is stated that a certain hero, adorned by the *granthi-trika*, Bhāradvāja by name, emanating from a drop of water that fell out of the hand of Dhātā (Brahmā) adorned the Śulki-vamśa and was a veritable death to hostile kings. In the family of Śulka of the lunar race there arose king Narasiṃha. He was the lord of Viṣṇu-dvādasa¹ and had his permanent abode at his Kulagrāma, called Gōlahatti-Chāpaki in the vicinity of Ēlāpura. At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he defeated the enemies in battle, and as if entering a sacrificial *mandapa*² he entered the arena of battle and performed a sacrifice in the form of a great war; and in the sacrificial fire of his rage he offered as ghṛa the blood of the elephants, slain by him, out of the ladle of his sword; and in such a sacrifice he initiated into widowhood the (women of his enemy). Then his prowess and generosity are described in the succeeding verses. Then a certain Guṇādhya described as Kēśarin is introduced as son (of Narasiṃha). At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he conquered the king of Lāṭa (Lāṭa) and a Kach[chha]vāha.

Verse 15 seems to refer to the founding of a city called Arkavana which was purified by Lakṣmi and which was, as it were, the birth-place of piety and noble conduct. Verses 16 to 18 contain important allusions to a number of kings with reference to whom some facts are stated, the nature of which it is impossible to make out. Thus Vākpati is stated to have done some act and the same verse refers to a Tanteḍḍhipa in the nominative case. Muñja and Chachcha are mentioned further on in the genitive case. The hero (Kēśarin ?) is then stated to have met the Hūnas, sent by Lōlikya, in battle at Pattanaka and to have destroyed a large army consisting of horses, elephants, and infantry. Then follows a description of the plight of enemy women who resolved to put themselves to death. In the battles fought by the hero (Kēśarin ?) even the skulls of the fallen enemies were not traceable. There is some allusion to Kṛishṇa who destroyed the pride of Duśśāna and Śalya (v. 21). The facts stated further on are important. The hero (Kēśarin ?) is eulogised as one who kept women's company only for the sake of progeny and as one spending his life for the sake of his master (v. 22). There is again a reference to a Hūna ruler in verse 24, and in the next verse, which is the last extant, the hero is described as a lion to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and as the foremost of the servants of Hara.

Thus the record embodies the eulogy of a family of Śulki (i.e., Chālukya ?) chiefs starting from Bhāradvāja and mentioning Narasiṃha and his son Kēśarin.

While editing the Bargaon temple inscription of Śahara in this journal³ some years ago, Professor Mirashi assigned to king Kṛishṇarāja of the present record the date c. 950 A.C. and thought that he might be identical with a certain Kṛishṇa-uppa whose minister Vāchaspati of

¹ This may also be read as *Vīṣṇu-dvādasa*.

² Possibly there is a pun on the word *mandapa*, referring to the fort of Mānda which is also called *Mandapa* or *Mandava* in some records. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 40-2.

³ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 278-280.

the Kaundinya *gotra* defeated, according to a fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā,¹ the lord of Chōdi, killed a Sabara chief called Simha and restored the chiefs of Rāṭh-maṇḍala and Rōḍapālī to their dominions. Professor Mirashi further assumed that king Kṛishṇa of the above references was identical with the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśovarma, mentioned in the Dudaḥl inscriptions.² It is quite possible that Kṛishṇarāja, the overlord of Narasimha and of Kēserin of the inscription under study, and Kṛishṇanripa of the fragmentary Bhilsā inscription are identical inasmuch as both fought a common foe, viz., the Chōḍī king and as both lived about the same period, i.e., the middle of the 10th century A.D. But there is a greater possibility of Kṛishṇarāja of the present inscription being identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.D.). This depends upon the identification of Narasimha, the lord of Viḍa-dvāḍata, who was the commander of Kṛishṇarāja's troops.

Now as for the identification of the chiefs, Narasimha and his son Kēserin, attention may be drawn to a Chālukya family whose origin is traced likewise from Bhāradvāja and which figures in the Bilhārī Chōḍī inscription.³ The account given there is as follows. There was a sage Bhāradvāja (Drōṇa) whose conduct raised the wonder of the three worlds. Now, in the water, of which he had taken up a handful (*chūḷatā*) in order to outdo Drupada for the insult offered by him, there arose a man from whom proceeded the clan of the Chālukyas and in that powerful family was born Avanivarman who had as his father Sadhanvan and grandfather

¹ P. R. A. & I., W. C., 1913-14, p. 59. F. E. Hall (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXI (1882), page 111, foot-note) writes:

"At Bhilsā, within the fort. I recently found a fragmentary inscription built into the outer wall of a modern house, and looking upon one of the streets of the town. Subjoined is all that remains of a record of which perhaps a full half is missing.

1. śrīyamaṣṇapaṇḍitauv-śrīṭhā mahāśrī-śeṣa
2. gōhara mō Vētravatyō nīyamaṣṭa-janatā-kaḥbhāṇamay-rāpya-jasaram |
3. rōjamaṣṭra-śrīchakravartitamaṣṭi valuv-śadarō-ātma-talyam
4. Bhāḥḥavāmi-nāmā raviravata bhavab-śakminam Kṛishṇarājaḥ |
5. Chōḍīkām-śamrē vājīya Balaram sambrīya Simha-Bhavan
6. Rāṭh-maṇḍala-Rōḍapāḍy-avanipen bhāṇyām pratishṭhāpya oḥa |
7. śivan drachitum-śrī-gatō rachitavāṇa-śrī-śōtram paritram parām
8. śmat Kṛishṇa-śrīp-śika-māntri-pada-bhūḥ Kaundinya-Viśvaspatīḥ |
9. Sachlema-śyam kṛīṭh-śatām roḍhīś śmat-Gajānakaśyaya |
10. Kākāḥna-ślīkṣhī Kāyastha-śo"

In the Salagi pillar inscription (A) of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 967 (945 A. D.), mention is made of one Narāyaṇa alias Gajānaka who is described as belonging to the Kaundinya *gotra* and as the chief minister and *sandhivigrahin* of this Rāshtrakūṭa king. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60, 62-3. Kaundinya-Viśvaspatī, who in the Bhilsā inscription is described as Gajānaka's (i.e., son or descendant of Gajānaka) is in all likelihood the son of Narāyaṇa alias Gajānaka of the Salagi inscription. This would favour the identification of Kṛishṇarāja of the Bhilsā inscription with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the exploits claimed by Viśvaspatī find some corroboration from other sources. According to an account about Paramāra Śtyaka II found in the *Navasāhāśvārāḍa* this prince is credited with the conquest of a certain chief of Rōḍapālī. (Canto XI, v. 89: *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 42). Perhaps it was this chief of Rōḍapālī, called Rōḍapāḍyanaripa in this Bhilsā inscription, that was restored to his kingdom by Viśvaspatī, the minister of Kṛishṇa (III). In regard to the Sabara prince, Simha, killed by Viśvaspatī, no satisfactory identification seems possible at present. However, attention may be drawn to the fact that W. Gaṅga Marmāṇḍa II, the feudatory of Kṛishṇa (II) is credited with a victory over Naraga, a Sabara chief, in an inscription at Śivara-Bajagolā (above, Vol. V, p. 171; text lines 21, 54 and 96), which also mentions the northern campaigns of this Gaṅga prince. Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 286), however, identifies the illustrious Sabara of the Bargun temple inscription with Sabara Simha of the Bhilsā inscription.

² Nos. 185, 186, 191 and 194 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-7*; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. and cv, 30 ff.

Sinhavarman. The illustrious Nôhalâ was born of Avamivarman and she became the beloved of the Kalachuri prince Kêyûravarsa, i.e., Yuvarâjadda I. Queen Nôhalâ is stated to have endowed a temple of Śiva with the villages of Viḍā, Pôḍi, Khailâpâtaka and others. It will be seen that although the story of their origin differs in some particulars from that relating to Narasimha given in the present record, this much seems certain that both the families were of the same stock and were perhaps even lineally connected.¹ Narasimha was a subordinate of a Krishnarâja who fought against the Kalachuris² and the only Krishnarâja of this period who could answer to this description was Krishna III (939-967 A.D.) of the Râshtrakûta family.³ Narasimha of our record seems to be a later descendant or a collateral member of the same family since his area of authority was in the same region around Bilhâri over which the Châlukya family of Nôhalâ exercised sway. Viḍa-dvâdasa which was the fief of Narasimha seems to be identical with the area around Bilhâri itself since Viḍa may be identified with Viḍâ which was one of the villages granted by Nôhalâ to the temple of Śiva at Bilhâri, as stated in the Bilhâri Chêdi inscription referred to above. Though I am unable to identify Viḍâ, the donated village, with any place near Bilhâri, some of the other villages which the princess granted along with Viḍâ are however identifiable. Thus Pôḍi and Khailâpâtaka, two of the gift-villages, are represented by the modern Pondi and Khailwara which are to the north-west and north-east of Bilhâri respectively. Viḍâ must be another village in the same locality.⁴ The exact relationship of Narasimha with the Châlukya family to which Nôhalâ belonged can only be decided by further researches.⁵

Now, returning to facts stated in the present Mâser inscription, it has to be ascertained under what circumstances Narasimha had to encounter the Kalachuris under the orders of Krishnarâja. It has been assumed above that Krishnarâja was Krishna III who claims in his Kachâḍ plates⁶ a victory over the Kalachuri Sahastrârjuna, who was the elderly relative of his mother and his wife. Krishna III achieved this victory as Yuvârâja, i.e., sometime between c. 934 and 939 A.D. It was evidently in this campaign of Krishna III that Narasimha took part and obtained the victory over the Kalachuris as described in the present record. As Prof. Mirashi⁷ and Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ have shown, the Kalachuri adversary of Krishna III may be identified with Yuvârâja I (c. 914-945 A.D.) who, being a member of the family of Sahastrârjuna, i.e., Kârtavîrya, was referred to as

¹ I later found that Prof. Mirashi had already arrived at this conclusion; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 5-6.

² Although the text of our record at this place is mutilated, there seems to be no doubt that the Kalachuri is referred to as the adversary and not as a friend. This would be apparent from the context which refers to the *saṁkâra-dâna* given to the children *Kalachuri-dâmasakhi* . . . etc.

³ Râshtrakûta Krishna II was a friend and ally of the Kalachuri king Kachala. It was Krishna III who fought the Kalachuris as stated in his Kachâḍ plates (above, Vol. IV, p. 276). The Chandella king Krishnapa with whom Krishnarâja of our record has been sought to be identified by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280) is not known to have fought the Kalachuris, though his father Yaśovarmā defeated a Chêdi king.

⁴ If the alternate reading *Viḍa-dvâdasa* for *Viḍa-dvâdasa* is preferred, Viḍa may perhaps stand for Bilhâri itself.

⁵ I was at first inclined to refer Narasimha and his son Kâsapa of the Mâser inscription to the Châlukya family of Vemulavâda, the well-known Râshtrakûta feudatories, and identify these two princes with their namesakes of that family, Narasimha and Arisavarin II. This does not appear likely since the latter belonged to the solar race and were rulers of a much wider territory, viz., the Sapâladaksha which they were ruling from their capital Lâmbulâpâtaka, i.e., Vemulavâda in the Hyderabad State. The Sûdâ Narasimha of our record was of the lunar race and a small potentate ruling *Viḍa-dvâdasa*, a region which lies in the Malwa Pradesh, a far cry from Sapâladaksha which was situated in the Hyderabad State (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 42). Further, in none of the genealogical accounts of the Vemulavâda Châlukya family is there an allusion to Bilhâravâja or to the *chêdi* story. It seems, therefore, best to view these families as altogether unrelated.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 276.

⁷ *A. B. O. N. J.*, Vol. XI, p. 371; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35 ff.

⁸ *Dynasty's History of Northern India*, Vol. II (1936), p. 762.

Sahasrājuna in the Karhūj plates. The Bilhāri inscription of the rulers of Chādi¹ expressly refers to the conflict between Yuvarāja I surnamed Kayavarsha and the Karnātas, who, in this period, could only be the Rāshtrakūtas themselves or perhaps their Chālukya vassals, the chiefs of Vemulavāḍa. Hence the present Māser inscription affords further confirmation to the conflict that took place between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris in the time of Kṛishṇa III and Yuvarājādēva I, to which the records of both the dynasties bear testimony. The exact causes for the conflict between the two powers, who were even matrimonially connected, are not clearly known. One fact, however, needs elucidation here. How was it that Narasimha of the Śulki family whose area of authority was Viḍa-12 in the Kalachuri kingdom fought as a general under Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III? There is nothing improbable in this. Although Yuvarājādēva I and Kṛishṇa III were adversaries, prior to their advent into the political arena, there were matrimonial relations between the families in the days of their predecessors, Kalachuri Kōkkaḷa and Mugdha-tuṅga, and Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa II and Amoghavarsha III, as is well-known. It may also be recalled that Amoghavarsha III, father of Kṛishṇa III, was the son-in-law of Yuvarājādēva I. We have said that the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājādēva I belonged, was of the same stock with which Narasimha of our record was connected. It may be supposed that during the early days of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the two families, the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūtas, Narasimha or his predecessor, sought service under the Rāshtrakūta king, retaining all the time his fiefdom, the Viḍa-dvādasa in the Kalachuri kingdom.²

Of Kēśarin, the son of Narasimha, our inscription says that he conquered the king of Lāṭa and a Kachchhāvāha at the instance of Kṛishṇarāja, i.e., Kṛishṇa III. As to when these events could have taken place two views are possible.

The Kachchhāvāha spoken of here was evidently a scion of the Kachchhapaghāta family of Gwalior. The Lāṭa country alluded to here may be taken to correspond roughly to the central and southern Gujarāt. This region was included in the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala, i.e., modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad District.³ In the time of Kṛishṇa II the province was recovered by him from a collateral Rāshtrakūta family and remained within the empire of the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed.⁴ From the Kāpaḍvaṇaj grant of Kṛishṇa II dated Śaka 832 (910 A.C.) we know that Pnachappa of the Brahmavāk(?) family had gained the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūta king Akalavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura (Harsola).⁵ During the reign of Indra III there seems to have been some trouble in the area as we are told that his feudatory, Narasimha II of Vemulavāḍa, fought the Lāṭas.⁶ But the region continued to be under Rāshtrakūta control since the Ragumrā (Nausāri) plates of Indra III (both sets), dated Śaka 836 (914 A.C.),⁷ and the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV,⁸ dated Śaka 852 (930 A.C.) record gifts made by them in Lāṭa-dāta. Subsequent to this date direct evidence of Rāshtrakūta hold over the region is met with in the time of Paramāra Harsha-Siyaka II whose Harola grants of V. S. 1005, i.e., 949 A.C. issued by him as a feudatory of Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III and recording his gifts in Khēṭakamaṇḍala, indicate that the region was under his sway. In one of these grants Siyaka II is stated to have made the gifts when he was returning

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 256, v. 24.

² It may be pointed out that *Jura* in the Māhar State of Madhya Pradesh where an inscription of Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III was found (above, Vol. XIX, p. 287) is not far from Bilhāri near which Narasimha of the present inscription held a fief.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁴ *Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 58.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 53; Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁶ *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 118-9.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 28-9.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 29.

from his expedition against Yōgarāja, who was none other than the Chāṭvāja king of Anhilvāḍapāṭan and whom scholars have identified with Avaniṣarman II, the great grandson of Bāhukadahaṇḍa.² Bāhukadahaṇḍa was a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra. Avaniṣarman II Yōgarāja who continued to be a Gūrjara feudatory, was holding Surāṣṭra and parts of Gujārāt from his capital at Anhilvāḍa.³ He seems to have encroached upon Lāṭa and it was evidently to dislodge him from the area that Siyaka II marched against him and drove him back. Owing to his occupation of part or whole of Lāṭa for a while, Yōgarāja Avaniṣarman II might have acquired the title of Lāṭēśa⁴ and if this was the person that is referred to as Lāṭēśa in the present inscription as having been the adversary of Kēśarin, Kēśarin must have joined Siyaka II in this expedition, as both were acting on behalf of their Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord Kṛishṇa III. If so, these events have to be placed sometime about 948-949 A.C., before the issue of the Haroḍa grants. The Kachchhavāha prince who was ruling at Gwalior at this date was Lakshmanpārājya, the father of Vajradāman of the Sāsabhu inscription, who being a Pratihāra feudatory,⁵ like Yōgarāja, might have been allied with him in his attack on Lāṭa, and was likewise defeated by Siyaka II and Kēśarin. If what has been stated above as the possible trend of events in which Kēśarin of the present inscription encountered the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha is correct, it has to be supposed that the events represent an attempt made by the Pratihāra ruler, who on this date was Mahēndrapāla II, to attack the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in the region of Lāṭa which, however, failed to bring any success. On the other hand, the defeat sustained by the Gūrjara feudatories seems to have paved the way for the Paramāra reconquest of Mālwā. For, evidence of Pratihāra control over the region is available only up to 946 A.C.⁶ The absence of their records in Mālwā territory after this date and the evidence afforded by the Haroḍa grant of the Paramāras dated V. S. 1005 (949 A.C.)⁷ would show clearly that their hold on it was lost, the Paramāras having established themselves firmly over the area by 949 A.C.

The events detailed above which have been placed round about 949 A.C. would, however, make it impossible for Kṛishṇa III to have been present in person to direct the campaign, for on this date he was in the south fighting the Chōḷas.⁸ Consequently, the reference made to him in the present inscription for the second time in the locative case as *Kṛishṇarājā* may be construed to indicate his absence from the northern campaign at this date which were fought by Siyaka II and Kēśarin on his behalf.

Or, in the alternative, Kēśarin's conflict with the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place much later in the reign of Kṛishṇa III as shown below.

Now, it is well known that Kṛishṇa III effected a second invasion of North India sometime after 964 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jura,⁹ near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, in the territory of the Kalachuris. It is known that in this expedition he was ably assisted by his Guḍga feudatory Mārasimha II who, in commemoration of the victories secured by him in the north assumed the title of the 'lord of the Gūrjara'.¹⁰ The expedition seems to have been necessitated by the growing challenge to his authority over his possessions in Bundelkhand, Mālwā

² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff, and Vol. XIX, pp. 236-38; see *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 24-29.

³ *History of Kanauj*, pp. 200-1, 228-9.

⁴ Prof. Mirashi suggests that the Lāṭa Chaudharyman, whose daughter Mṛigāśākhā married Kṛishṇarāma according to the story in the *Prithvīśāhā* might be a member of this Chāḷukya family: See *J. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 26, r. 5; see also *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 822.

⁶ Prithvīnath inscription of 946 A.C., above, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-1.

⁷ Haroḍa grant, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 235-6.

⁸ *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 239; *Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Their Times*, pp. 120-1.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V, pp. 170, 176, text lines 7-8.

and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by the Chandōlla ruler, Yaśōvarman (c. 950 A.C.). The Khajurāho inscription (II)¹ of his son Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśōvarman captured the fort of Kālāṅjara. This fort had been held in his possession by Kṛishṇa III from about 935 A.C. Yaśōvarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālwa which must have been then under the rule of Paramāra Siyaka II. The Khajurāho inscription (II) testifies to this event for it states that Yaśōvarman was the very death to the Mālavas (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālwa early in his reign as he is stated in the same Khajurāho inscription (v. 45) to have acquired the territory as far as Bhāsvat on the river of Mālava, i.e., Bhilsā on the Vētravati (Betwa) in Gwalior. Besides the Chandōlla ruler, the Chēdi king Lakshmaparāja (c. 945-70 A.C.) setting at naught the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Mālwa and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Somanātha-Pāṇan in Saurāshtra, Kathiawar.² Not long after the date of these happenings the Lāṭa country seems to have slipped from Rāshtrakūṭa hold since it is found that Bārappa, the Chālukya chief, evidently taking advantage of the Chēdi king's raid across the country, assumed the title of the king of Lāṭa some time about 960-1 A.C.³ All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kudlūr plates of Mārasimha II of 963 A.C. that Kṛishṇa III set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the Aāvapati.⁴ The Aāvapati was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king to whom the title of Aāvapati has to be applied at this period.⁵ The distinguishing appellation, 'King of the Gūrjara' by which Mārasimha II is stated to have become known by conquering the northern region for Kṛishṇarāja (III) would support our surmise that the Aāvapati against whom Kṛishṇa III directed his campaign was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler.⁶ As we have seen, the Jura inscription affords some evidence for the conduct of this expedition. Under the above circumstances, Kēśarin's encounter with the Lāṭā and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place during this campaign, the Lāṭā being perhaps Chālukya Bārappa, and the Kachchhavāha being Lakshmaparāja, both of whom were Pratihāra feudatories.

The facts stated further on in the last part of the present record are important inasmuch as a number of contemporary rulers are introduced. Thus mention is made of Vākpati and a Tantrādhipa and of some action relating to Muñja and Chachcha. The Hūpas despatched by Lōlika are stated to have been defeated at Paṭṭapaka.

Among the contemporaries (of Kēśarin ?) figure Vākpati Muñja and Chachcha, both Paramāra chiefs. Muñja was the well-known Vākpati II Muñja whose known dates range from 974 to 995 A.C. Chachcha was the Paramāra prince of Naddōla, who is mentioned in verse 28 of the Panahera inscription of his descendant Jayasimha,⁷ and whose date falls in this period (c. 950-75

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 128, v. 31.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-3.

³ *A. B. O. E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁴ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, for 1921, para. 41 ff. text lines 125-4. Kṛishṇa III is here given the title of *Narapati*.

⁵ See Rapson's article 'Lord of homes, lord of elephants and lord of men' in the *Woolner Commemorative Volume*, pp. 196-8. The title *Hopapati* is actually borne by a Gūrjara-Pratihāra king, Dīvapāla, who was in fact the very contemporary of Kṛishṇa III (see above, Vol. I, p. 124 and Vol. XIV, p. 180).

⁶ Prof. Altekār believes that the Gūrjara king subdued by Kṛishṇa III and Mārasimha II was Paramāra Siyaka II himself. Sten Konow held that he might be Chālukya Mālakīja (*Śāhprasthāna and Their Times*, pp. 120-21).

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 45.

A.C.). Verse 29 of this inscription tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khottigaśva at Khalighaṭṭa on the bank of the Rōrā in the cause of Śiyaka and went to heaven. Evidently, the same exploit is attributed to the Paramāra prince Kaṅkaśva of the same Naddāla family in the Arthūnā inscription of Chāmūṇḍarāja,¹ verse 19 of which relates that Kaṅkaśva overthrew the army of the king of Karpāṭa in battle on the bank of the Narmadā and in fighting on the side of Śrī-Harsha of Mālava died a hero's death. It has been assumed by some writers² that Kaṅkaśva is identical with Chachcha and that it was this prince who fought against Bāhtrakūṭa Khottiga on behalf of Paramāra Śiyaka II. It would seem that the facts narrated above with reference to several contemporary princes, including the fight at Khalighaṭṭa, were incidents of one and the same campaign, viz., the one undertaken by Khottiga against the Pratihāra and other princes of the north, viz., the Chōḍi, the Chandēlla and lastly the Paramāra who was his erstwhile feudatory. Kēsariṇ too may be supposed to have taken part in the expedition as can be deduced from the present Māser inscription. These events pertain to the reign of Khottiga and must have taken place before 972-3, A.C. As Māser where the present eulogistic inscription is found lies north-east of Khalighaṭṭa (modern Khalghat) on the Narmadā, it may be supposed that Khottiga was not halted at the Narmadā as a result of this battle but was able to proceed further north victoriously.

Now, the Māser inscription, recounting as it does the exploits of a Bāhtrakūṭa subordinate, must have been set up before Khottiga's reign came to an end, i.e., before 972-3 A.C., as after this date the chances of a Bāhtrakūṭa subordinate setting up an inscription so far north would be very remote, the area having come under the rule of the Paramāras by this date.

The mention of Muñja (*Muñjōdevīya*) in this record, assigned as it has been done to a date before 972-3 A.C., would lead to the conclusion that he had already become king in succession to Śiyaka II by that date. Since, neither the latest date of Śiyaka II nor the date of accession of Muñja is definitely known yet, it is not unlikely that Muñja ascended the Paramāra throne before 972 A.C., though the earliest date known of his is 974 A.C. It is usually believed that the Mālava king who plundered Mānyakhēja in 972 A.C. was Śiyaka II Harsha on the evidence of a reference found in the *Pāṇyolochana*. But as surmised by Fleet the Mālava king might have been Vākpati Muñja himself.³

Another incident of this campaign mentioned in the present inscription is the fight against the Hūgas sent by Lōlikya which took place at Pattanaka. If Pattanaka is identical with Apahilavāja-Pāṭan which at this date was ruled by Chālukya Mālarāja, it may be supposed that the armies (of Kēsariṇ ?) marched against this Chālukya chief and his Hūga vassals. I am unable to identify Lōlikya who despatched the Hūgas.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Gōlahatti-Chāpaki near Elāpura may be identified with Gōla and Chāpagaon near Elōrā, i.e., Elāpura, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State. Viḍā, as stated already, may be identified with Viḍā near Bilhārī. Or, both Viḍā and Viḍā may stand for Bilhārī itself.⁴ I am unable to locate Pattanaka where the Hūgas were encountered. Whether it stands for Apahilavāja-Pāṭan or Sōmanātha-Pāṭan cannot be determined until more definite data are available. I am also unable to locate Arkayama.

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 296 ff.

² *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 338.

³ *Buss. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 422-3. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 180.

⁴ See above, p. 22, n. 4.

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TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 23 and 24 *Amuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3, 3, 8 and 11 *Sraḍḍhavā* ; vv. 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 10 *Upajitī* ; v. 14 *Ārgā* ; vv. 15 and 20 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 Ōm¹ [| *] Namaḥ Śambhavaḥ || 8ḥ jayaty-aṣṣṭrid-Dēvi mātṛikā lōka-vīrutā | yay-ā-
kūr-ādibhir-vvarṇnair-vvyāptam sarvād charācharam || [| *] Dṛishṭvā kamthā
surakṣhān madana-plaba-yutām bhūta-vidrāva-ākhyān pāṇan va(ba)dīhām priyāyā
viśadham-damaṇā — — — — — [|]
- 2 kṛityam Nihāra-patnyāḥ sakalam-idam-iti pratyajan-pannag-ādita-Gauri-vakrāṇḍu(kṛ-
āmba)j-ālī prakīratu duritān chandra-śā(ḍi)rahō Bhavō vaḥ || [3 | *] Ātmany-
ātmānam-ēva sphaṭika-vad-amalō paśyataḥ svair-upāyair-avarṇaukaḥ-prārthanō-
[— — — — —]
- 3 pātō dvidhā vaḥ | Kāmō-samprāpta-kāmā bhṛīśa-kapīśa-jāṭā-dhūma-varitāḥ kṛiśānuḥ
Śambhōr-sūbhōja-garbha-chohḥavir-iva Girij-āy-āṇḍu-vivāḥ(bhāḥ) pūṇām || [3 | *]
Hastu Haimādri-kanyāyā bhrukuṭir-duritāni vaḥ | patikē Jāhnavīm dṛishṭvā kōpa-rakt-
ātī — — — || [4 | *] [— — — —]
- 4 [m-ē]chohḥatō namo purā avarggenkaśām(eām) svāmīnō Dhātav paṇi-paṇi-chyut-ōdaka-
lavād-dhīrō-bhavad-bhūtalō | **Sulki-vamśa-mahōdayō-hita-kṛiśō** sākṣād-Yamō
bhūbhṛitām **Bhāradvāja** iti prasādhā-mahimā granthi-trika-ślaṅkṛitav || [5 | *] <
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- 5 [vaḥ]śē tārādhipa-prabhē | **Sulki-ānvaya-dharaḥ** śrīmān-**Narasimhō**-bhavan-**nripaḥ** ||
[6 | *] Sa **Viḍa**-dvādaś-ādihāḥ **Kulagrāmō**-vasuch-chīram | **Gōlahattiyār** tu **Chāpa-**
kyām-Ēlāpura-samīpataḥ || [7 | *] Prādāt-vaidhavya-dīkṣān chatura-**Kalachuri-**
kahmābhī — — — — —
- 6 — p[ō]j[ō] sakala-guṇa-yutāḥ-**Kṛishṇarāj**-āṇḍayā vaḥ | vīstīrṇ-āṇi-dhava-āṇḍhya-pravara-
vīdhi-kṛitē mamāp-āṇḍatav pravīśya kōḍh-āṇḍolō pūjya² samyag-ghatā-kari-rudhīr-āṇḍyēna
khaḍga-āru(aru)ch-siva || [8 | *] Garjijivā guru dūtam-unnatī-bhī — — — — —
- 7 — dhi gajasya dūmā-samayō samjīyatō-gur-mmadav | pushp-āḍaṇḍva(ba)rayā janāyā dadati
prīyāḥ pūḍalāni drumā n-ōṭaḥkō na madō na kāla-haranam dūmasya yasay-ābhavat ||
[9 | *] Kṛi-āḍay-āṇḍamita-viruddha-tājayā vijayā — — — — —
- 8 — [si]llmukh-āsvādita-va(ba)ṇḍuḍhujivayā yasay-āri-nāri śaradā vidāṇvī(bā)ṭā || [10 | *]
Tāmād-vair-ibha-kṛiḍīha-sṭhala-dalana-paṇav **Kēsar**-itī prajānām bhārētā jāḥ
Gupāḍhyav kṣhīṭisrā-śarapam kṣhūṇṭī-bhṛit-sūnṛita-jāḥ | jivā yō[yō] — — — — —
- 9 — — **Kṛishṇarājō** LA[śasam Kach[chh]avāham samada — — — — —
— || [11 | *] — — va(ba)dīha-jāṭā-kāḍpam-uchitam prēt-ādihivāsa-kriyam tīkṣh-ōd-
bhāṣita-āḍa-dārīta-chītam bhāṣm-āvar[ō]kṣha-chohḥavi [|] — — — — —
- 10 — — — m-Umāpatēr-iva vapur-yad-vidvishām māḥdiram || [12 | *] Kēṣav stūgdha-
— — — — —
— — — [| *] — — — — —

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Better read pūjyitāḥ kṣha-kari, etc.

- 11 tām cha yad-ripu-vadhū-sakhyā chiram āchitā || [13 || *] Sīthghāsa(hāsa)nām-
adhitūgham janvu(hu)kam-ava[lōkā(lōka)]ya dvishām bhavanē | sphuṭitā hṛdayē nūna[mh]
..... [14]*] —————
————— [15]*] —————
- 12 puṇya-vinay-ōdyama-janma-bhūmim Padmā-pada-praśchim-Arkkavan-ābhidhānam ||
[15]*] Satya-tyāga-guṇ-ādhikō-dbhuta-yaśāḥ sādhu-[dvi] —————
————— [16]*] —————
- 13 ti[sh]hā[va]tām īrīmad-Vākpatinā kṛtāni avaka-va[ba]lā tantrādhīpō yaḥ sudhīḥ ||
[16]*] Murāṅ-ōrvvīpa-mahattamaśya sahasā Chachchasya dattā[bha] —————
————— [17]*] —————
- 14 havē [ku]mā-āgra-prasūt-āmalaṁ na valīmaṁ [vyā]pādyā kāmāchid-dhathā[t] || [17 || *]
Hūpān-Patṭanakarī samētya tarasā Lōlikya-samprēshitān-du —————
————— [18]*] —————
- 15 māpra — śva-va[r-ē]bha-pattī-vipulāṁ nibka[shka]ṁ[h]takāṁ sv-śmā || [18 || *] Vataḥ kiṁ
ruditēna yāhi sarasam kurvv-ātmanō vāmchokhitāni nītaḥ —————
————— [19]*] —————
- 16 yaśy-āri-pramadā-janō dṛḍha-matir-mmṛityuṁ prati praśhitāḥ || [19 || *] Ya[t-sa]-
myugēshu vara-vīra-śīrēḥ-kapālāḥ pātrāya n-ālahhad-ahō na[ka] ————— [20]*] —————
- 17 t-ā[rg]ha-vidhāvān-Jishṇv-archchit-ānghi-dvayō yō Dubāśa(sa)na-Śalya-darppa-da[ana]-
vyāpāra-lavdh(bdh)-āvadhiḥ | durvār-āhita-ghāta-satya-vibhavō gī —————
————— [21]*] —————
- 18 na chayāḥ kahātrēṣa śatru-kahayāḥ sashitānāya sa-yōchitāsv-ahar-ahāḥ kōpō va[ba]la-kahānti-
kṛt | su-avām-śhja-phalāya jivita —————
————— [22]*].....(8 letters lost here).....
- 19 yat-āri-rva[ba]ḥavānālā | kalīlā ira tōyānām śhasā pralayam gataḥ || [23 || *]
Hūpāvara-mahā[śāna] — sēnā [di]vam gatā | parē (14 letters of this verse lost
here) [24]*] —————
- 20 b-āhita-kumjācēndra-nakharī dāḥ Harasy-ōttamaḥ | dātā sarva-janāya — ma —————
————— [25]*].....
- 21

¹ Only the upper parts of many letters are to be seen in this line.

APPENDIX

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

(4 Plates)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI, AND B. CH. CHILARRA, OOTACAMUND

This abnormally long inscription appears on twenty-five stone slabs, each measuring more or less 3' high by 2½' broad. Twenty-four of them are fixed in a row at short intervals into the wall of the *Nanchauki ghāt* at the Rājasamudra, while one is found inside a marble pavilion. Rājasamudra, popularly known as Rāj Samand, is an artificial lake which lies to the north of Kankroli, a railway station on the Mavli-Phulad-Marwar Junction branch of the Udaipur State Railway, and is about 40 miles north-north-east of the city of Udaipur. The lake is a fine sheet of water, extending over three miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It is formed by a dam built at its south-western extremity. It is mainly fed by the water of the Gōmati, but is also abundantly augmented by the rain-water draining into it from the surrounding hills.¹

The inscription comprises a *mahākāvya*, entitled *Rājaprasasti*, consisting of twenty-four cantos. Twenty-four of the slabs contain each a canto, while the inscription on the twenty-fifth consists merely of invocations to various deities, and as such it does not form an integral part of the poem proper. This invocatory section occupies the foremost position, though it was composed last of all, as is evidenced by its eleventh stanza wherein the poet invokes blessings for Rājasiṃha's son Jayasiṃha as well as for the latter's children. The poet informs us that he composed the *prasasti* by the order of Rājasiṃha,² but that it was engraved on the stone slabs at the instance of his son and successor Jayasiṃha.³

Although several instances are known of such lengthy records engraved on stone, yet the present one is perhaps the longest so far discovered. This remarkable poem has not yet been edited entirely⁴ or properly,⁵ though its contents have occasionally been noticed by some scholars.⁶ The work is important more as a narrative of events than anything else. It no doubt conforms to many of the conventional characteristics of a *mahākāvya*, still it exhibits very little real poetic merit.

The script employed is Nāgarī, almost of the type prevalent at present. The language is Sanskrit throughout, except that here and there some phrases or sentences in the local dialect

¹ For a detailed description of the *ghāt* as well as of its surroundings see Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's *Rājputāna-ka Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. I, Ajmer, 1927, pp. 310 f.

² Canto I, Verse 10.

Canto V, Verse 51.

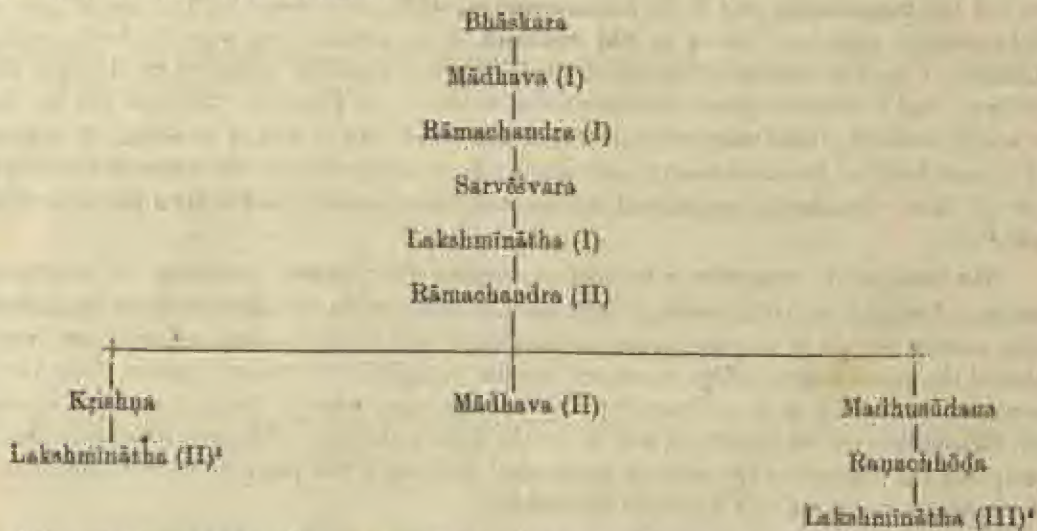
³ Two cantos, the second and the third, have been edited in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 145-154; but the text presented there is found inaccurate at several places.

⁴ Prof. Śrī Rām Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, has undertaken to edit it. His work was to appear in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. We have seen a part of it in print and found that his treatment of the record is not strictly scientific. Besides, his readings are not correct throughout.

⁵ Especially by Ojha, *Ann. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1918 pp. 2 ff.; *Rājputāna-ka Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. II, pp. 879 ff. *et passim*.

are met with. It is, however, noteworthy that the poet not only presents certain Muslim names and titles in their Sanskritized forms, but also treats a few vernacular and even Persian terms as Sanskrit words like *šera* in the sense of 'a seat,' *latta* for 'a kick' and *salāma* meaning 'salute' respectively in verse 16 of the Canto III and in verses 41 and 48 of the Canto IV. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities may be noticed : (1) an *anusvara* is used for a close nasal as well as for a final *m* almost invariably ; (2) a consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled as in *mūrdhā* (Slab I, 1, 37) ; (3) usually a single *chā* is written where a *chchā* is required,* such cases as *śilāchchatrā* (Canto III, 1, 1) being exceptional ; (4) the sign of *anagrade* is seldom used (Canto II, 1, 18) ; (5) in many cases *m* is employed instead of *b*. (6) Sometimes *sh* stands for *kh*. There are certain other peculiarities, such as the spelling of the name *Bharata* as *Bharatha*, which betrays the poet's place of origin being South India.

The author of the poem is a Tēlaṅga or Telugu Bhāṭṭamaṇḍa, Rapachhōḍa,² by name, born of the Kathōṇḍi family. From the description of his parentage given towards the end of several cantos, we extract the following pedigree :



The poet Rapachhōḍa also mentions his mother's name as Vēṇī, daughter of a *Gōṣāimīn* whose proper name is not given but who presumably belonged to the Vallabha *sampradāya*. It may be pointed out that Vallabhāchārya, the founder of this sect, had also hailed from the Telugu country. His second son Viṭṭhalanātha was the first to assume the title of *Gōṣāi* or *Gōṣāimīn* which was later held by all the *āchāryas* of the sect. These Vaishnavas had their centres at various places in North India, but the one with which the maternal grandfather of the poet Rapachhōḍa was connected was probably that of Nāthadvārā, about 30 miles north of Udaipur.³ We are further informed in verses 9 and 10 of Canto I that the poet composed the *prajñā* while teaching a younger brother of his, named Lakshmaṇa, who seems to have had

¹ A certain Indian weight, roughly equal to 2 lbs.

² For metrical requirements, the *chā* in the name Rapachhōḍa has in most places to be read without the reduplication.

³ This Lakshminātha (II) is, in fact, not at all mentioned in the *Rājaprajñā*, but we know of his existence from the Jagannātharāya temple inscription at Udaipur, of which he is the composer, and in which he gives his genealogy perfectly agreeing with the one given here (see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 53, verse 48).

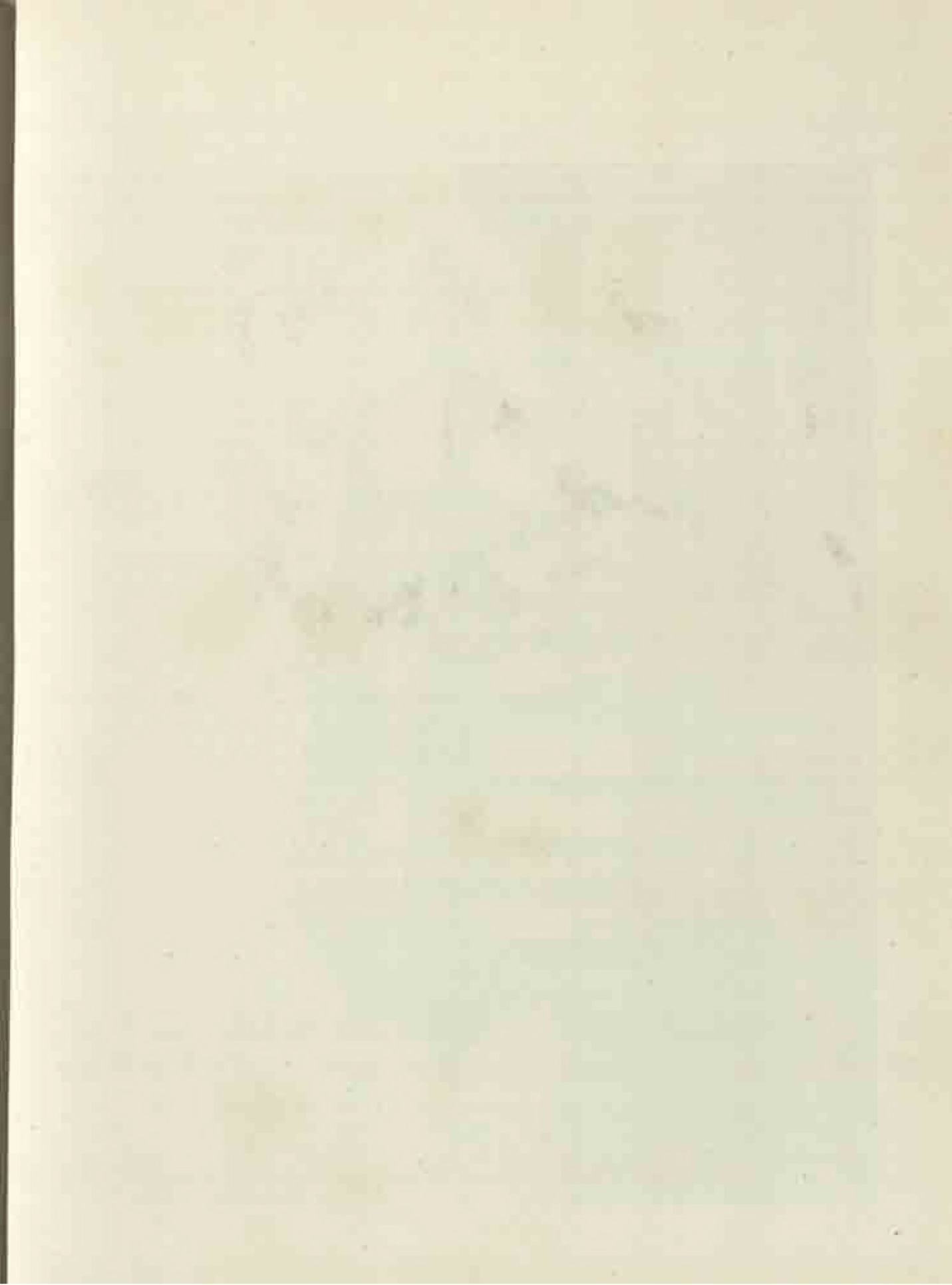
⁴ He is known from slab IX, ll. 45-46 : slab XXV, v. 13.

⁵ *Bhāgavata-śā Mūlā* (Hindi), Vol. I, pp. 336 ff. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Jainism, etc.*, pp. 16 ff.

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR
I-A VIEW OF THE NAGCHAUKI GHAT, RAJASAMUDRA



(From a photograph.)



HEADQUARTERS BUILDINGS OF UDAVA
LE-A View on one of the Pavilions, RAJAMUTRA



(From a photograph)

another elder brother called Bharata,² and that he commenced the composition on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the Vikrama year 1718 in compliance with the orders of *Mahārāja* Rājasimha who is stated to have at the same time ordered the construction of the Rājasamudra lake as well, while halting at the village of Dhōdhudā.³ The week-day on that date was Budha, as can be ascertained from verse 14 of the Canto IX, where the same date is repeated. It thus regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st January A. D. 1662, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta*.

It took full fourteen years to complete the work of excavating the lake and constructing the dam and the *ghāṭ*; for, we are informed that the inauguration ceremony of the Rājasamudra took place on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the Vikrama Samvat 1732,⁴ which regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 20th January A. D. 1676.

The names of the masons who are responsible for the engraving of the present inscription as also perhaps for the construction work are given in the *bhāṣā* portions occurring towards the end of some slabs. They are: *Gajadhara*⁵ Mukāṇḍa, *Gajadhara* Kalyāṇa's son Uraṇa, *Gajadhara* Śukhadāra, *Gajadhara* Keśa (Kēśava), Sundara, Lālā, etc.⁶

The pivotal theme of the poem is the Rājasamudra. It records the digging of the lake as well as the building of the dam and the *ghāṭ* in a very elaborate manner. Besides, it abounds in incidental details upon which it is needless to expatiate here. Since the text will be found simple enough to be self-explanatory, no comments are deemed necessary in this introduction. And a verbatim translation of the whole poem would unnecessarily increase the bulk of the article which is already exceeding usual limits. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by giving an abstract of the contents at the end of the text, adding notes on the historical portions. It may, however, be observed here that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic or traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable. The inaccuracies will be pointed out at their proper places.

The text has been prepared from the inked estampages taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934. The present article was ready as early as 1940, but its publication has been delayed due to the suspension of the printing of the journal for some years during and after the World War II.

TEXT⁷

Slab I : Invocation

[Metres : vv. 1-14 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 15-21, 24-30 *Śṛṅgāra* ; v. 22 *Upajāti* ; v. 23 *Bhujāṅga-pragāṭa*.]

॥ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ यमोहेतुं मेतुं मुक्तिहृत्तिहेतुं जलनिधौ मुच्यते यत्नके
परिविवरकणे हविरं । हवा कामः कामं जनक-

¹ The poem was also intended to be a text book for the poet's own children, Lakshminātha and the rest see Slab XXV, v. 16.

² Possibly it is the same Dhōdhudā wāḍ as is mentioned further on in verse 3 of the Canto IX, where it is enumerated as the first of the sixteen villages whose area was included in the lake.

³ This date as well as that of the commencement of the work is given at several places in the poem, but of such instances where week-days are also mentioned one may be seen in ll. 41-44 of Slab IX.

⁴ The term *gajadhara* is equivalent to *śṛṅgāḍhā* meaning 'boss', literally 'holder of the yardstick' (*paṇḍit* 'yard').

⁵ More or less the same list is found towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII, IX and XXV.

⁶ From ink impressions.

- 2 तनयावापनयनानुविधानः कानं कनकपु स रामः कृतमयः ॥१॥ स्मिताज्योत्स्नातेपोज्य(कृष्ण)-
तलमितकंडः कनकपशितस्फूर्जत्पल्लव-
- 3 गगनितमामो विवसितः । मूढे चेलादोला(र्षा)श्रुगत इति मूढाप्रतिकृतेर्भूतेर्गौर्षाः भू(र्ष)भूः
स्फटिकवर्षिदेहेतिविवरः ॥२॥ पुरा राषेष्टस्वय(कृष्ण)रणकारणः
- 4 सेतुविजयप्रथं(र्ष)र्षं कृत्वाभिर्षं नवविह तद्वानं रक्षितवान् । प्रतिष्ठापयत्पादा तव
विचरराज्ये भगवति प्रभातो निवि(र्षि)र्षं त निरिचरमातर्जय जय ॥
- 5 ॥३॥ वराभीत्योर्दार्ढ्यं पुष्टमकुब्जं कानकशानं महाकालोरःत्वां समुत्तमजयवीरविभूता । प्रसन्नाशी
इयामां स्मितामपमूर्षी
- 6 दक्षिणतमां स्तुवन्काली विद्याक्षितिमुत्तमनालीह तवते ॥४॥ चतुर्भिः कंतासम्पुरितकरिभिर्है-
मतमुर्ध्वपटैः सुंदो-
- 7 तिर्य्यतेः स्मरति मुक्तशिला कनकभा । वराभोज्यद्वैतमपुत्रकरां त्वांभू(त्वांभू)जगतां रमे
भीमते यो मुक्तमपि त मत्तंभवनवान् ॥५॥
- 8 हर्षवत्या भास(स्व)स्फटिकहिमकुंदाज्यजयकुदधाना वासी वा मुकुटविपद्यातनगता । नवीना
वीनाभूद्विहिरिहरेद्विचनुता त-
- 9 रत्नपास्तां [तः] पुनतिहृत्ये वाद्वयहृत्ये ॥६॥ मूर्ध्वा वाणी लज्जता शिवा(य)मपि इयामां
मणिलसत्किरीटद्विद्योतां मणिघटससत्सज्जवरणा । त्रिनेत्रां
- 10 स्मेरास्यां समणिजयकाज्यो(ज्यो)द्यतकरां जपारक्तां मक्ता भजत मुक्तेशीं पुष्पकुचां ॥७॥
हर्षगालः^१ श्रद्धगो(श्रद्धगो) सलितकमली ह्योगममूढः क एव श्रद्धगो]-
- 11 हृद्(ग) मधुकलितशक्तिहंसकरः । हृन्नालो हृत्तलो धृतसकलमाधोऽनलवपुस्तुतिर्नम जपत्या
जयति वरणीशो मगुरिव ॥८॥ कपो-
- 12 त्रयोस्तोमत्कनकविलसत्कुंडलयुगां(र्ष) मुक्तेर्षु वि(वि)धारा कनकविलसत्कनकवर्षि । गदा-
दीर्घारति करगरिपुत्रिह्नां च वगला-
- 13 मूर्ध्वा व्याघ्रेष्टस्तस्मिन्मूलमूलसंस्तंभमविधिः^२ ॥९॥ गतायुः सिद्धि वा तदति न(व)द्विद्वि
विदधतीं प्रतिद्धि लोके वा सततमूढ-
- 14 द्वि व विगता । पुषानाम्द्वि वा मुन्यमुलद्वि वनगिरां समृद्धि जगतां सपदि
हरसिद्धि भज मनः ॥१०॥ शिवे राज-

^१ The form *angala* is evidently derived from the word *agala* which is a Prakrit equivalent of *aspara*.

^२ The sign of *visarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and supplied later on.

- 15 न्यानां जयसि तमरादौ जयकरी सतापुष्यं रा(रा)णं कलय जयसिहं सतनयं । स्मिरं
राजाराज्यं जगति रचयाऽऽचंद्रतपनं प्रशस्तोः स्वयं
- 16 त्वं मम सुतगिरापुष्येनसुतं ॥११॥ अतुर्वारं तैतर्जनकलकलानंकृततनुं गिरिं ध्रुत्वा लोके
तव विवरराज्यं त्वनुमितं । ध्रुवं निःसवे-
- 17 हं रचय नृपदेहं मम वपुः स्मिरं मेहं स्नेहं ततममपि तेहं निजजनः ॥१२॥ इवं
स्तोत्रं स्तुत्यं पठति मनुजो म(मं)गलकं(क)रं मुकार्यादौ यस्त-
- 18 ब्रूवति सफलं विघ्नरहितं । प्रपूर्णं वा^१ तूष्णं जननि रणक्षोभेन रचितं पठित्वा ध्रुत्वादौ
जगदक्षितमास्तां मुक्तमयं ॥१३॥ इति भवानीस्तोत्रं [॥*]
- 19 मरालंबे स्तंबेरममूलसदंबे(बे)क्षितमूलं मुहुरेवे(बे) त्वं वेदवति गुणलंबे(बे) त्वयि विभो
[॥*] समालंबे कं वेदितवति भूषं वेदितविपत्कदं-
- 20 वेदनालंबे(बे) मुकषितिकुरवे(बे) कुद कृपा ॥१४॥ नष्टः भुद्राः समुद्राः सलधनसलिलाः^२
कुम्भाप्योर्मिभद्रा दारिद्र्यं वीक्ष्य वारां किल नुरस-
- 21 रितो वारि गृह्णाति सनं । शंखालं केजर्षीकं शिरसि च शकु(क)लं चंद्रकं रत्नसेतोः
सिधूरं वा(वा)त्सुकोर्षं दधदिति गृणिभिः पातु गोतो गणे-
- 22 शः^३ ॥१५॥ कणौ सुर्पद्वयं वायुनिचलपमिषाज्वालनीं रंतवर्षो(वी) चंडं रीप्यं कटाहं
विधुकरनिकरं पिष्टकं स्निग्धकुंभी । दानं मिष्टं जलं क्षय-
- 23 वति दधदलं धूमकेतुं च सर्वैर्लङ्कालि तदुक्तो ह्यनुरनुरनरालंबलंबोदरोज्यात् ॥१६॥
शुंहावंडं प्रचंडं सवलसदसितं रंभवज्जिह्वसत्वं
- 24 वि(वि)भ्राणो धूमकेतुं मधुकरगुटिकावतमुह्वद्वंडं । तद्रूपं वह्निशस्त्रो दितिजहृ(ह)तिहृते
स्थापितः शंभुनाली भ्रांत्या लोर्कगंजास्यः क-
- 25 पित इति मुदे धीगधेशः मुपेधः ॥१७॥ पूज्योभूद्रकलुङः सुरदितिजनरः सर्वकार्येषु
कस्मात्तन्मये क्रीडनेयं जलनिधिमापिकं शुंडया पीत-
- 26 बान्धवं । संकास्थद्वारकास्या^४नुरनुरमनुजाहोदलशमीस्वयंभूषिण्युस्तोर्षस्तु मुंचस्तकलमिदमतः सर्वबंधो
मुदे सः ॥१८॥ प्रस्त-

^१ The syllable *ra* is inscribed above the line.

^२ The sign of *conscript* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and was supplied later on.

^३ Read *śaṅka-siddha* 'py-śāṅkaśāṅka', as otherwise the line would be short of one syllable.

^४ The words *Lankāśāṅka* and *Dvārakāśāṅka* qualify the *asura*, etc., i.e., demons, etc., of *Lankā* as well as of *Dvārakā*.

- 40 त्वसितमणिचूरं धन्यमोम(मे)दमं च धीमानोः स्वदनस्ते मनसि सन्नु भूतो हवु
सर्वप्रहर्ति(तिं) ॥२७॥ विधामच्छयता मूर्ध्नि तपुगमनकरा मे मेरोर्धन-
- 41 छाः कल्लोलोत्सामितेस्मिन्मयु'वरयुवतीसंचये चंचलाक्षाः । हेवासंकेतशब्दैर्विंदयति नृशमासक्तिमह्ना
गुदरत्नं धौष्णे कुर्वति युक्तं हरिहरव इत-
- 42 स्ते धियं ते विशंतु ॥२८॥ व(च)कारं शक सव्यक्(ग्) भूरि यम जमतामशमापेहि
रक्षस्त्वं धीतोन्वि(न्वी)तिहोत्रावणमिह वदन स्वापय त्वं रवे[र्]ध[र्] । बायो बाऽऽजोत्तम
- 43 त्वं रथमथ धनदाराधन(नं) त्वं हरीणां जम्भो त्वं भो[र्]ः^१ श्रियं मे पशति तवरणो
विश्वपतीन् शास्ति सोम्यात् ॥२९॥ आदलेये पदिशमाशाकुचयुगविलस[त्]ः^२
- 44 [कु]मालेपसक्तः कि वा बालेः प्रबालैर्जलविषिष्ट(ठ)रे स्वशंनंयैर्गणैश्च प्रेमणा(म्ना) [वाच्य]वित्तः
कि हरिहरवज्रपाणिना सत्कुसुमा रक्तेनैवाव(व)रेणा ८
- 45 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ — ८ — ८ — [॥३०॥]^३

Slab II ; Canto I

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 *Mālinī* ; v. 3 *Prithu* ; 5, 14, 15, 17-29 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 8, 11, 12, 13 *Paṇṭatīlākā* ; vv. 9, 10, 20, 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 16 *Śālinī*.]

धी[र्]ः^१ ॥*

- 1 ८ नमः क्षीयणेशाय नमः ॥ मुनिपुत्रपुत्रज्यो वशं सर्ववर्तु परमकठयैवागत्थ जैलास-
जैलात् । तदभुवि कुटिलाया एकलिंगस्त्रि-
- 2 कूटे स्थित इह विषरेडो राजसिंहेशमभ्यात् ॥१॥ तुहिनकिरणहोरखीरकभूरगीरं ^१ वपुरपि
जलदाभं कालि-
- 3 कापीयवन्मा(स्या)ः ॥(१) प्रतिकृतिघटनाभिर्वि(र्वि)ज्रधधोतमवतः ^१ कलधनु तय राजन्मंग-
लान्मेकलिंगः ॥२॥
- 4 चतुर्भित्तपुत्रसंज्ञितरथाय सङ्ख्यः सदा ^१ चतुर्भुजधरो मृदा किल चतुर्वेगोद्यमनाः ॥(१)
चतुर्भुजह-

^१ *Māya* means *innocence*.

^२ This portion has not come out on the impression. How much matter has been lost after the verse 30 cannot be determined.

^३ Engraved on the top.

^४ This *darpa* is not necessary.

- 5 रिचिचरं निजचतुर्भुजाभिः शुभं चतुः^१भृतिसमीरितं विशतु राजसिंहप्रभोः ॥३॥ अप्रवक्षित-
जनानां पालनावस्ति
- 6 यावा(वा) निगमवचसि यावा(वा)ताविकावा किलोक्ता^२ ॥(१) सुखयतु सहितं त्वां
पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रैरवतु तव तु गोत्रं सावि(वि)-
- 7 का राजसिंह ॥४॥ ऐ(ऐ)चिरं विभवं दद्यात् ।^३ शीकली^४(कली) वृत्तिं(त्ति) दध-
त्पलं ॥(१) बुधे प्रसन्नगोः(गो) स्कूर्णदाता भूप प्रवाल-
- 8 भाः ॥५॥ दधवतुलकरे द्राक्षोदकं मस्य भक्तः ।^३ कलपति सं(स)फलार्थं मोदकं
राजसिंह । नृपवर स तु विप्लवं वि-
- 9 अमराजो विनिश्चनन् रचयतु तनयस्ते मंगलं मंगलायाः ॥६॥ प्रथमनृपमुनी यः सिद्धिदाता
विवस्वान् ।^३
- 10 अपरमनुमिव त्वां वीक्ष्य सिद्धिं प्रवतु ॥(१) दशशतकरयुक्तो युक्तमेवेष्ट्यहो त्वा- ।^३
मयतु स तु नितान्तं भूप-
- 11 ते राजसिंह ॥७॥ शीरः कविः स्फुटपुराणबरोनुशास्ता ।^३ धाता स्फुरद्गुणगणस्य
तमःतपलः ॥(१) आदित्य-
- 12 वनं इह मां मधुसूदनोष्णत्कामेतिदुस्तरतरे^४ प्रविशंतमद्वा ॥८॥ इती(ति) मंगलाष्टकं ॥
यस्यासीन्नधुसू-
- 13 वनस्तु जनको जातः कठोवो कुले तैलपः कविपंडितः सुजननी खेनी च गोस्वामिजा ॥(१)
कुर्वे राजसमुद्रनामक-
- 14 जलाधारप्रशस्तिं त्वहं सोढयं रणखोड एव जरवा(ता)वं लडमणं शिक्षयन् ॥९॥ पुणे
सप्तवसे पाते समतनी(नी)त्स्वष्टा-
- 15 दशाक्षवेवके ।^३ माघे श्यामलपक्षके नरपतिः [स]त्सगतयो वाकरे ॥(१) श्रीमृदावमति
जंसास(स)मसहारंभं च तस्याज्ञ-
- 16 या प्रारंभं रणखोड एव कृतवास्तस्य प्रशस्तेस्तथा ॥१०॥ अर्थं त्ववर्णमपि वेत्ति न
वा(वा)लको वा वृष्टार्थसंकमक
- 17 एव गणद्वयश्च । सीहं तर्पय गुणवृद्धसभोपविष्टः किञ्चिद्दशमि मम धाष्टर्धमिदं
जमर्धं ॥११॥ जिह्वायु चेतकपिपति-

^१ The syllable *ch* is engraved above the line.

^२ Perhaps the intended reading is *śābālikā-kāta*.

^३ This *de* is not necessary.

^४ The letter *da* is inscribed above the line.

- 18 तिञ्जनेयु¹ कात्तवीर्यार्जुनो वचति वाचपतिरेव बाहं ॥१॥ जातु² पुण्यास्तव तदा निपुणो भवामि काश्चित्ततो नृप वदाम्यसि-
- 19 साहसेन ॥१२॥ पुण्या जनार्दनहरेस्तु कथास्ति पुण्यश्लोकस्य वा नलनृपस्य युधि-
ष्ठिरस्य ॥१॥ तावृक्कथा जयति वाच-
- 20 नपस्य वक्ष्ये श्रीराजसिंहनृपतेरपि सत्कथां तत् ॥१३॥ रामायणे भारतेस्ति प्रोक्तानां भूमिजां पशः । यथा राज्ञा-
- 21 मिहोक्तानां स्वातपाञ्चदशतारकं ॥१४॥ खंडप्रशस्तिर्भुवने रामचंद्रस्य शोभते । श्री³खंड-
प्रशस्तिस्ते राजसि-
- 22 ह विराजते ॥१५॥ नत्प्रापुष्यस्तुल्यमायुस्तु भावाधपानां स्याद्देवप्राभारतादेः । देवापुष्यस्तुल्य-
तायुस्ततोहं प्र(प)थं कु-
- 23 र्मे राग गीर्वाणवाण्याः ॥१६॥ व्यासवात्समीकिवद्वृथी वा(वा)नश्रीहर्षवद्भूयः । स संस्कृतकवी राज्ञां पशौगस्वापकश्चरं
- 24 ॥१७॥ श्रीराजाराजसिंहस्य वर्णनं कर्तुमुद्यतः । भूपालवाणविका(म्ब)स्तु वक्ष्येहं मुनिसंमति ॥१८॥ वक्ष्ये वायु(यु)पुराणस्य ।⁴ मे-
- 25 इपाटीयखंडके ॥१९॥ षष्टे(ष्टे)ध्याये श्वेकलिंगमाहृत्यै वाचमोरितं ॥१९॥ अथ शैलारमजा य(व)ह्यन् शोकव्याकुललोचना ॥१९॥ नै(नै)दिनं प्रप-
- 26 नं वाणं सृजती तनुवाच ह ।[१⁵] २०।[१⁵] यस्माद्वार्यं सृजाम्यद्य विपोगात्⁶ शंकरस्य च ।[१⁵] पूर्वदत्ताच्च मच्छा(च्छा)पाद्वाण्यो राज्ञा भविष्यति ॥२१॥
- 27 आराध्य तं जगन्न(श्रा)थं ।⁴ तीर्थे नागहृत्वे शुभे । राम्यं शक इव प्राप्य पुनः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२२॥ पुनर्द्वंद्वगणं प्राह पार्वती ध्याकु-
- 28 लेक्षणा । मर्वावां हृतवानद्य ।⁴ हाररलेप्परजनात् ॥२३॥ हारीत इति नाम्ना त्वं वेदपाते मुनिर्भव । तवाराण्य शिवं देवं ।⁴ त
- 29 तः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२४॥ इति वायुपुराणस्य संमतिस्तव विस्तरः ॥१॥ द्रष्टव्यो वाण्यधोस्मिन् ।⁴ कार्यः शिष्टैस्तदावरः ॥२५॥
- 30 न मे विज्ञानतरणौ राजसिंहनृणांयुधैः ।⁴ पारस्यै वक्ष्यमुत्प(य)नस्याज्ञाकरमाधये⁶ ॥२६॥ तालंकारमणिः भूस्तिमोक्तिकः तड-

¹ The correct form is *lakkana*.² Better read *gāṇa*.³ *Śaṇḍā* has not been observed here.⁴ This *śloka* is not necessary.⁵ Both *viraṅga* and the *śloka* are above the line.⁶ While composing this verse the poet obviously had in mind Kālidāsa's *Kaśya-sūrya-prabha* (C. 1. 2).
chāṇḍīpa-vistaraṃ vāitā | itirahar-dattarūṣa mōṣāṇa-majapāda-dama ślokaṃ [*Rajapurāṇa*, 1. 2].

- 31 ताम्रतः ॥(१) रात्रप्रशस्तिर्धोस्ति समुद्रोन्मः^१ सुवर्णभूः ॥२७॥ सेतिहासी भारतवत्सोक्त-
सूर्यान्वयः सप्तः ॥(१) रामाय-
- 32 येन षठ्नाभ्रस्तस्तावुकलाय नः ॥२८॥ श्रीराजाराजसिंहस्य महावीरस्य वर्णने ॥(१)
बाण्यः सूर्यान्वयी सप्तं सुवर्ण-
- 33 शं वदेष्टिमे ॥[२६॥^२] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवदुषोत्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वर[कः] कठोदि-
कुलजो लक्ष्म्याविनायस्तुतः^३ । तेलंगोस्य तु राम-
- 34 चंद्र इति वा कुल्लोस्य [वा^४] माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनश्चय इमे व(व)होशक्तिनूपमाः
॥[३०॥^२] यस्यासौन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेंगो व
- 35 गोस्वामिना माता वा रणछोड एव कृतवात्सराजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्ध्याराजसिंहपति-
धीवर्णेनादयं महावीरार्क प्रथ-
- 36 सोम प्रसिद्धमगस्त्योर्ववर्णोत्तमः ॥[१^५] ३१॥[१^५] इतिभौमधुसूदनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याख्ये
महाकाव्ये [प्रथमः सर्गः ॥]

Slab III; Canto II

[Métres : v. 1 Mandākrāntā ; vv. 2-38 Anuśtubh.]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥^१ गुंजापुंजाभरणमिषयं चंद्रकालीकिरीटं गोत्रं वेत्रं करकमलयोः पुंजितं
चित्रवस्त्रं ॥(१)
- 2 मध्ये पीतं वसनमपरं किकिणी वक्त्रेणी^२ नसिामुक्तां वधवतिमुदे तेस्तु गोवर्द्धनेत्रः
॥१॥ आदौ जल-
- 3 सर्वं विभवं^३ तत्र नारायणः^४ स्थितः । ह(हि)रण्यहारी तन्नाभौ ।^५ पद्मकोव
इहाभवत् ॥२॥ व(व)ह्या कतुर्गुण(व)स्तस्य म-
- 4 रीचिः कक्ष्यगोस्य तु ॥(१) सुतो विवस्वा(स्वा)स्तस्यासौन्मनुरिस्वाकुरस्य सः ॥३॥
चिकुचिः स राजावाच्यनामा
- 5 तस्य पुरंजयः ॥(१) ककुत्स्थपारनामावा^६मस्यानेनास्ततः पुनः ॥४॥ ततोभूद्विश्वरूपस्तु
ततश्चंद्रस्ततोभक्त-
- 6 तु ॥(१) यवनादयोस्य शावस्तो व(व)ह्वाशोस्य शात्मजः ॥५॥ ततः कुवत्तमाशोभदुं
धुमारपराभिः ॥(१) दृडाशोस्यास्य ह-

^१ Read *achitā as in l. 35 of Slab IV.^२ Dupla unnecessary.^३ Yajur is above the line.

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- 7 यंशो निबंभस्तस्य वा ततः ॥६॥ व(ब)हंशद्वयः कुशाद्वयोस्य मेनजितस्य वा ततः ॥१॥
युवनाद्वयोस्य मांघाता जसह-
- 8 स्पुगरानिभः ॥७॥ चक्रवर्त्यस्य तनयः पुत्रकुत्सोस्य वा सुतः ॥१॥ जसहस्पृष्टितोपोश्मावन-
रप्यस्ततोभवत् ॥८॥
- 9 हर्वश्वोस्यादणस्तस्य विबं(ब)धनमुपसतः ॥१॥ सत्यव्रतस्त्रिशंकुस्तु तस्य^१ नामांतरं ततः ॥९॥
हरिश्चंद्रो रीहितोस्य
- 10 तस्य वा हरितस्ततः ॥१॥ चंपस्तस्य सुदेवोस्माद्विजयो भशकोस्य वा [॥^२] १०॥^३
तस्माद्विको वा(बा)हुकोस्य तत्पुत्रः सगरः स च ॥१॥
- 11 चक्रवर्ती सुमत्यां तु पत्न्यां तस्याभवन्सुताः^४ ॥११॥ श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठाः) वृष्टिसहस्रोद्यत्तस्याः
सगरकारकाः । सगरस्यान्यप-
- 12 त्या(स्ताः) तु केशिन्यामस[म]जसः^५ ॥१२॥ ततोक्षुमान्विलोपोस्मात्तस्माज्जातो भगोरचः ।
ततः [धु]तस्ततो [वा]नः सिपुड्वीपोस्य
- 13 तस्मृतः^६ ॥१३॥ ध्युतायुस्तस्य जातः ऋतुपर्णस्तु तस्मृतः । तवंकामः सुवातोस्य तस्मान्निभ-
सहपतिः^७ ॥ ॥१४॥^८ मदयंत्याः स कस्मा-
- 14 वपादाग्याद्वयोस्य चाश्वकः ॥१॥ मूलकोस्माह^९शरवस्तत एडविडस्ततः ॥१५॥ जातो विडवसहस्त-
- 15 स्मात्तदुंगदचक्रवर्त्यतः ॥१॥ वोवंबाहुविलोपोस्य रघुरस्याज इत्यतः ॥१६॥ जातो वशरव-
स्तस्य कौश-
- 16 ल्यायां सुतोभवत् ॥१॥ धीरा(रा)मचंद्रः^{१०} कंकैयां भरयो(तो) रामभक्तिनाम् ॥१७॥
गुमित्रायां लक्ष्मणदत्त शकुन्तले-
- 17 ति ना(रा)मतः ॥१॥ श्रौसोतायां कुशो जातो सवश्वेति कुशा^{११}वभूत् ॥१८॥ कुमुद
स्यामतिधिको निवधोस्य त-
- 18 तो नलः ॥१॥ नमोय दृष्टरीकोस्य क्षेमधन्वा ततोभवत् ॥१९॥ देवातीकस्ततोऽहीनः
पारियात्रोस्य तस्मृतः ॥१॥ व(ब)-
- 19 सस्तस्य स्वतस्तस्माद्वज्रनाभस्ततोभवत् ॥२०॥ त(सं)वर्णस्तस्य विद्युनिः पुत्रस्तस्य सुतोभवत्
॥१॥ हिरण्यना-

^१ The letter *da* is engraved above the line.

^२ *Umrja* is above the line.

^३ The figure 14 between two sets of danda appear above the line. The first pair of danda is thus in error.

^४ Here instead of *Dakṣa* the *Paras* give *Satavtha* which appears to be correct.

^५ The syllable *ma* appears above the line.

^६ A space for one or two letter is left blank between *da* and *da*.

- 20 मः पुण्योस्माद्भुवसिहिस्ततोभवत् ॥२१॥ सुदर्शनोस्वाग्निवर्णस(स्त)स्य श्रीप्रस्ततो भवत् ॥(१)
ततः प्रमुधुतस्त-
- 21 स्माग्निधित्तस्य तु वर्णः ॥२२॥ ततो महर्वास्तस्याभूद्विजसाहः प्रसेनजित् ॥(१)
ततस्ततस्तभकोऽ-
- 22 स्माह(इ)हह(इ)ल इति स्वयं ॥२३॥ महाभारतसंग्रामे विहृतसर्वाभिमनुना ॥(१) एते
स्वतीता व्यासेन संशोक्ता भार-
- 23 ते नृपाः [॥*॥२४॥] अनागतान्ज(ऊज)गार्ध्वं अनास्तत्र वदामि तान् ॥(१)
व(व)हह(इ)लाह(इ)हहणस्तस्योदक्षिण इत्यतः ॥२५॥ कस्त-
- 24 वृद्धः प्रतिप्योमस्तस्यास्माद्गुनुरस्य वा ॥(१) दिवाकस्तस्य पदवी बाहिनोर्षतिरस्यभूत् ॥२६॥
तस्यासीत्तहृदेवो-
- 25 स्य व(व)हहवस्ततोभवत् ॥(१) भानुमान् वा प्रतीकाश्वीस्य तस्मात्सुप्रतीकः ॥२७॥
ततोभूमवदेवोस्म(स्मा)त्पुनस्ततो-
- 26 स्य पुष्करः ॥(१) ततोंतरिकः सुतपास्तस्माग्निमयजिह्वस्य तु ॥२८॥ व(व)हहृजस्ततो-
व(व)हिस्तस्मात्तस्य कृतंजयः ॥(१) तस्माह-
- 27 वंजयस्तस्य संजयः शाक्य इत्यतः ॥२९॥ शृङ्गोदोस्मात्तांगतोस्य प्रसेनजिह्व स्वतः ॥(१)
शृङ्गकस्तस्य इणकस्त-
- 28 स्वासीत्सुरवस्ततः ॥३०॥ सुमिषस्तु सुमिषांत इषाकोरस्वयोभवत् ॥(१) उक्ता भागवते
स्कंधे नचमे ते मयोदिताः ॥३१॥
- 29 इविशत्यप्रगतकमेवा संख्या कृता वदे ॥(१) प्रसिद्धास्तु(स्तु)र्वंशस्थान् वज्रनाथो
भवस्ततः ॥३२॥ महारथोति राजेड-
- 30 तस्मादतिरथो नृपः ॥(१) तस्मादवतसेनस्तु तेनास्य स्वचला रणे ॥३३॥ तस्मात्कनक
तेनोस्य महामेनांग [इ]त्यतः ॥(१) त-
- 31 स्माह्विजयतेनोस्वाऽजयतेनस्ततोभवत् ॥३४॥ अर्जुनसेनस्तस्मात्सु मदसेनस्ततोभवत् । भूयः
निहरथस्त्वेते* अ-
- 32 वोष्वावागिनो नृपाः ॥३५॥ तस्माह्विजयभूपोषं मूकत्वाऽवोष्वा रणागतान् ॥(१) जिरवा
नृपान्वक्षिणस्थानवसहस्रिण-

* The letter in is engraved above the line.

* Sandhi is not observed here.

- 33 जितो ॥३६॥ तत्रास्याकाशवाण्यासौगन्धस्वा राजानियामय ॥(१) श्वादिस्थास्या तु धर्तव्या
भवता भवदन्वये ॥३७॥ जा-
- 34 ता विजयभूषिता राजानो मनुपूर्वकाः ॥(१) श्रीरा संस्मरितास्तेषां पञ्चविंशद्वतं शत(तं)
॥३८॥ आसीदित्पादि^१ । द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
- 35 संवत् ॥१७॥१८ वर्षे(वर्षे) माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां त(ति)थौ रामसमुद्रा मुहूर्त
(मुहूर्त) राजेराजसीयश्री कीर्षो ॥ संव-
- 36 त ॥१७॥३२॥ शुक्ले(वर्षे) माघमासे सुकल(शुक्ल)पक्षे १५ तिथे(थौ) राजसमुद्र
प्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा) कीर्षी गजधर मुकुंद गजधर कल्याण-
- 37 श्री सुत उरजय गजधर गुण(शु)देश गजधर केतो ॥ सु(तु)ंदर ॥ ताना ।
सोमपुरा^२ [ज]ति ॥ चतुरा पुरव्य ॥ रामराम वाष्(वा)जी ॥(३)

Slab IV ; Canto III

[Metres : vv. 1, 35, 36 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2-12, 24-27, 32-34 *Anuṣṭupāh* ; vv. 13, 14, 16-20, 22, 23, 30 *Upajātī* ; vv. 15, 29, 31 *Indravajrā* ; v. 21 *Indravamśā* ; v. 28 *Upajātī* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthāvilā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ उत्तोलोभबहुप्रताछ(च्छ)गुरभोपुछ(च्छ)छ(च्छ)टाचानरः सद्गोवर्द्धन-
पण्यगोत्रविलसच्छब्दो जितेन्द्रो व(व)-
- 2 श्री ॥(१) गोपालः कलितश्च गोपतनयासक्तो निजप्रमथान्पिपाद्वोद्यतभस्तरक्षयपरः सच्च-
कवर्त्ता हरिः ॥१॥ ततो वि-
- 3 जयभूपस्य पद्यादित्योभक्त्युतः ॥(१) शिवादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्वरदत्तोस्य^३ वा सुतः ॥२॥
सुजनादित्यनामस्मान्मुमु-
- 4 आदित्यकस्ततः । (१) सोमदत्तेस्तस्य पुत्रः शितादित्योस्य चात्मजः ॥३॥ केशवादित्य
एतस्मात्प्रागादित्योस्य चात्म-
- 5 जः । भोगादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्देवादित्यस्ततोभवत् ॥४॥ वाशादित्यः कालभोगादित्योस्मात्तनयोस्य
तु ॥(१) ग्रहादित्य इहा-
- 6 दित्याश्चतुर्दशमितस्ततः ॥५॥ ग्रहादित्यमुतः सर्वे ग(गु)हिलीताभिषादुतः । जाता युक्तं
तेषु पुत्रो न्येष्टो वाष्पानिधोभव-

^१ By this are meant the two stanzas, Nos. 30 and 31, of Slab II, Canto I.

^२ *Śamapuri* means 'architect'.

^३ The name should end in *devī* rather than in *datta* in accordance with the information contained in verse 37 of Slab III, Canto II and verse 5 of the present one.

- 7 तु ॥६॥ मं इत्दा न(नं)दिनं मोरी दुशोर्वाणं पुराऽनुजत् । नंदो गणोत्तो बाणोति-
प्रियावृक्वा(ग्वा)त्पदोऽनक्त¹ ॥७॥ हारी-
- 8 तिराशिः सुमुनिश्चंद्रः शंभोर्गणोभक्त । तस्य शिष्योभषट्पाणस्तस्माज्जातः प्रा(प्र)सादतः ॥८॥
नागहृदपुरे तिष्ठन्ने-
- 9 कतिनशिबप्रभो । चक्रे बाणोऽर्चनं नास्मै वराम्पुत्रो इवो ततः ॥९॥ निप्रकूटपतित्वं
स्मात्तवईदंयत्नरणावधु-
- 10 वं । मा गच्छ(च्छ)तान्निवजकूटः संततिः स्यादक्षदित² ॥१०॥ प्राप्येत्पादिवराब्बाण्य एकस्मिन्
शतके गते ॥(१) एकाग्रनव-
- 11 तित्ववटे³ माधे पक्षेवतशके ॥११॥ सप्तमीदिनमे बाण्यः स पंचदशवत्सं(त्स)रः ।
एकस्मिन्नेशहारीतप्रसादाद्भूत्पयवानभूत् ॥१२॥
- 12 नागहृदवाण्ये नगरे शिराजी नरेश्वरः शङ्खपरेषु धर्यः । व(व)लेन वेहेन च भोजनेन
भीमो रणे भीमतमो
- 13 रिपूणां ॥१३॥ पंचाधिकविं(विं)शदमंदहस्तप्रमाणमुत्पट्टपटे दधानः । व(व)भो निचोले
किल धोडशोष्ठकरप्र-
- 14 माणं विमलं वसानः ॥१४॥ श्री'एकस्मिन्ने नृदा प्रदत्तं हारीतनाम्ने मुनयेय तेन ।
वत्तं दधानः कटकां च ह्रमं पञ्चा-
- 15 शकुल्यत्वममानवास्ते ॥१५॥ इतिशकुल्यत्वमइवुकायैः प्रत्य(त्वा)भिधैः शीदवरीः कृतस्य ।
मजस्य चैकस्य
- 16 भवं हि चत्वारितनितेवि(विं)शदसि दधानं ॥१६॥ एकप्रहाराम्बुषो महासेर्दुर्गाचंनायो
जवतो विनिधनन् । भू-
- 17 जगन्हाद्यागवतुष्टवं स⁴ जगस्त्यशं(त्यः) प्रवभूव नाण्यः ॥१७॥ ततः स निर्जित्य नृपं
तु मोरीजगतीमभूव
- 18 मनुराजसंजं । गृहीतयोश्चिचितविजकूटं चक्रे राज्यं नृपचक्रवर्ती ॥१८॥ राज्याति-
पूर्णत्ववरत्वमक्षीमय-

¹ Compare verses 20 and 21 of Canto I above.

² Read *śāṅkhī* : *śa* being prefixed to the word *śāṅkhī*. *Śa*, *śat*, *śam*, *śatya*, *śic*, etc., will be found used as mere expletives very commonly in this poem.

³ *Śāṅkhī* has not been observed here.

⁴ The correct *śāṅkhī* would be *śa-śāṅkhī*, but as *śāṅkhī* has been retained for the sake of the metre.

- 19 त्वशब्दादिमन्त्रयुक्ता । तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो वाण्याभिधानः स रराज राजा
॥१६॥ ततः क्षुमलाभि-
- 20 धराबलोस्माद्गोविंदनामाव महेंद्रनामा । धानुनूपोस्मादव सिंहधर्मा तस्यात्मजः शशिकुमार-
नामा ॥१७॥ जा-
- 21 तस्ततो रावलशालिवाह्यस्तस्यात्मजोभूधरवाहनस्ततः । अंबाप्रतापोस्म च कौत्सवर्मकस्तत्पुत्र आ-
22 सीधरवर्मनामकः ॥१८॥ ततो नृपालो नरपत्यभिर्यस्त्ववोत्तमोस्माक्षुपभैरवोस्मात् । श्रीपुंजरा-
23 जोभवदस्य कर्णावित्यः सुतोस्यापि च भार्वातसिंहः ॥१९॥ श्रीगा(गो)वसिहोष स हंसराजः
सुतोस्य सूनुः धुन-
- 24 योगराजः । स वैरडाख्योष स वैरसिंहस्ततोस्य वा रावलतेजसिंहः ॥२०॥ ततः
समरसिहाख्यः पूर्व्वीराज-
- 25 स्य भूपते[ः] ॥(१) पृथाख्याया भगिन्यास्तु पतिरित्यतिहर्षतः ॥२१॥ गोरीसाहिषदीनेन
गज्जनीशेन संगरं
- 26 । कुर्वंतोऽक्षवर्गवस्य महासामंतशोभितः ॥२२॥ दिल्लीश्वरस्य चोहाननायस्यास्य सहायकत् ।
27 सद्वादशसहस्रैः(खैः) स्वबोराणां सहितो रणे ॥२३॥ बध्वा(बद्धा) गोरीपतिं देवात्स्वर्गातः
सूर्यबिम्बित् ॥(१) भाषाराजापुत्त-
- 28 केस्य पुट्टस्योक्तोस्ति विस्तरः ॥२४॥ तस्यात्मजोभूधूपकर्णरावलः प्रोक्तास्तु बह्विधातिरावला
इमे । कर्णात्मजो
- 29 माहृपरावलोभवत्त कुंगराद्ये तु पुरे नृपो बभौ ॥२५॥ कर्णस्य जातस्तनयो द्वितीयः
श्रीराह्यः कर्णनृपाजयोषः ।
- 30 वाषवेन वा शाकुनिकस्य गत्वा मंडोवरे भोकलसीं स जित्वा ॥२६॥ तातातिके
स्थानप्रति स्म ब(ब)डं कर्णस्य राजाविठ-
- 31 वं गृहीत्वा । मुमोक्ष तं जाह वदी तदीयं रानाभिधानं त्रिवराहनाय ॥२७॥ अव्याशिषा
वा(वा)ह्यपत्तिवासजातीमविट-
- 32 छ(छ)रतत्यनाम्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटे ब(ब)सलखराज्यं चक्रे ततो राह्य एव बीरः
॥२८॥ ततो ब(ब)भो चित्रकूटे राह्या(गो) बाह्योष(प)कः ।
- 33 पूर्वं सीसोदनगरे वासालसीसोविषा स्मृतः ॥२९॥ रानाविटलाभेन रानेत्युक्तोत्तिलैव(बं)भौ ।
वंशस्याद्ये भविष्य-

- 34 ति राणाविहदिनो नृपः ॥३३॥ राजेद्वराग्रपूज्यो नारायणपरायणः । विशेषवाक्विवादिषां
वीरो राणाभिषां वने ।¹
- 35 ॥३४॥ आसीद्धास्करतस्तु माधवदुषोऽस्मादामचंडस्ततः सप्तवेदे(इव)रकः कठोऽहिकुलजो
लक्ष्म्यादिनाचस्ततः
- 36 । तेलपोस्य तु रामचंड इति वा हृन्धोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोऽनुगमपुत्रवनस्त्रय इमे
व(व)होमशिक्षणमाः ॥३५॥ वस्या-
- 37 सोऽगमधुवनस्तु जनको वेणो व गा(मो)स्वामिनाऽमृन्नाता रणछोड एष हतवान्नाम-
प्रशस्तपाह्वये । काव्य सान्ध्या-
- 38 जसिहसुगुणश्रीवर्णनाइधं महतीराकं समभूततीय इह सत्त्वगः सुसगः स्फुटं ॥३६॥ इति-
श्रीतेजगतातीयकठोऽहिक-
- 39 विचिंतितोपनाममपुत्रवनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते राजप्रशस्तपाह्वये मा(म)हाकाव्ये तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
सं १७३२ वर्षे माघी १५ राजलमुद्रप्रतिष्ठा ॥*

Slab V : Canto IV

[Metres : v. 1 Mālinī ; vv. 2-50 Anuṣṭubh.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ कसितहृत्विनिघोतो नीमलोत्तोलिकेसो तदरिति वृत्तवस्त्रा वेमता
यत्र गोप्यः । विवक्षति जनकेति
- 2 य(यं) व निवति सोऽमास्तुजयतु वधुनावास्तोर(व*)ती तमासः ॥१॥ तस्य पुत्रो नरपतो
राणास्य असकर्णकः । तन्नु(त्सु)तो नागपा-
- 3 सोस्य पुष्पपातः सुतोस्य तु ॥१२॥* पुष्पीमलः सुतस्तस्य पुत्रो भुवगसिहकः । तस्य
पुत्रो भीमसिहो जयसिहोस्य तत्सु-
- 4 तः ॥३॥ सवमसिहस्ये(स्त्वे)व गडमंडलीकामिषोस्य तु । कनिष्ठो रत्नसो अगता पद्मिनी
तस्मिन्नाभयत् ॥४॥ तत्कृतेस्तावरीनेव इडे
- 5 श्रीविषकूटके । सवमसिहो द्वादशस्वचातुभिः सप्तभिः सुतैः ॥५॥ सहितः प्रत्यपु(पु)तोसी
विषं मातोऽस्य चात्म-
- 6 जः । एक उर्वरितोऽजेसी राज्यं वक्ते ततोऽरसी ॥१६॥* ज्येष्ठः(वः) सुतः पितुः
संगे यो हतो(तत्सु) तत्सुतो वक्ते । राज्यं हमीरो दानीदो मर्द-

¹ This danda is superfluous.

- 7 संग्रहवर्षकः ॥७॥ विदुरे त्विद्वसरति श्रीमूर्ति स्फटिकी घृता । न प्राप्ता सुखसमय
एकलिंगस्य तद्वत् ॥८॥
- 8 मूर्ति चतुर्भुजोमेता इयमा इयमाघृता ततः । श्रेयसिहस्ततो तावा(वा) लक्ष्मी मोकल-
स्ततः ॥९॥ धात्रावतवाय-
- 9 स्वाज्जगत्पत्यस्य कलापत्ये ॥१०॥ बाघेलाक्यं तद्वत् तद्वत् नामहृदेकरोत् ॥१०॥ त्रिद्वारं
स्फटिकाभासमनुष्टं कलाशयधूपः । प्रा-
- 10 कारमुत्तमाकारमेकालगप्रभोध्यं धात् ॥११॥ कृत्वायं द्वारकायावां शंखोद्वारं गतस्ततः । सिद्ध
एकोस्य पत्न्यास्तु गर्भं राज्याप्तयेति-
- 11 शत् ॥१२॥ स कुंभकर्णोभूत्पुत्रो मोकलोत्पास्य वस्तकात् । खरति स्म जलं पारि
प्रसिद्धमिति निश्चभूत् ॥१३॥ कुंभकर्णोय भूपो-
- 12 भूदुर्गकुंभस्तमेवकृत् । स(बोह)शतस्थीयकु(पुग्) ।¹ रायमल्लोय राज्यकृत् ॥१४॥ संघर्षासिह-
स्तपुत्रः स द्विलक्षमित्तमंभटः । युक्तो वा(वा)वर-
- 13 दिल्लीशवेशे कलेपुरायधि ॥१५॥² गत्वात्र पीतियाजालपयं(पयं)[तं]³ धर्मकल्पयत् ।
स्वदेशसीमानमयं रत्नसिंहोय राज्यकृत् ॥१६॥ तद्वत्ता विक्रमा-
- 14 विजयो⁴ भूपोभूतस्मा(स्व) सीवरः । राना⁵ उदयसिंहोय स विज्योव(व)यतागदं ॥१७॥
तथोदयपुरं चक्रे तवागोत्सवंकर्मणि [१] छीतुमद्वय सी-
- 15 धर्मलक्ष्मीनायपुताय च ॥१८॥ भूरवावापाममदाद्वत्तादानं तुलाविकं । चित्रकूटय योद्धास्य
राजोदो जैमलो रणं ॥१९॥⁶ पत्ता सीतो-
- 16 विद्या चक्रे दिल्लीशेन महाप्रशाः । प्रकच्वरेण भटपुम्भीर ईश्वरदातकः ॥२०॥ कुलकं ।
प्रतापसिंहोय गुपः कछ(छ)वाहेन मा-
- 17 निना । मानसिहनेन तस्मासीहमनस्वं भुजेविंधी⁷ ॥२१॥ प्रकच्वरप्रभोः पादवं मानसिहस्ततो
गतः । गृहीत्वा तद्व(द्व)नं ग्रामे तं-
- 18 भनीरे सभागतः ॥२२॥ तयोर्मृदमभूदो(वधो)रं लोहकोष्ठगतस्य सः । मानसिहस्य कुंभीरकुंभे
शुभवराज्यमः ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठः
- 19 प्रतापसिंहस्य⁸ समरेशाभिधः सुतः । कृतं शकुंतवेगोयं भूमोवापणलोचनः ॥२४॥ राणा-
प्रतापसिंहोय मानसिहस्य

¹ This *śanda* is superfluous.² The syllable *tyā* is engraved below the line.³ *Śanda* has not been observed here.⁴ *Bhujī* has apparently been used here in the sense of food.

- 20 हस्तिनः । कुंने कुंतं मुमोचाशु पश्चादंतो यत्नायितः ॥२२॥ समग्रं प्रतापेन शक्तसिंहोऽस्य
सोऽवरः । मानसिंहस्य सं-
- 21 गत्वे(स्वो) वृष्टवेवं स्नेहोऽवत् ॥२३॥ नीलाश्वस्यावकारे त्वं पदचात्वयं प्रभी ततः ।
प्रतापसिंहो वृष्टोऽस्व(श्च)मेकस्य निर्धनो
- 22 ॥२४॥ ततो द्वौ मुगली चोरो मानसिंहेन वेगतः ॥(१) प्रेषितो शक्तसिंहोऽपि गृहोत्पत्ता
महाव(व)लः ॥२५॥ मानसिंहस्य मु-
- 23 गली प्रतापेन संगरं । चक्रुः श्रीप्रतापेन शक्तसिंहेन तौ ततः ॥२६॥ निहती
हितकारीति शक्तसिंहः सहोऽवरः ।
- 24 राणेनोक्तं शक्तसिंहवंशा(द्या)स्तत्राणवत्तमः ॥२७॥ अकम्बर इहायतस्ततश्चक्र स संगरं ।
प्रतापसि(सि)हं व(व)लिनं मत्वा क्षे-
- 25 क्कुमुनामकं ॥२८॥ संस्थाप्यात्र सुतं खेष्टमापरां प्रति निर्धनो । अमरेशः खानखाना-
वाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ॥२९॥
- 26 सुवासिनीवत्संतोऽप्य प्रेक्षयामास ताः पुनः । खानखानस्याद्भुतं तज्जातं शेखमनस्यपि ॥३०॥
ततः शेखजहांगीरना-
- 27 मा विल्लीश्वरोभवत् । पुनरत्रागतो युद्धं कृत्वा खुरमनामकं ॥३१॥ संस्थाप्यात्(व)
सुतं स्वीयं युद्धं कृत्वा प्रतापिनं । प्रतापसि-
- 28 हं चतुरा(र)धीतिर्लभ्यैर्दुतं गतः ॥३२॥ विल्लीपति^१(विल्लीपति) प्रतापेनो धट्टे
देवेरनामके । सुलतानं सेरिमाख्यं अकताख्यं(स्य)गजस्थितं ॥३३॥
- 29 विल्लीशस्य पितृव्यं तं श्रीश्याभूतंमुक्तस्ततः । सौलकिभूत्यश्चिछे(च्छे)व गजाह्वो पट्टिहारकः
॥३४॥ प्रतापसिंहो राणेनो
- 30 रणे रावणविक्रमः । शक्तयेन कुंने कुंनि(नि)कुंनं(नं) बभञ्ज तः ॥३५॥ ययात्
कुंनी सुरगमाहरोहाय सेरिमः । अमरेशः स्वकुंनेन
- 31 न्यह्नस्तेरिमाभिधं ॥३६॥ स कुंतः सशिरस्त्राणवर्माश्च समक्षं दधत् । अमरेशकराकुप्टः स
कुंतो न विनिःसु-
- 32 तः ॥३७॥ ततः प्रतापेनानतो वत्सा(त्वा) तत्ता परेन तः । कुंतं अकतामर्षेन कुंताप्या
हर्षमावधे ॥३८॥ दशनीयः स येनाहं

^१ The word *puti* appears below the line.

- 33 निहृतः सेरिमाववत् । प्रतापसिंहं (निह)स्तुष्टु (चु) स्वाऽप्रे (त्वा प्रे) वयं (त्वं) चिबुद्धं ॥४२॥
मदं तं वीर्य तेनो (क्तं) नाथं प्रेधः स एव तु । राणे-
- 34 व्रं (व्र) : प्रेधयामास^१ अनरेव रणोत्कटं ॥४३॥ तं वृद्ध्वा सेरिमोवाच^२ सोममस्ति मये-
क्षितः । युद्धकाले नभोभूमिध्यापिशीर्षशरीरवा-
- 35 न् ॥४४॥ वेवो (वा) नेत (न) हतोहं हि मात्ये त्वानं शुभं ततः । कोसौवतस्येव
चत (तु) रशीतिप्रमिता गताः ॥४५॥^३ स्मानपाताः प्रतापेवो महोदयपुरे-
- 36 वस्तु ॥४६॥ वानं वदो कोपि भाटः प्राप्योष्णोवाविकं धनं ॥४६॥ प्रतापसिंहोद्वितीशं
वृष्टं यातस्तवतिके । यदा प्राप्तु (क्त) स्तवा व (व) दं तदुष्णो-
- 37 थं करेवधत् ॥४७॥ गत्वा सखामं कृतवाग्निश्रीशेन तदेरितं । किमिदं सोवद्वानाप्रतापो-
ष्णोद्वितीयतः ॥४८॥^४ न धृतं मू-
- 38 द्विर्न विस्वीयस्तुतोष वापिताशयः । तदा समस्ते जगति सर्वे हि वृत्तुरत्ककेः ॥४९॥ अनन्तः
धीप्रतापेवो वीर इत्युक्त-
- 39 [मी]क्षितो । इति राणा प्रतापस्य प्रतापः कथितो मया ॥५०॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याह्वये
महाकाव्ये श्रीराजे चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥

Slab VI ; Canto V

[Metres : vv. 1-32, 34-50 *Anuṣṭupb* ; v. 33 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 51, 52 *Sārdūlavakriṇīta*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः । राजा^१ अमरसिंहाख्योऽकरोद्वाज्य (ज्य) त'ततः पुरा । मानसिहस्य
संग्रामे कान्तवानाकधुतो ॥१॥
- 2 सेरिमायुलतानस्य यथे प्रोक्तोऽस्य विक्रमः । जहागीरस्यापि तेन क्षुरमेनाथ युद्धकृत् ॥२॥
अवबुल्लहखानेन व-
- 3 कदचके रणं ततः । अतुर्विजितसंख्यैस्तं हृदः स्वानेश्वरैरसं ॥३॥ विलीपतेर्भृत्यवरं जने
कायमलातकं । जंटासायां मा-
- 4 तपुरमंग (मं) चक्रेव वंडकृत् ॥४॥ पुत्रोऽस्य कर्णसिंहाख्यः सिरौजं मालवामुखं । धंवे'राक्षना
व (व) भंजाव वंडं चक्रेतिसुट-
- 5 नं ॥५॥ ततो जहागीरामातः क्षुरमो मिलनं व्यधात् । गोर्धवायां समायातः^२
अमर (रे) धो निजस्यलात् ॥६॥ महोदयपुरातत्र तु-

^१ This is redundant.

^२ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

^३ The name *Sārdūla*, being of foreign origin, is used here with *āṭila*.

^४ There is a suspended 2-stroke over *ma*.

^५ The correct form is *milana*.

- 6 रंघोपि समागतः । इत्याधरोत्था सादरं ती सस्नेहो मिलितो ततः ॥७॥ राना¹
अमरसिंहो महोदयपुरेऽवसत् । महादा-
- 7 नाति विश्वे चक्रे राज्यं तुलान्वितं ॥८॥ सस्मीनायाश्चमट्टाय गुरवे मंत्रदायिने । राना¹
अमरसिंहो होनोषामं ददौ मु-
- 8 दा ॥९॥ अथ राना कर्णसं(ति)हृष्यके राज्यं पुराकरोत् । सत्कीमारपदे यंगातीरे
रुम्पतुलां ददौ ॥१०॥ अकरक्षेत्राविश्रेभ्यो
- 9 ग्रामं पूर्वं तु वि[द]रे । धंधेरायातवादेशसिरोजपुरमंगलत् ॥११॥ अन्तेराजं सिरौहीजं
चक्रे शत्रुजितं व(व)लात् । पद्मलक्ष्मं(स्मां)-
- 10 हिहकसं(तः) कर्णदातपराक्रमः ॥१२॥² विल्लीश्वराज्यहारीरासस्य क्षुरमनामकं । पुत्रं
विभुजतः प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितो ॥१३॥ ज-
- 11 हागीरे दिवं पाति संगे भ्रातरमर्हन् । इत्था(त्वा) विल्लीश्वरं चक्रे सोमूत्साहि-
जंहामिषः ॥१४॥ पुत्रं [॥³] शते षोडशकेतीते अनुपष्टधभि-
- 12 धेयके । भाद्रशुक्लद्वि(द्वि)तीया⁴या कर्णसिंहपुत्रावभूत् ॥१५॥ जगत्सिंहो महेश्वर ।
राडोवजसंतमा । श्रीमज्जावृत्ती तस्याः कृ-
- 13 सेजतो व(व)तो महान् ॥१६॥ शते षोडशकेतीते पंचाश(शी)र्यनिधेश्वके । राध-
शुक्लतृतीयायां राज्यं प्राप जगत्पतिः ॥१७॥ जगत्सि-
- 14 हाक्षपा मंत्रो¹ अन्तेराजो व(व)सान्वितः ॥१८॥ स इंगुरपुरं प्राप्तः पुंजानामाव राखतः
॥१९॥ पलायितः पातितं तच्छब्दनस्य मयाक्ष-
- 15 कं । लुटनं इंगुरपुरे कृतं लोकरजं ततः ॥२०॥ जगत्सिंहाक्षपा पातो राडोवो
रामसिंहकः । प्रति देवलिप्यां सेनापुत्रो राखतम्-
- 16 जूटं ॥२०॥ जसवंतं मानसिंहपुत्रमुक्तं जघान सः । पुत्रां देवलिप्यायां च लुटनं रचितं
ज[नं] ॥२१॥ शते षोडशकेतीते षडशीत्य-
- 17 निधेश्वके । जर्जहृष्यद्वितीयायां² जगत्सिंहमहीपतेः ॥२२॥ पुत्रः श्रीराजसिंहोभूद्व(द्व)तीते³
अरसी तथा । मेडतापिराडोदराजसिंह-
- 18 महोभूतः ॥२३॥ पुत्री जनासेनाम्नी तत्कुलजाताविमो मुतः । अभून्मोहनवासाक्ष्योऽ-
पार(परि)शीताभि(प्रि)याभवः ॥२४॥ अन्तेराजं

¹ Soudhi is not observed here.

² This ma is inserted above the line.

³ This *darpa* is unnecessary.

⁴ The *numera* of *gaur* appears over the following letter.

No. 4—SADASIVAGAD PLATES OF KADAMBA VIJAYADITYA ; SAKA 1102

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates¹ was secured by me for study in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnatak parts in February 1932. It was in the possession of Mr. H. V. Naik, Clerk of the Court, Civil Judge's Court, Karwar. Mr. Naik's family headquarters are at Sadāsivagaḍ, about four miles from Karwar, and these plates were lying there as an heirloom. Details as to how and when this family came to possess them are not known. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The writing is found on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The rims are raised to protect the inscription which is, however, worn out in many places. The plates measure 8" in length, 6" in breadth and 1/8th inch in thickness. The ring which is 2" in diameter passes through a circular hole, 5/8th inch in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick circular seal having a rim. The seal, which is 2½" in diameter, contains on the sunken surface the figures of a rampant lion with upturned tail and a dagger in front of it. At the top around are the figures of a crescent and the sun, followed by the legend *Śrī-Viṣṇu-dāsaḥ* in Nāgarī characters, and then the crescent. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 tolas and the whole set weighs 380 tolas.

The characters are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, being normal for the period. The letter *ṣh* at the commencement is written like *sum*. Medial *ā* is generally denoted by a side *mātrā*. Exceptions to this are the letters *vā* in line 1 and *mā* in line 44, where a slanting stroke is placed at the top of *vā* and *mā* to denote the length. In regard to orthography, the consonant following a *vēpha*, as a rule, is not doubled. We do, however, note a few instances of doubling also, e. g., *mūrttiḥ* in line 4, *Vijayārka* in line 31 and *sucarya* in line 35. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse, except in lines 39-46 describing the particulars of the gift. The composition is defective in some places.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Śiva. After narrating the origin of the Kadamba family, in the usual manner, from the mythical hero Trilochana Kadamba who was born from the sweat of Śiva, it gives a succinct genealogical account of the Kadambas of Goa. The account stops with Śivachitta Perumāji and his younger brother Vijayārka or Vijayāditya II, the sons of Jayakṣita II from the Chālukya princess Mallala Mahādevī. The inscription represents Vijayāditya as the ruling monarch. Its object is to record a gift of land by the king to the goddess Āryā Bhagavatī. Though not explicitly stated, it appears from the description of his family and the context that the beneficiary of the gift was a Brāhmana of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, named Gōvinda, who was well-versed in the science of astronomy. The donee's family is described for four generations. The gift property was situated within the boundaries of the village Aruvige included in the tract of Maruvajjagaḍalu.

The record bears the date which is expressed in words thus : Śaka 1102, Vikārin, Kārttika *su.* 12, Sunday. The Śaka year was current and the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, October 14, 1179 A. C.

¹ No. 2 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32.

The importance of the epigraph lies in its being unique. Inscriptions mentioning the joint rule of the two brothers, Śivachitta Permādi and Vijayāditya II, and also those that refer to the rule of the former only who was the elder of the two, have been discovered. But no inscription referring to Vijayāditya as an independent ruler, has come to light so far. No doubt the second part of the Halei inscription contains a reference to the regnal year possibly of Vijayāditya; but it is clear from the earlier portion that his brother Permādi was ruling at the time.¹ Hence the present happens to be the first and the only inscription so far discovered, attributing independent rule to Vijayāditya, dissociated from his brother. The reason for this appears to be that Permādi was no longer living by this time.² According to the Halei inscription, Vijayāditya was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu and bore the epithet *Viṣṇuchitta*. But it is revealed from the seal of the present plates that he preferred to describe himself as *Viṣṇudāsa*, i. e., 'an humble servant of Lord Viṣṇu.'

The inscription contains two place-names. One is the region called Marruvattugadalu or Maruvattugadalu, and the other the village Aruvige situated therein. It is interesting to note that Maruvattugadalu is a purely Kannada expression made up of the words *maru*, *paṭṭa* or *muṭṭa* and *gaḍalu*. It means 'the coastal region adjoining the sea.' I am, however, unable to identify this tract. Aruvige appears to be identical with the present day Arage, a village about 4 miles to the south-east of Karwar, on the road to Ankola. The village Arage contains a shrine dedicated to a female deity named Durgā. This deity probably represents the goddess Āryā Bhagavati of the epigraph.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3, 7 *Upajāti*; vv. 4, 8, 9, 14-18 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 11 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 12 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate

- 1 ॐ नमः [] शिवाय [१*] लक्ष्मीभक्तैरगण्यपुण्यवपुषः [] कोडावरा-
- 2 हाकूतेर्दंष्ट्राग्रं क्षतचंद्रदी[धितिमग्नं] — — — [त्राय]-
- 3 तां* [१*] यत्रानां [वि]नशा (क्षी) लशैलज[ल] — — — — —
- 4 क्षीराभोनिधिसायिनो मुरारिपोर्मूर्तेः पुपोष [धियं] [॥ १*] पा-
- 5 याञ्चंद्रसिन्धुमणिजगदिदं य — — — — —
- 6 श्रीलक्ष्मीकणी[द्र]सुंदरफणप्रोलासिर[त्ना]व[क्षी]]
- 7 आगच्छत्सुरसिंभुमंगलविधौ नीराजनाविर्भव[त्यौ]-
- 8 डाहंकृतिदीपराजिविकसल्लक्ष्मी दधात्युच्चकैः [॥ १२*] पुरा पुराणां विजये

¹ J. H. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, pp. 273-80; compare George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 159.

² Compare *Kadamba Kula*, p. 261.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

⁴ In this and a few more instances that follow, the final *o* is changed to *ananta*.

1
2
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9
10

2 2 4 6 8 10

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

ii.a

12
14
16
18
20
22

12 14 16 18 20 22

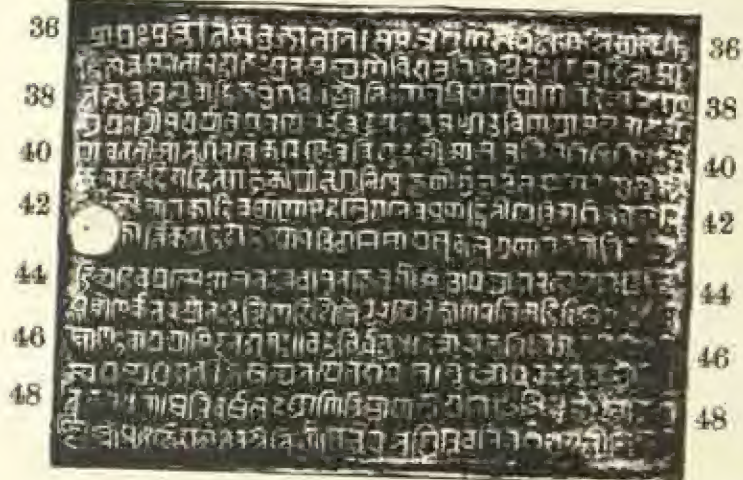
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

ii.b

24
26
28
30
32
34

24 26 28 30 32 34

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.



SEAL



From a Photograph

9 पुरारोः*] स्वदोदवि(विं)दुच्छलतो सलाटे [।*] आविर्ब(बं)भूवे मृणमं-
[द्वनीतिः सुखाम्]-

10 तैः प्लावयितुं जगति ।। ३*] ताः कदंब(ब)तलं प्राप्ता लोकोत्तुगधिलोचनं ।

Second Plate : First Side

11 त्रिलोचनकदंबा(बा)ख्यं चतुर्भुजमजीजनत् ।। ४*] त(त्सता)नक-

12 दंब(ब)वंधविलसत्सोरावु(वु)धौ [स्वे]यसि प्राकारे शरणागत[धितिभूजा]

13 लीलावनौ श्रीपतेः । लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतने कुवलय[प्रोल्लास] — —

14 यत्भू(दुभू)भृन्मौलिविराजिपादयुगलः*] क्षीषण्डदेवोजनि ।। ५*] एतस्माज्जयकेसि-

15 भूप[ति]रभूदश्चातविश्राणतः क्षोणीरक्षणदक्षिण[स्त्रिजग]-

16 तामानंदनिधयंदनः । यत्पाषाणिधितीररोपितजय[स्त]म-

17 प्रलभां जगित्यभःकुंभिषटाः(टा) धृषति — — — — —

18 सोः ।। ६*] परस्परं संगररंगचुंचु चालुव्यचोलाधिप[ती] — — — [।]

19 निःशंकमके विरचय्य मित्रे लेभे यशो — — — — —

20 ख्या ।। ७*] ततः समजनि श्रीमान्विजयादित्यभूप[ति]ः ।

21 ति यत्कीर्तिकल्पवल्याः पयोधयः ।। ८*] ततो जगज्जयी ज[ज्ञे ज]-

22 यकेसिमहीपतिः । केतायते [तरां]

Second Plate : Second Side

23 धौ ।। ९*] चालुक्यान्वयमौलिमौक्तिकर्माणि सौजन्य — — — — —

24 [तु] जगतां श्रियः कुलगृहं पेर्मादिभूष सुता । [यस्मै] — — — —

25 म मैललमहादेवी जगन्मंगला दासीकुंजरकोश[देशसहिता] द-

26 त्वा(त्वा) कृतार्थोभवत् ।। १०*] तस्मादस्यामजनि विजयी वीर[पिर्मादिदे]-

27 वो गौरीभर्तृप्रणयसदनं त्यागमिहासनश्रीः । — — — — —

28 भटमहादुर्गवर्मः कलीनां जन्मस्थानं विशदयशसां — — — —

29 पतीनां ।। ११*] तस्यानुजः मङ्गलमङ्गलजन्मभूमिः श्रीसंपदां प-

30 दमुदारगुणाभिरामः । आसावमं(न)अशिरसां(सा)वनिपाल-

31 मौलिमाशिकवरजितपदो विजवाक्कंदेवः ।। १२*] यस्मि [त्रैर(त्रै)त]-

32 चक्रवर्त्तनृपती क्षोणीभूतामाश्रये वीरवीनिजघामनि विज-

33 गतीभान्याभिरामोदये । लक्षार्धाधिकदानकेलिरतये लो-

34 कोतरालुन्नतो सज्जते कलभारनमशिरसः प्रायो [निलिपद्]-

35 माः ।। १३* । यदितीर्थसुवर्णोस्मा[र]

Third Plate

36 प्रायः प्रस्थानमनुजा [न] ते ।। १४* । समस्तगुणसंपन्नः केशवाक्यो

37 द्विजोत्तमः । भारद्वाजः सुतस्तस्य गोविंदो भूवि विधृतः ।। १५* । कर्मदिनामा

38 तत्सूनुस्तत्पुत्रो द्विजपुंगवः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदो ध्येष्टो गोविंदः सद्गुणा-

39 श्रयः ।। १६* । श्रीमदायामभवयै(त्ये) यस्त्वेदं गङ्गालुमध्याकविणे ग्राम(मा)दास-
[दहवि]-

40 गेवत(चतु)[*]सीमांतर्गतं वैकरेक्षेत्रं विशुद्धसीमासमन्वितनिधिनि[क्षेप]-

41 जलवृक्षादिसहितं राजकीयां(या)नगुप्तप्रेक्षणीयं सर्वेभ्यः

42 [ञ्च कृत्वा] शकादिवर्षाणां सहस्रे शते च पूर्णे द्वितीये विकारिसंवत्सरे

43 कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादश्यां रविवारि[र] सोमं सकलगुणालंकृतो वि[जया]-

44 दित्यदेवस्तस्मै शासनं दत्तवान् ।[*] त[त्*]क्षेत्रसीमा^१ [वापयादार]

45 यकोणकं तरुलोतः दक्षिणदिशि नैऋत्येव कोणे पश्चिमदिशि

46 पाणः वायव्यामिक्षुतडागः ॥ व(व)हुभिर्वेसुवा दत्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिः । प-

47 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।। १७* । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

48 तं वसुंधरां । पण्डितव्रतसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिः ।। १८* । . . . [ने]-

49 शिष्योप[ज]जगमसरस्वतिः शासनं रचयित्वैवं ति[ष्ठ]^२

No. 5—TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMIKO

In May 1949, I received for examination from Mr. K. C. Pāṇigrāhī, Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two sets of copper plates belonging to the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kōṣṭhā. I prepared transcripts of the inscriptions from the original plates which were in the usual course returned to Mr. Pāṇigrāhī. It was understood that he would contribute a paper on the above inscriptions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In December 1950, I met Mr. Pāṇigrāhī at Nagpur where

^१ The language of this passage is faulty.

^२ The record is complete except for the last few characters which are indistinct. In this line there is reference to the person who drafted the document. The name of the poet, who bore the epithet *jaṅama-sarasaṁ*, cannot be deciphered fully.

we assembled in connection with the thirteenth session of the Indian History Congress. He then informed me that it was not possible for him, owing to his pre-occupations, to take up the editing of the inscriptions. He requested me to publish them. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness shown to me in this connection.

The plates are now the property of the H.E. School at **Bānpur** which is a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the south-western part of the Puri District of Orissa. Mr. Pāyagrāhī received them on a temporary loan for examination from the Headmaster of the Bānpur H. E. School. Nothing is known as to the circumstances that brought the plates into the possession of the above institution.

A. Grant of Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja

This inscription was published by Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Bājaguru with plates in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 59 ff. But his treatment of the subject is rather perfunctory.

The set consists of **three plates** each measuring 6·6 inches by 3·5 inches. The plates are held together by a ring to which the seal is soldered. The ring was found cut open when the set reached me. The seal contains, in counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a couchant bull, facing proper right, and the legend *tri-Madhyamarājādēvāḥ* below it. The first and third plates are engraved only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. The first plate is damaged at the top right corner, and a few lines of writing are partly obliterated. The plates weigh 64 *tolas*, while the ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*.

The inscription is an incomplete charter of the **Sailōdbhava** king **Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja** who seems to have flourished about the second half of the seventh century A.C. (circa 665-95 A.C.).¹ The writing on the reverse of the second plate ends with a verse describing the achievements of king Madhyamarāja. There is only half a line of writing on the obverse of the third plate, which was meant for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to *Kōśāgāda-maṇḍala*, to whom the royal order regarding the grant was intended to be addressed. These letters should have properly been preceded by a prose passage mentioning the king, desirous of making a grant, as *kuṣaṭṭh*. It is possible to think that this mistake committed by the engraver was the reason why the set was abandoned, at least for the time being. It is well known that plates were often kept ready in the record offices of ancient Indian rulers with the introductory portion of the grant inscribed and a blank for the necessary grant portion to be included later as occasions arose.²

In respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Parikud plates³ (issued in the 26th year of the king's reign), the only other record of **Sailōdbhava Madhyamarāja** so far known, and hardly anything calls for special mention. With the exception of the incomplete prose passage at the end, just referred to, the *śiḍḍham* symbol, the word *saṣṭi* and the reference to the place of issue, the entire record is written in verse. There are altogether twenty verses, no less than eighteen of which are already known from the Parikud plates. The remaining two verses are also not new as they, like many others of both

¹ The 13th regnal year of his father, who ruled at least up to his 50th year, fell sometime after 619 A.C. He himself ruled at least up to his 26th regnal year. See below.

² Cf. the Kōṭṭarpur plate of Śrīcandra, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92; Chittagong plate of Kāntīdēva, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff., etc.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 234-7. The date given in words in line 45 must have been given in figures in line 54. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing in this part of the plate is unsatisfactory and the figures cannot be deciphered from the published facsimile.

the Parikud and the present charter, have been quoted from the records of Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II Śrinivāsa, father of Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. The earliest inscription of the Śailōdbhava family is the Ganjam plates¹ issued by Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II (circa 610-65 A.C.) in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.C.) when he was a feudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. The other charters of this Śailōdbhava king, so far discovered, were issued without any reference to his overlord apparently after the defeat of the Gauda king, either Śaśāṅka himself or his successor, by king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, allied with king Bhaskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, sometime before 638 A.C.² Of the charters issued by the Śailōdbhava king during this period of his independent rule, the Khurda plates,³ the introduction of which is couched in prose as in the Ganjam plates, appear to be the earliest. The Khurda plates as well as the Buguda plates,⁴ the latter having an introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II, are not dated. Most of these verses are quoted not only in the later dated charters of the same king (the Puri plates⁵—regnal year 13, doubtfully read as 23 by Basak—and the Cuttack Museum plates⁶—regnal year 50), but also in all later records of the family. Later Śailōdbhava kings developed the habit of quoting the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessors and of adding a few stanzas composed about themselves by their own court poets. This custom can also be traced in many other royal families of ancient India, such as the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa and the Palas of Bengal and Bihar.

It will be seen from what has been said above that all the twenty verses quoted in the inscription under discussion are already known from the published records of the Śailōdbhavas. Nevertheless, the present inscription is of considerable importance, as it helps us in correcting the faulty text of the Parikud plates.

The first verse, which is found at the beginning of the later charters of Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II as well as of all the grants of his successors, is an adoration to Śaṃblin (Śiva). Verse 2, which is the same as the second verse of the Parikud plates, introduces a king named Mādhavēndra. Thereafter we have the history of the Śailōdbhava family from the very beginning. This style of the introduction, which is found also in the Aihole inscription,⁷ would suggest that this Mādhavēndra (i.e., Mādhavarāja or Mādhavarman) was another name of the reigning monarch, Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. It should, however, be pointed out that the same verse is also found in the Buguda plates of Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II as well as in the Nṛviṇā grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhlita who was the grandson of Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II and the son of Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. It therefore seems that all the above verse Śailōdbhava kings bore *Mādhavarman* as a secondary name. Or better the verse in question referring to Sainyabhlita Mādhavarman II is out of place and carelessly quoted in the records of Ayasōbhita II Madhya-

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 145 ff.

² About 643 A.C. Harshavardhana led an expedition against Kāśyapa in Orissa probably on behalf of the Gauda king whom he then considered his subordinate ally. Śaśāṅka's death and the discomfiture of the Gauda king took place sometime before 638 A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang travelled in East India. See *History of Bengal*, Dhaka University, Vol. I, pp. 71 ff. Harsha's victory over the Gauda king seems also to have preceded his encounter with Pulakain II, which took place, according to the Aihole inscription, sometime before 634 A.C.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127-9.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 181-2.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. This *prākāśa* begins with an adoration to Jīvanēdra, then introduces the reigning monarch Satyāśraya (Palakāśin II), and finally begins the history of the Chālukya family from its earliest illustrious member.

marāja and his son Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.¹ Verse 3, omitted in the Parikud plates but found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, introduces Mount Mahēndra which is intimately associated in literature with the Kalinga country. Verses 4-5 mentioning Pellindasēna as famous among the people of Kalinga and as a devotee of Lord Svayambhū (Śiva) and the following five verses (verses 6-10) speaking of the eponymous Śailōdbhava, his *śulaja* or descendant Arābhīta, his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman I), his descendant (possibly an adopted son²) Ayaōbhīta, and his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II), are found in most of the later records of the family. Verse 11, which is omitted in the Parikud plates but is found in the versified introduction of the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, refers to the achievements of king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II. Verse 12 speaks of the same king as Śrinivāsa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha. The horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated by the Śailōdbhava king, before the issue of the Puri plates of his thirteenth regnal year, to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauda yoke. Verses 13-20 describe the reigning monarch Ayaōbhīta II Maḍhyamarāja and are all of them found in the Parikud plates and some of them also in the later records of the family. The text of the verses common only to the present charter and the Parikud plates is corrupt in both the records, although the text offered by the record under discussion is better and has helped in restoring the reading intended by the author. Verse 15 describes the king as a royal ascetic. The next verse (verse 16) compares him with the god Śaṁbhu and says that he had discourses with departed saints coming from heaven at his call. Verse 17 says that the king, who was as fair as the moon owing to his fame pervading the earth,³ performed amazing tricks of archery. Verse 18 says how the jewel of Kōṅgōḍa (i.e., the king) became an equal of the son of Prithā (i.e., Arjuna) by piercing, from a distance, at a time four boards, each covered with two shields, with arrows discharged from two bows simultaneously by his two hands. Verse 19 describes how the king could run with two stout persons on his shoulders in emulation of the monkey hero Hanumat, famous in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Of the names of geographical interest, the inscription mentions Mount Mahēndra, Kalinga, Kōṅgōḍa and Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala. The Mahēndra is no doubt represented by the present Mahēndragiri peak in the Srikakulam District. Kalinga, in a narrow sense, was the country around it. Kōṅgōḍa was the name of both the kingdom and the capital of the Śailōdbhavas. It was apparently regarded as a part of the Kalinga country. The city of Kōṅgōḍa stood on the river Sālimā which is the modern Sāliyā running past Bānpur, the findspot of our record. The heart of the Kōṅgōḍa country, i.e., the dominions of the Śailōdbhavas, thus lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa.

¹ The mention of Mādhavēndra in the Parikud and Nivins plates was not explained by the scholars who edited those inscriptions. Pandit Rājaguru is apparently unaware of the fact that the verse in question is found in the records of those successive rulers of the Śailōdbhava family and not only in the charter under discussion.

² Cf. *Successors of the Śālokhana*, pp. 400-1; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83. Note also that the epic hero Nala, son of Virasēna, is described in the *Saikhāṇḍīya*, V, 124, as *Viraṭa-śūla-dīpa*. There is, however, difference of opinion among scholars as to the genealogy of the Śailōdbhavas. For the son represented as a descendant of the father, see also the *Rājatarangī* VII, 1083 (Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 513), the *Amara* plates of Vallabhadra, line 16 (above, Vol. V, p. 184), etc.

³ I do not agree with Pandit Rājaguru who thinks that *śāntika-dharmā*, used in the description of king Ayaōbhīta II Maḍhyamarāja, has to be regarded as one of his names. He further thinks that Mādhava issued his Ganjam grant in the Gupta year 300 (519-20 A.C.) when he was holding the office of Mahāseṇapati under his father Śaikhā *alias* Maḍhyamarāja. The suggestion is, however, against known facts of history and without any evidence in support of it.

TEXT*

[Metres :—verses 1, 3, 5, 14, 15, 17-19 Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; verses 2, 12, 13, 16 Śaṅgādhārā ; verses 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 Vasantatīlaka ; verse 6 Anuṣṭubh ; verse 9 Indravajrā.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti [||*] vijaya-Kāṅgōda-vāsakā ||[*] Indōr-dhauta-mṛṅgāla-ta[n*]tubhīr-iva
- 2 śīkṣatāḥ karai[h*] kōmālai [* r-vva(r-ba)ddh-ālūr-arupai[h*] sphurati-phapa(ṇi)-maṇḍar-īdigūha-
[h](gdha)-prabhāsō-nāu(aō-māu)bhīḥ [||*]
- 3 Pārvatyā[h*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛtta-va(ba)ndha-tīkṣhā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-pluti-
bhinnā-hhasma-ku[ḡ]kū[h*] Śambhō-
- 4 ja(r-ja)tā[h*] pātṭu(nu) vah || [1*] Śrīmān-ucchehair-nnabhasō gurur-amara-patē[h*] kṣhōbha-
jīd-ya[h*] kaha[māyā] gamabhī-
- 5 ras-tōyārāṣēr-atīha divāśakarād-bhāṣvad-ālōka-kār[ī] || bhāḍī sarvvasya ch-śudhō-tri-bhuvana-
bha-
- 6 vama-pō(prē)rakas-ch-āpi vāyō [* rājā sa(sa)sthāpā-mārttiḥja(r-ja)yat[ī] kali-mala-kṣhālanō
Mādhavēndra[h*] || 2*]
- 7 Prāchy-āmbhōnidhī³-ruha(dīha)-sāndra(nu)r-atuā[h*] pushpa⁴-drum-ālī-rvṛi(vṛi)taḥ syandaṁ-
ni(nān-ni)rjara-vāri-
- 8 dārita-darī-phēna⁵-akhalan-[n]i[s(r)]ana[h*] || svāna-tīrasta-patattī-vaḥṇ-virutair-āpū-
- 9 riś-āntar-guṭh(gu)haḥ rīmā[n*]-Mēru(r)-i(v-ōdgataḥ kuḥla-gīriḥ khyātō Mahēndra[h*]
khitauḥ(tau) || [3*]
- 10 Prāṇu(Prāṇu)r-mah-ābha-karu-pīvara-chōhā(chā)ru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kriṣṇ-āma-saṁchaya-
vibhōda-viśāla-vakṣhāḥ [||*]
- 11 ā(rā)jīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khvātāḥ Kalīṅga-janātān Polindasēna[h*] || 4*]
- 12 Tēn-ōttham guṇin-āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n-śahyam bhuvō maṇḍalam [* śaktō ya[h*]
paripālānāya juga-
- 13 taḥ kō nāma sa syād-iti | pratyāśishya-vibh-u(bh-ū)taavēna bhagavān(vā)n-ārādhitā[h*]
śāvatān-tach-chitt-ā-
- 14 nu(nu)gupa[m*] vidhīnu(tu)r-ādīnā-vāñchhān svayambhō(mbhū)r-apīḥ(pi || 5) Sa śilā-sa-
(sa)kal-ōdbbōdī tēn-āpy-ā-
- 15 lōkya dhi(dh)matā | parikalpita-mā-vāśā(d-vāśāḥ) prabhūḥ Śailōdbbhava[h*] kṛitāḥ [|| 6*]
Śailōdbbhavasya kula-
- 16 jō-rupabhīta āśīl-yēn-āśakṛit-ka(takṛi)ti-bhīyā[m*] dvishad⁶-āḍaganānām(nām) | jyōtanā-
pravō(bō)dhā-samayō eva-dhīy-ai-
- 17 va śārdḍham-ākampitō nayana-pokṣhma-jalālu chandraḥ || [7*]

* From the original plates and their inscriptions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The *śaṅga* is superfluous.

⁴ The *Parikṣit* and *Nivṛta* plates have *śahā-patā*.

⁵ Originally *śi* was engraved in place of *śhī*. This error is found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavarman II.

⁶ The Cuttack Museum plates read *pushpa*.

⁷ The Cuttack Museum plates read *pāṇa*.

⁸ *Ja* was originally inscribed in place of *śa*.

⁹ The rest of the line is blank.

TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR
A.—GRANT OF AYASOBHITA II MADHYAMARAJA



Second Plate; First Side

- 18 Tasy-ābhavad-vivṛ(bu)dha-pāla-samasya sūnuk śri-Sainyabhūta iti bhūmi-patir-ggā-
 19 rīyān | yast prāpy-ānūka¹-kuta-nāga-ghaṭṭa-vighaṭṭa-lavīha(bdha)-prasāda-vijayē(yaṇ) mummāḥ
 dhari-
 20 ttrih(tri) || 6*] Tasy-āpi vanāś(vanāś)-tha yathārtha-nāmā jātā-yasādhūta iti kshitiśah || 7*]
 Yēnā(na) praru(rū)-
 21 dhā-pi śubhāś-chazir+trih mri(ttrair-nri)śhtah kalaśka(h*) kalī-darppaṇasyah(sya) || 9*]
 Jātasya(=sa) tasya us(na)nayaḥ
 22 su-kṛtī samanta-simantini-nayana-sharpa(t-pa)da-puṇḍarikah || 10*] śri-Sainyabhūta iti bhūmi-
 23 patir-mumhāśha-kumbha-sthālī-dalana-durīlāḥ(li)-śaṭ(si)-dhārūh || 10*] Jātēna yāna kumal-
 ākara-
 24 vat-eva-gōttram-unmilitā(tar) dīmakṛt-ēva mahōdayēnaḥ(na) || samkṣipta-maṇḍala-ruchāś-
 cha
 25 ratā(h*) pramā(nā)ham-ān dviśāś graha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyaḥ(ptyā) || 11*] Kāleiyair-bhū-
 tadh(ā)-
 26 ttrīpatihhir-apaśhit-śnēka-pāp-āvatāir-nutā yōhā(h*) koth-āpi prala-
 27 yam-abhimatā kirtitri(trti)-mā(pā)hair-ajastam(aram) | yajñais-tair-aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir-
 amarā
 28 lambhūtā-tṛptim-d(m-a)rvai(rvā)m-urda(dḍri)pt-ārātī-paksha-kubaya-kṛtī-patimā Śmī-
 vāśēna yēnāḥ(na) || 12*]
 29 Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākṣil-ārē ma(r-ma)rud-iva jananād-bhāsvad-uzhgaṇau-tōjā |² jātō³ mānī
 dayālar-ama-
 30 rapatir-Ayāśbhītadēvas-tanu(nā)ja(h*) | mātaṅgān=yō-titūgām(āgān) va(ha)hala-muda-
 muchā(cha)ś-chāru-va-
 31 ktrā(h*) prachanḍāḥ(nḍān) va(ba)ddhv-ākashaty-a-khinnah punar-āpi dayatō⁴ yatnataḥ sa-
 (sa) pragalbhaḥ || 13*] Kōchid-vanya-
 32 mrigāga sārḍham-acharatha-tāh tām ūthitū līlayā |⁵ kōchich-ch-ōddha(rdhva)-mukhā(h*)
 saharakirapah(ṛa)-jvā-
 33 l-āvalī-prākṣhiṇa(h*) kōchid-valkalīna-tath-ājina-dhazāḥ kōchir-ja(j-pa)ṭā-dhāriya(ṛō) |⁶
 nānā-ru(rū)pa-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 34 dharās-tapanti munayō divy-śabpa(spa)d-ākāṁkṣiṇah || 14*] Kōchich-ohhaila-guh-ōdarēshu
 niyatā⁷ dhū-
 35 m-āvalī-pāyinaḥ⁸ anyō vāyu-phal-āmva(mbu)-bhakṣha-niyatā(h*)⁹ kōchin-nirāhārakā || (kāḥ |
 itthah
 36 yōga-yu(ju)śhō vihāya vasatī(h*) dhyāyanti divyath padam |¹⁰ chittarich Madhyamrājudēva-
 guṇa-dhri-

¹ Read *prāpya vānīka* for the sake of the metre.² The double is superfluous.³ Other records of the family usually read *tārā*.⁴ For the expressions (1) *dayatā*, (2) *yatnataḥ* and (3) *sa pragalbhaḥ*, see other records of the family here.(1) *śarātā*, *tapatā* or *tapatā*, (2) *yat-ārātā* or *yat-natā* and (3) *sa-pragalbhaḥ* respectively.⁵ Some records of the family read *nirāh*.⁶ The rule of *anāḥ* has been ignored here apparently for the sake of the metre.

- 37 d-tājyō(jyō)-pi tat-prāptavān(h)(vān) || [15*] Yas-y-āhvānā-sa(t-sa)mīyuh' sora-bhavana-gatā divya-satvā(ttvāh) praga-
- 38 bhāh tai(bhās-taih) sārddham nitya-kālam sukṛta-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛdya(dyān) prakurvah-(rvan) | Sambhōs-tasy-ānu-²
- 39 kār padam-amaram-sjari āśvatan ānta-rūpan lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)tsāhas-sa vīrah kabiti-[ta]la-
- 40 vasatō(ti)r²-neirjit-ārati-pakabāh || [16*] Śhūty-utpatti-vināśa-kāraṇa-param yan-jyō(j-jyō)-tir²-avyāhatah |³
- 41 vyakt-āvyaktam-amanta-śakti-niyatah dēv-ātīdēvō mahāh(hān) | tasy-ānagraha-kūri-vi-
- 42 krama-dhana(nu)ś-chāshṭāh karōty-adbhutāh sa śrimān-atula(h*) śāśāka-dhavalah kabogī-ya-
- 43 ā(h*)-khyāpitaḥ || [17*] Ā karṇād-atnāh vikṛishya tasmā chāpa-dvaya(h*) llayāh(yā)⁴
- 44 aahṭābhī(h*) kavachai vi(r-vi)vēshṭya phalakān-ātād-ō(d-a)bhābhyaṁ-api | pāṇibhyāh chaturāh āllmu-
- 45 kha-mukhair-bhūta(ttvā) su-tikshṇai bhṛi(r-bhṛi)śah(śa)ñ-jātō dūi(di)vya-gatī(h*) Prithā-mta-samāh(mah) Kōṅgōda-ratna(h*) kshitaub(ṭau) || [18*]
- 46 Varmabhyāh sakalāh śarīram-śakṛit=sa(h*)vēshṭya li-ānvitah pi(p)nan dvai(dvan) purnabō(śhan) nidhāya yuga-
- 47 pa(h*) skandha-dvayō llayā | adya(h*)-śāta-kṛipāna-bhāsura-karō dhāvuty-a-khinnō bhṛīś(h*)
- 48 bhūpālō Hanumat-parākrama iti khyāta(h*) khamā-maṇḍalāh(lā) || [19*] Jātēna śubha-ra-
- 49 puśā āśin-ēva yēna samva(sadhva)rdhhitadi kumuda-shaṇḍam=iva sva-gōttrah(ttram) | sākōchita-
- 50 ū-cha tipu-paṭkaḷa-vrīndam-ārās-sō(t-sō)-yam' ni(nṛi)pō jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpah || [20*]

Third Plate

- 51 aamin(amin) Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē mahāśamanta-śrī⁵

B. Grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhita

This is a set of three plates, each measuring 6.35 inches by 3.5 inches, held together by a ring with seal. The seal contains the emblems of the crescent above, the couchant bull facing proper right in the middle, and an expanded lotus below. Between the bull and the lotus there is the legend reading *Śrī-Dharmarājadēvaya*. The first plate is written on one side only, whereas the other two plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing on the reverse of the third plate is considerably damaged as portions of the metal on this side have peeled off. The three plates together weigh 61 tolas, while the weight of the ring and the seal is 26 tolas.

¹ In the Parikud plates of the same king, Banerji reads : *gag-āhva(āg)an-mama(d*)pū(s)-sura²*.

² In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *Sambhōs-samāśāna-kār padam-amara-jam(d*)*.

³ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *sasūti(tin)*.

⁴ The present record helps us in correcting the reading of the Parikud plates.

⁵ The *śanda* is superfluous.

⁶ The rule of *śandā* has been ignored here for the sake of the metre.

⁷ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *kōpāna yō japatī*. The medial *i* of *ii* is joined with a horizontal stop stroke (here superfluous) at the right of the letter as in the last line of the *Samāṇḍala* plates and in some other records. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85, n. 5.

⁸ The record abruptly ends here. This line containing the beginning of the list of officials to whom the royal order regarding a grant would have to be issued should have been properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the reigning monarch.

The charter belongs to king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** of the Śailodbhava family of Kōṣā-gōda in modern Orissa and closely resembles the other charters¹ of the same king in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The date of the charter under discussion is uncertain. After the word [*Sam**]vat, only the figure *1* can be traced, the writing of the following portion being damaged in the plate. It is therefore doubtful whether the date is year *1* or any other regnal year between *10* and *19*. The Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta seems to have flourished about the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth (circa 695-730 A.C.)².

The draft of the present charter closely follows that of the Kōṣāḍḍa grant issued by king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta in his thirtieth regnal year. The eighteen verses forming the introduction of our charter as well as the lengthy prose passage introducing the king as *kutali* (lines 1-40) are the same as the corresponding part of the Kōṣāḍḍa grant (lines 1-47), with slight changes (including minor mistakes) in the text and the names of the places whence the charters were issued. Verses 1-11 of the record dealing with the predecessors of the reigning monarch are merely a selection from the introductory stanzas found in the records (cf. the Bānpur plates edited above) of his father Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. Verses 12-18 describe the achievements of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta himself. It is well known that only one of these verses (verse 15) gives a valuable historical information. It seems to say how Dharmarāja had an elder brother named Mādhaba (i.e., Mādhavavarman probably named after his grandfather) who began to bear ill will against his younger brother as soon as he ascended the throne, how Dharmarāja defeated this Mādhaba at the battle of Phāsikā, how Mādhaba thereupon took shelter under a king named Tivara, and how both Mādhaba and Tivara were defeated by Dharmarāja in a battle fought at the foot of the Vinīhyas. This Tivara may have been a later member of the Paṇḍuvāṇśa of South Kōṣāla.³ Verse 18 discloses the king's secondary name Mānabhīta.

The prose passage following the introductory verses in our inscription refers to the place whence the charter was issued. The name of the place is doubtful but may be *Āntiḍa* or *Sitḍa*. The king is here described as a devout worshipper of Mahāēvara (Śiva) and as devoted to his parents. Another interesting passage says that he was the son's son (i.e., grandson) of one who took an *asvāpīṭha* bath after the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice (*aśvamēdha-śvāpīṭha-enāna-nivṛṛitīta-sūnōḥ-tanayāḥ*) apparently referring to the performance of the horse sacrifice by his grandfather Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, already discussed above in connection with the Bānpur plates of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja, father of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.⁴

The passage recording the grant in the inscription under review is defective. The engraver had at first omitted a lengthy passage mentioning the donee, the gift land and the actual donor and later squeezed only the important words and names from the omitted passage in the limited space. The defective description suggests that the real donor of the grant was the queen Kalyāṇadēvi (or Śrīkalyāṇa⁵) and that her grant was endorsed by the king. The gift land consisted of 3 measures styled *ṣaṇṣāra* in a locality called *Savarṇaḥṣṇṇī* situated in the *Thōraya viśaya* and

¹ The Kōṣāḍḍa grant of the 30th regnal year (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), the Nivīnā grant possibly of the 9th regnal year (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 33-41) and the Puri plates of a doubtful date (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.). Bhandarkar's reading of the dates of the Puri and Kōṣāḍḍa plates is wrong (see *List*, Nos. 2040, 41; *Successors of the Śālavāṇśa*, p. 401).

² He ruled at least up to his 30th regnal year.

³ This Tivara cannot be identified with Mahāśiva Tivara of the Paṇḍuvāṇśa as the latter flourished in the sixth century (circa 565-80 A.C.; see *E.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144). Dharmarāja's rule (covering not less than 30 years according to the Kōṣāḍḍa grant) can hardly be placed earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century because, as indicated above, his grandfather performed the *Aśvamēdha* before his 13th regnal year falling some time after 619 A.C. and ruled for at least 50 years (cf. the date of the Cuttack Museum plates) and his father ruled for at least 26 years (cf. the date of the Parikol plates).

⁴ The Parikol plates suggest that Madhyamarāja took part in the performance of his father's horse-sacrifice.

2½ *śaṃpāras* at the village of Madhuvāṭaka attached to the Rāṇḍa *śimā* probably forming a part of the same *viśaya*. The donee was a Jain (?) monk called Śha-śāṇa (possibly one who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth: cf. Śha-śāṇa) Prabuddhachandra who was the disciple of the arhādūchārya (the most venerable teacher) Nāśichandra. The grant seems to have been actually made in favour of a deity or religious establishment in the residence of Prabuddhachandra. This is suggested by the expression *balī-saṃra-śara-pūcārṭṭanāṃ*. But the record seems to say that Prabuddhachandra alone would have to enjoy the grant till his death. The gift was thus temporary. Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāṇadēvi (or Śīkandīyā?) and the king Dharmarāja, although the epithet *vājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet *śālaguṇī* used before the word *vājñī* may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabuddhachandra's residence. In case it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or a step-mother of the king. The word *śaṃpāra* (also written *śaṃpāra* or *śaṃpāra*) is found in many records¹ in the sense of a land measure. It is clear that the engraver omitted a large number of words from the passage detailing the grant in the original draft of the document.

The *dātaka* or executor of the charter was the *Pañchakaraṇōparika-vatśālaka-bṛhaddhōgī* Śāmantā. Apparently the same person is mentioned in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja as the *Bṛhaddhōgī* Śāmantā who wrote that document. Of the official designations attributed to Śāmantā in our record, *pañchakaraṇōparika* is the same as *pañch-ādhikaraṇōparika* of the Guṇa-gīṭa plate² and may indicate 'the chief Superintendent of five administrative offices.' *Vatśālaka*, found in records like the Kanva plate³ of Lakṣmīgraha, possibly means a privy councillor. The designation *dhōgī* seems to have indicated an *īśānādī*. The plates were engraved by Āditya-dēva who appears to be styled *dhātakāśīlaka*, i.e., a goldsmith.⁴ The document was *dhātakāśīlaka*, i.e., endowed or registered with a seal, by the *pēṭipāla* (literally, keeper of the boxes, i.e., those containing documents) named Balavarman who is also known from the Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the Thūraga *viśaya* is also known from other records,⁵ although its definite location is doubtful. The king's *viśaya* or residence whence the charter was issued cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the villages of Savarṇamlōgī and Madhuvāṭaka as well as the *śimā* or subdivision called Rāṇḍa.

TEXT⁶

[Metres: verses 1, 3, 11, 14, 18 *Śārdūlavikīṛṇita*; verses 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 22 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 4, 13, 16, 19-23 *Anantakuh*; verse 7 *Indravajrā*; verses 9, 10, 15 *Saundhānī*; verse 17 *Nandakuh*; verse 23 *Pūṣpīyātrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham⁷ Svastī[ṣṭi] 1 Indōr-dhō(r-dhau)ta-mṛṇāla-tantubār-śva śīśā[ṭā] karai[h] kōmalai[h]⁸ vaddh-śhōr-arṇai[h] śpāc-

¹ Cf. J. B. O. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 181 (Puri plates of Dharmarāja, text, line 40); above, Vol. XXIV, p. 103 (Cutback Museum Plates of Mādhavarman, text, line 30). Vol. XXI, p. 41 (Nivāṇa grant of Dharmarāja, text, line 47), etc.

² Select Inscriptions, p. 333.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329.

⁴ The same designation is also found in the forms *dhātakāśīlaka* (Bhamaskar, List, Nos. 1470, 1497, etc.) and *Arhādāśīlaka* (ibid., No. 1496). These appear to be Sanskritizations of Telugu and Kannada words, 'a goldsmith.'

⁵ See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 129 (Puri plates of Mādhavarman II), J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII, part 1, p. 285 (Kāṇva plates of Mādhavarman II), etc.

⁶ From the original plates and their impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol. [As for *svastī*, with *śaṃpāra*, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 140, n. 2.—Ed.]

⁸ Read 'śāśīlaka'.

TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR
B.—GRANT OF DHARMARAJA MANABHITA

i.
2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12

ii.a.

14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24

ii.b.

26 26
28 28
30 30
32 32
34 34
36 36

iii, a.

38 38
40 40
42 42
44 a. 44 a.
44 b. 44 b.
44 c. 44 c.
46 46
48 48

iii, b.

50 50
52 52
54 54

Seal



- 2 rat-phatī-mayār-digdha-prabhāṣā-āśābhāḥ¹ [1*] Pārsvatyā[ḥ*] sa-kācha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛtta-va(ha)ndha-dhātū² |³ Gaṅgā-
- 3 mru(mba)-glutī-bhinnā-bhāṣa-kayikā[ḥ*] Śambhār-jatāḥ-pānu(na) val⁴ [11*] Prāśān-(Prīnāsu)r-mahāśāḥ-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[ḥ*] kṛishṇ-āṣṇa⁵
- 4 saycha[ścha][ya*]-rihāḥle-viśāṭā(la)-vakabā[ḥ] [2*] rājīva-kōṣala-dal-āyata-kēṣan-āntaḥ kīrā-taḥ Kālīṅga-janātān
- 5 Pulindasēna[ḥ*] [1 2*] Tēn-ēntam(nīham) gūṣinō-pa(n-āpi) satva(tīra)-mahatā n-śāṭān blu-vār-maṇḍalān |⁶ kaktō yuḥ pari(ri)pāla[nā]-
- 6 ya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād-iti | pratyāśāṭa-vihhur-bha(bh-ūna)vēna bha[ga]vān⁷-ārādhita[ḥ*] āśvataḥ tu(tas-ta)ch-ehit-ānu-
- 7 guṇān viśhīṃsu(tu)r-āśīṭaḥ-vāṇchhān svasa(ya)māhō(nbhū)r-api || [3*] Sa ālā-sakal-āśhāḥ tēn-āpy-āḥkya(kya) dhīma-
- 8 tā [1*] pari(ri)kalpita-sad-vaṇḍa(d-vandah) prabhūḥ Śailōdbhavaḥ kṛitaḥ [1 1*] Śailōdbha-vaaya kulaḥ-ranabhīta hāt y(d-yō)
- 9 n-āśakṛit-kṛitā(ta)-bhūyā[ḥ*] dvishad-aṅganānāth(nām) | jyōtēnāya⁸-pravō(kō)ḥa-samayē sra-dhy-ānu ānīham-āśm(ka)śpitō
- 10 asyana-pakshma-jalēṣu chandra[ḥ*] || [5*] Tasy-ābhavaḥ-viva(hu)ḥa-pāla-samasya sūnūḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta i-
- 11 ti bhūmipatiga(r-gu)riyān [1*] yuḥ prāpya n-aika-kata-tāga-ghaṭṭa-vigṇāṭa-lavḍha(bdha)-pratāpa-vijayān ma(ma)rudō
- 12 dhari(ri)hīri || [6*] Tasy- āpi vāśāḥ(vahāḥ)-tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō-yāśōbhi(bhī)ta iti kshit-āḥ [1*] yāna pra-

Second Plate: First Side

- 13 ru(rū)ḥhō-pi śābhāḥ-eharimāḥ ruḥ(tasir-mi)śtaḥ kalāṅkaḥ kalī-darppagasya || [7*] Jātō-
tha [tasya tanaya]=sukri-
- 14 ti samasta-simanta(nī)al-mayana-shadpa[ḥ]ta-paṇḍarika[ḥ*] | śrī-Sainyabhīta [ti bhūmi]-
patir-mahā-
- 15 tēn-kumbhasthali-dalaun-dudalit-āśi-dhārāḥ || [8*] Kālōyair-bhūtadhāttrīpatibhīr-upachit-
ānēka-pā-
- 16 p-āvatānair-nāṭā yāśhān kath-āpi pralayata-abhimatā kīrti-mā(pā)ḥair-ajaram[ḥ](aram |)
yajhais-tair-āśvāmōḥa-
- 17 prabhū(bhī)tiḥhīr-amarā lambūtā tṛi(s-tri)ptim-arvīm⁹ adp(dār)pt-ārāti-paksha-kāhaya-
kṛiti-patunā Śrīnivāsēna
- 18 yēna || [9*] Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākṣil-āri(rū)r-mmarud-iva janitō bhāsvad-ashpāḥ(ahy-
ānu)tiḥjā[ḥ*] āurō mām dayā-
- 19 tur-narapatir-Ayāśbhītadēvas-taṇḍja[ḥ*] | mītaṅgān-yī-titaṅgān-va(ba)hale-maḍa-mucha-
- 20 ś-chāru-vaktrāp-pru(n-pra)chayāṅ va(ba)ddhy-ākataṭaty-a-khinnāḥ pamar-api [da]yatō¹⁰
yatnataḥ sampragabhaḥ || [10*] Kōchi-

¹ Read prabhāṣā-āśābhāḥ. An crossed 7 sign is noticed above āśa.

² The danda is superfluous.

³ An crossed subscript i can be traced beneath ānu.

⁴ Ga had been at first omitted and was later engraved above the line in a small form.

⁵ Read jyōtēnā, omitting ā.

⁶ The engraver had begun to carve me close to ruḥ, but gave it up to leave some space between the two akhōras.

⁷ See above, p. 37, note 4.

- 21 ś-chhai(śh=chhai)la-guh-ōdarēchu niratā¹ dhūm-āvali-pāyinaḥ² anyā vāyu-phal-ānvu-
(mbu)-bhakṣha-nirataḥ[ḥ*] kēcholu(chi)n-ti(n-mi)rī-
22 hārakā[ḥ*] | ituhah yōga-jmahō vihāya vasatib(tim) dhyāyash(ya)atī divyām(vya)m-padam
chitra[m*] Madhyumacśjadēva-
23 guṇa-dhpid-rājyē-epi tat-prāptavān || [11*] Tasy-ābhavat-sakala-śāstra-viśēsha-vēdi śrī-
Dharmmarāja
24 iti sūnur-ulhō[ta*]-śāstrah | yasy-ātinirmala-yataḥ parivarddhamāna[m*] pādau Harḥ-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 25 r-iva na māyitam-ā tpi(tri)lōkyāḥ³ || [12*] Nirārayni[ā*] prayatnēna guṇais-ta parivāritah
[1*] vaimukhyād-ā-
26 rahayā cū-āiva sarvva-dōshair-vvivarjjitah || [13*] Kālō hanti ripu(pā)n-mā(n-ma)hārāṇa-
śata-vyāpāra-lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)anustina[lin]*
27 kālō dharmma-vivēchanāya na(ni)ratō vri(bra)hmagya-madhyē sthitah Krauñchārē-iva
yasya chāshpitam-ulah lōka(knāḥ)
28 samālōkyata || [14*] Rājyash lavdh-ai(bdh-ai)va darppād-ā[vi*]gaṇta-tayō Mādhavō
jyēshtha-bhārāt(n) dēśān(ā) d-samād-a-
29 pāsta[ā-ēpi]ta-va(vi)shama-matir-vvigrahō Phāṣkāyām || (yām) | yuddha-kābhōbhāga bhagū
nīpati-varam-asau sathārta-
30 a-Tivar-a(r-ā)khyah paśchāt-tā-āpi sārddham punar-āpi vijitō Vindhya-pādēshu jirṇa-
[h] || [15*] Sūryam ācīr-yau-
31 vanam rājyān-ēc-alkān mada-kārakāḥ(kam) | , sarvva[m*] śrī-Mānabhīṣaya nirvi-
kāram-upasthitah[ti](tam) || [16*] Taraga-
32 khur-ābhīghāta-vidatad-dharapi-tatajam | jaya-gaja-karṇṇah(rṇṇa)-chāmara-vidhūnana-vis-
phuritah(tam) | su-bha-
33 śa-phara-prasarppana-niruddha-kakū(ku)d-gaganam va(ba)la-raja ōva yasya jayati dvi-
shatā[ti] dhvajinīm(nim) || [17*] Ā-
34 rachya prasabham ghatā gaja-gaṇair-māviya-pa(pā)dātakāḥ ji(knir-ji)tv-ānyām(nyā)m-
va(n-ba)la-śālīnō uripa-varān-āgetya
35 dīrghār-bhura[m](am) | yuddhō bhūma-pa(rā*)kramēṇa vijitā nirvrit-padam prāpitā[ti](tā)
dīrghantō bhavan-āṅgaṇē prāti-dīpmaḥ
36 prātaḥ prapām-ārthinaḥ || [18*] Vijay-Āsili[ḥa]*-vīśakāt śrī-Śailābhava-kula-tilaka-mahāma-

Third Plate : First Side

- 37 kha-vājopīy-śēvamāb-āvavahitū⁴-tama(mā)u(na)-nirvvaritita-sūnō-tanayō va(ba)-
ha-vividha-matta-vārāṇa-va-
38 turaga-mā(pa)dāti-śāstra-sam(sa)mpāta-saṅkulō(la)-va(ba)hv-āhava-vinihata-śatrur-anēka-
vikram-ākṛānta-sakala-bhū-

¹ See above, p. 47, ante a.

² The rule of sandhi has been neglected here for the sake of the metre.

³ The reading of this defective passage is slightly different in different records of the king. The emenda-
tions suggested by scholars do not appear to be satisfactory.

⁴ The second pāda of the stanza (kha, kha-vivahitā), which had been omitted through inadvertence,
was later inserted about the end of the record in lines 34-35.

⁵ The reading may be 'vijaya-śā'. The last syllable of the name may also be śa, śa or śa.

⁶ Read 'śrībhīṣa'.

⁷ Better read śaśa-vīha.

- 39 maṇḍalō au(hu)ja-va(ba)-ātula-prathita-yaśā(ā)ñ=chā(=cha)auriddanta-saṅgrāmāḍ-asakpil-
lavdha(bdha)-pratāpaḥ paramamāhāva-
40 rō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātah śrī-Dharmarājādēvaḥ kuśali |¹ Thūraṇa-vishayō | mahā-
sāmanta-
41 śrisāmanta- | mahāra(rā)ja- | rājanaka- | rājaput-āntaraṅga- | dāṇḍanāyaka- | dāṇḍavā(pā)-
śik-aupari[ka*]-ata(ta)dvini-
42 yukta[ka]-vyavahāritas= karāṇān-anyaśō=cha(nyāñs=cha) Vra(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-āti-
vaishayika-janapada(dām)ś=chāfa-tāḥa-
43 vallabha-jātyān-yath-āram-pōjayati mānayaty-ājñāpayati cha | viditam-asu bhavatām
ētaḍ-viśam-
44 ya-samva(mba)dīha-²

(a) d-arhat-ā(d-ā)chārya-Nāśichantra || tād-ā(ch-chhi)shya śha-sāpa-Pravū(bu)dīhaachantra
| yāva[t*] jīvati | va(ba)li-sa(sa)itra-charu-pravartisanāya | bhaga[va*]ti śrī-rājā

(b) Śrī-Kalyāṇapādō | Thūraṇa-vishaya-samva(mba)dīha | Suvarṇarājōḍḍi jimpira tri(tri)ḥi
[3] Rāṇja-sāma-samva(mba)dīha-Madhuvātaka-grāma | jimpī-

(c) ra-dvayati 2 pādā(dah) |

- 45 tad-anumōditō-smābhi[h*]³ yatus-tāmvra(mra)-paṭa(ta)ka-darsanāt yathā-kāla-samu-
chita-phalam-upabhuñjānō(masya) dharmma-
46 gauravāt kōnachit-paripatthi(nih)ā [na*] bhavitavyam-iti | nktāḥ=cha dharmma-
śāstrō ||⁴ Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhīs-Saga-
47 r-ādībhīr-ya(bhīh | ya)sya yaśya yadā bhūmita(s-ta)m(sya) tasya tadā phala[m*] || 19*
Sva-dā(da)ntā(tā)m=para-dattām-vā(tāṁ vā) yō harōḥa vasundharān(rām |)
48 sa viśhṭhāyām kṛmīr-bhātva pītṛbhīs-salu pachyatē || 20* Mā bhūt-a-phala-sāṅkā vaḥ
para-datt-ēti pārvivā[h] | sva-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 49 dānāt-phalam-ānantyam para-datt-ānupālana(nā) || 21* Vidyai-vilāsa-karalām-ava-
gamyā samya[g*]-lōka-sthitiṁ
50 yaśai [akta*]-manōbbhir-nchchah ||* ni[tyam] paṭe-ōpakṛiti-mātra-ratair-bhavadbhīh
dha(dbbhir-dha)mm-ābhīrādhaṇa-parair-anumōdi-
51 tavyā || 22* | Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mba)-vindu-[lōḥā]ñ=chhri(lām śri)yam-anushintya manuṣhya-
jīvitam(ta)ñ=cha | sakalam-ida-
52 m=adāhṛitam(ta)ñ=chah(ñ=cha) vu(ba)dīhvā sa hī puruṣah para-kirttayō rvvi(vi)jōpyā-
[h*] || 23* | [Dātakō-ttra] paṭcha-karaṇ-ōpari[ka*]-vāi-
53 ēvāsaka-vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgi [Sāmantaḥ]⁵ utkṛṇṇā a[kshaśālikāna*] Ādityaśōvām lāñchhi-
54 tām pejāpālā(la)-Va(Ba)lavarmma[ṇā | Sam*]vat [1]...*[h*] Kālō sa(bha)[kṛ*]m-[u]paiti su-
55 bhra=churitatḥ Sāmbhōḥ kathā-vistaraḥ ||... pritha...iti |

¹ The *doṇḍa*, used so many times in lines 40-41 and 44, is unnecessary.

² The following two lines, marked (a) and (b) are offered in the original as two branches of line 44. The por-
tion, marked (c), is a continuation of (b) and is engraved beneath the beginning of line 44. The engraver noticed
after inscribing the word *samva(mba)dīha* that a lengthy passage detailing the grant had been omitted. He there-
fore squeezed only the important words of the omitted passage in as small a space as possible.

³ The intended reading seems to be *tad-dānam-anumōditōsmābhih*.

⁴ Horizontal strokes are here used for interpunctuation instead of the usual vertical ones.

⁵ See the Pari plates, line 60.

⁶ The preserved lower part of two *śloka*s seems to read *ṛgāḥ* which possibly stands for *Phalgrasāḥ*.

⁷ See above, p. 42, note 4.

No. 6—ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN; REGNAL YEAR 62

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND, AND S. RATHA-SARMA, PURI

The village of **Alagum** lies about twenty-three miles from the holy city of Puri, celebrated for the great temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, and about ten miles from the Sākhigopāl station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. There is a small temple in the village, in which the god Śiva in the form of a *linga*, styled Gaṛttidēvara, is worshipped. The temple itself is rather unimpressive like so many of its class in the villages in different parts of Orissa. But its importance lies in the existence of two inscriptions on the stones of its wall near the door, one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription on the proper left is in the Telugu script and language while that on the right is in the Gaṇḍiya script and in the Sanskrit language. The second inscription forms the subject matter of this paper.

The inscription covers a space about four feet and four inches in length and about one foot eleven inches in breadth. There are altogether twenty-six lines of writing, the letters being about 1½ inches in height. Originally both the inscriptions were fully covered with cement. Of late the cement plastering was removed; but there are still traces of it in the lower part of the inscription published here. Some letters, especially in lines 24-26, are not clearly visible.

The characters belong to a cursive form of the Gaṇḍiya class, commonly called Proto-Bengālī, and may be assigned to about the twelfth century A.C. or even later. The sign for medial *ś*, which resembles that in modern Oriyā, and the short type of medial *ā* sign exhibited in a few cases (cf. *Kāṣṭhya* in lines 5-6) are interesting to note. The initial *a* occurs several times in the inscription (lines 10, 18, 21, etc.) and the sign for *anagraha* only once (line 13). The characters may be compared with those in the records of the imperial Gaṅgas such as the Nagari plates of Anāga-bhūma III. circa 1211-38 A.C.) edited above.¹

The language of the inscription under discussion is incorrect Sanskrit, its orthography exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation; cf. words like *dēva* for *deva* (line 4), *caṇḍa* for *caṇḍā* (line 7), *māhātēvara* for *mahādeva* (line 8), etc. The rules of *sandhi* have been sometimes ignored.

The record is dated in the sixty-second year of a king named Anantavarmanadēva. The great length of the reign referred to leaves hardly any doubt that the king is no other than the great Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who is known to have been crowned in 1078 A.C. and ruled for about seventy years up to 1147 A.C. The sixty-second year of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga would thus correspond to 1140-41 A.C. It may be noted that the reference is to the regnal reckoning and not to the *Śaka* reckoning in which, as indicated by certain inscriptions of the later rulers of Orissa, a number of regnal years were not to be counted. The details of the date, quoted in the inscription under notice, speak of Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Māgha. The date thus regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 30th of January, 1141 A.C. According to Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 284, the *śukla*/*Al* *tithi* ended on that date at -19 of the day.

The inscription records certain grants made by a person named Kāmāṇḍi whose epithet *diśāpati* (Sanskrit *diśāpati*) looks like an official designation. It is possible to think that Kāmāṇḍi was the governor of a territorial unit of which the present village of Alagum in the Puri District formed a part. Kāmāṇḍi is simultaneously called *Paramamāhātēvara* and *Parama-*

¹ Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

misinterpretation, which show that he was a devotee of both the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. His family belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and to the *paśch-ārshāya-panvata* (i.e., having five sages as *panvatas* or distinguished members of the gōtra in question). The Kāśyapa gōtra, however, is known to have only three *panvatas*, viz., Kāśyapa, Āyatsāra and Naulhrava. *Paśch-ārshāya* thus appears to be a mistake for *try-ārshāya*. In dealing with the ancestry of Kāmāṇḍi, the inscription rather curiously speaks of *pitāmaha* Pōtāṇḍi, of the former's son Bhīmāṇḍi and of the latter's *son-ādharma* or descendant Kāmāṇḍi. It seems that Pōtāṇḍi was the *pitāmaha* or grandfather of Kāmāṇḍi and that Bhīmāṇḍi was his father in spite of the fact that he is said to have been merely a descendant of Bhīmāṇḍi. This seems to be suggested by the word *pitāmaha* used in connection with the name of Pōtāṇḍi, by the similar formations of the three names, viz., Pōtāṇḍi, Bhīmāṇḍi and Kāmāṇḍi, and also by the fact that there is hardly any meaning in mentioning only two distant ancestors of the donor when the established custom throughout India was generally to mention only his father and grandfather. It may, however, not be impossible that Kāmāṇḍi was actually the son of a brother of Bhīmāṇḍi who later adopted him as his own son. That is possibly why Kāmāṇḍi is called a *son-ādharma* and not exactly a *pitra* of Bhīmāṇḍi. It may be recalled in this connection that the Śālīśodbhava king Ayasōbhita I of Kōṅḡōḍa in Orissa is described in some records in prose as the son of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman I, but in others in verse as merely a descendant of the latter.¹ A very interesting information about Kāmāṇḍi's family given in the record is that it hailed from a village, the name of which reads like Kaḍamvura, in the Chōḷa country, which was the modern Tanjore-Trichinopoly region of South India.

Kāmāṇḍī is said to have purchased with his own money a *hala* of land styled Kapālśāvara in the village of Alagūṇma which formed a part of the Rāmaṇḍa *viśaya* and made it an endowment in favour of the *maṭha* of the god Gaṛttśvaraḍāva. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by certain honest *prajā-lōkas* apparently meaning the people of the locality. The object of the grant was two-fold. In the first place, it was to provide food to an ascetic, possibly living in the *maṭha* referred to, whose name may have been Bhij or Abhij. Secondly, three *pravartas* of paddy were allotted for providing *univēḍya* or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Gaṛttśvaraḍāva. In this description of the grant, the word *hala*, known also from other sources, has been used to indicate a piece of land of uncertain area. The exact weight of a *pravarta* of paddy is likewise unknown.⁸

In addition to the piece of land granted, a sum of money was deposited with the local *adhikāri* (possibly superintendents of the temple) who are said to have been maintaining the *galla-dēva*, literally 'village deity' (possibly meaning Garittāvara), for providing an *akhaṇḍa* or perpetual lamp, apparently in the temple, in honour of the god Garittāvara. The lamp was expected to be the *kula-tīrtha* (i.e., a thing that ensures easy crossing of the sea of *samsāra* for the members of one's family) of "this *kāparyaka*" probably meaning Kāmīnīji himself. The word *kāparyaka* appears to be a mistake for a word like *kāpyaka* meaning 'a penitent'. The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred *chūrṇa*s added by five *purāṇa*s. The word *chūrṇi* usually means a hundred cowrie-shells, while *purāṇa* was the old silver *kārshāpāna* usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. According to Oriya lexicons,² however, both the words *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa* are recognised in the sense of *kāhāra* (Sanskrit *kārshāpāna*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. There is no doubt that the words have been used in the same sense also in the record under

¹ See *Excursions of the dafardheens*, pp. 400 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 220 and *ibid.*

² Is it Ornithogalum ? which is equal to ten minims?

² (2. *Prasada* *Abhidhāna*, s.v. *śāhā* and *parāhā*. The Mohar plate (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 159, text line 30 : cf. p. 191, note 5) spells the word as *śāhā* and uses it as a synonym of *parāhā*. The same word also occurs in line 53 of the Vaṅgīyā-Sāhīya Parīkṣat plate of Vijayāpādhya (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 147), although it was wrongly read as *śāhā*.)

discussion. This is clearly suggested by the fact that the amount given in words as 'a hundred *chārpā* and five *parāṅas*' is separately mentioned in figures as *pa 105* (i.e., 105 *parāṅas*). Thus the amount granted for making provision for the burning of a lamp perpetually in the temple of Garudēśvara was 100 *chārpās*, *parāṅas*, or *kālāṅas* which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells.

It is interesting to note that the family of Kāmāṇḍī, who made grants in favour of the village-god of Alagum near Puri and appears to have been an official serving the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, is said to have hailed from the country of the Chōḷas. It is well-known that Chōḍagaṅga's mother Rājāsundarī was a Chōḷa princess and that the very name of the king points to the existence of Chōḷa or Chōḍa blood in his vein. Rājāsundarī is described in the Gaṅga records as the daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājendra who is variously identified by scholars with Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.), Virarājendra (1063-70 A.C.) and Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I (1063-70 A.C. as Eastern Chālukya king; 1070-1118 A.C. as ruler of the united Chōḷa-Chālukya kingdom), although the Gaṅga king's name, Virarājendra-Chōḍagaṅga, found in some records, suggests that he was the grandson of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra after whom he was named.¹ One of the queens of Chōḍagaṅga was the Chōḷa princess Chōḍa-mahādēvī who is known to have granted some *Kulōttuṅga-nidāṅas* for a lamp at the temple of Bhīmēśa at Drākṣhārkṣma and may have been a daughter of Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I.² This seems to suggest that Chōḍagaṅga's mother was a cousin of Kulōttuṅga (son of a daughter of Rājendra I), a granddaughter of Rājendra I and a daughter of Virarājendra. We have also evidence to show that there was considerable Chōḷa influence at the court of some of the early monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, who sometimes employed Chōḷa officials.³

There is little doubt that the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in Kālīṅga was connected with the expansion of Chōḷa influence in that country.⁴ It is now accepted by most scholars that the Gaṅga dynasty was established at Kālīṅgangara (modern Mukhalingam near Chittoor or Śrīkākulam) about the close of the fifth century A.C. The Gaṅgas soon established their power in Central Kālīṅga; but, in the seventh century, their position was threatened by the expansion of the power of their eastern neighbours, the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅḡōḍa (about the border between the Ganjam and Puri Districts of Orissa) and by the establishment of the Eastern Chālukyas at Pishapurā (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in the south. The authority of the Kālīṅga-nagara government was also considerably shaken about this time by the rise of collateral viceregal families like that of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka. The process of decline continued and, in the tenth century, the kingdom seems to have been divided into five states under different branches of the Gaṅga family as well as of viceregal lines.⁵ About the end of the same century, Vajrahasta Anantavarman (c. 985-1016 A.C.), belonging to one of the branch lines of the Gaṅga family, seems to have consolidated his position in all the five states.⁶ His success may have been due to the help he may have received from the Chōḷas. It has to be noted that this king, the first important ruler of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family, was a contemporary of the great Chōḷa king Rājaraṅga (985-1016 A.C.) who claims to have conquered Vēṅgi (the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas) by 998 A.C. and Kālīṅga (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) sometime before 1003 A.C.⁷

¹ Cf. Bablu Rao, *History of Kālīṅga* (oilprint), pp. 130-31.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 126 ff. See also *J. E. S. I. E.*, 1923-26, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. *Ray, Dynastic History of Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 130.

⁵ Cf. *J. K. B. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 223.

⁶ The history of the ancestors of this ruler has been discussed in connection with the Nagari plates of Anantavarman III (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.).

⁷ Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 24-57.

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(The inscription is a single column of text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, with 26 lines. The text is heavily eroded and difficult to decipher. The characters are arranged in a regular grid pattern, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main text.)

His son Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.) also claims to have defeated the Eastern Chālakya king as well as to have set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahendra in Kalinga (in the present Srikakulam District of Madras). Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father when he may have led the expedition against the Kalinga country as his father's general is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. But it is extremely interesting to note that, in the description of the expeditions led by the generals of Rājendra I about 1023 A.C. in the countries towards the east as far as South-East Bengal, mention is made of the reduction of Odra (Puri-Cuttack area) and Kōsala (the Sambalpur region together with certain western tracts), both then under the Sāmavamaṅga king of Yayātiṅgarā;¹ but not of any conflict with the king of Kalinga.² This fact seems to suggest that the early rulers of the Imperial Gaṅga family were regarded by the Chōla emperors as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family was another Varahasta Anantavarman (1039-70 A.C.) who was the grandson of his namesake mentioned above and the grandfather of the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But Chōla influence continued in Kalinga as late as the reign of Chōḍagaṅga and even later.

The present inscription is one of the few records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga that have been so far discovered in the Puri-Cuttack region which was conquered by that monarch from the Sāmavamaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Chōla-dēsa has already been noticed. Kaḍamvura may, as Mr. N. L. Rao has kindly suggested be identified with Kaḍambūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District. Alagudima is no doubt modern Alagum which is the findspot of the inscription under discussion. The name is Alaguma even now in Oriya pronunciation. The *nishaya* or district of Rāmaṅga, in which the village of Alagudima is said to have been situated, seems to be the same as the Rāvaṅga *nishaya* mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhānu II.³

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham¹ Svasti []² Śrīmad-Anantavarmanadēvaya
- 2 pārvarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya³ []⁴ dvāśaśatī[](śīta)-
- 3 samva[](śaśva)tsarā Māgha-II(śīta-titha) sapta-
- 4 myātri-vārā Gurau Chōla-dēsa(sa)-prati-
- 5 va(ba)ldha-Kaḍamvura-grāma-vinirggata-Kāśya(śya)-
- 6 pa-gōtra-pañch-ārsha(rāhō)ya-pravara-pitāma-
- 7 ka-Pōtāṇḍi[]⁵ tat-pūtra-Bhīmāṇḍi[]⁶ tad-vana-ō(d-vana-ō)-
- 8 dāhava-paramamāhāva(śva)ci-paramavaiśva(śha)va-
- 9 dīśpati⁷-Kāmāṇḍi-nāmā khyātā[]⁸
- 10 dīśaṅga Rāmaṅga-vishaya-pratīva(ba)ddha⁹-Ala-
- 11 guma-grāmiya-Kapilēśva(śva)ra-nāma-bhūmi-ka-
- 12 l-aikash sūdu-prajā-lōka(kā)ṇa pramukhikṛi-
- 13 tya sva-dhanēna krītvā¹⁰-śōha-dhanuma-viva(vi)-
- 14 ddhaya¹¹ śi-Garttāva(śva)radēvaya matha-pratīva(ba)¹²

¹ See I. II. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

² Ray, op. cit., pp. 318 ff.; above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff.

³ See J. R. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 12-26.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

⁷ Possibly *dīśapati*.

⁸ The rule of *śandā* has not been observed here.

- 15 ddhikṛīya tapasvinō Bhijē' bhōjan-ārthā
- 16 pradattā(tam |) tan-madhyād-āpi tṛi-Gaṛttāra(śva)ra-
- 17 dēvaśya naivōdy-ārthā dhānya-pravartta-tṛayam
- 18 niyōjitam(tam) || apazam-āpi tṛi-Ga-
- 19 ritāśva(śva)ra-pritayā pañcha-purāṇ-ādhi-
- 20 ka-chūṛṇpi-sat-aikeṇa śtaśya kāparya-²
- 21 kaśya kula-tāraṇa³-akhaṇḍa-dīpa-pra-⁴
- 22 pradān-ārthā iha samāvāśita-
- 23 palli-dēva-pālit-ādihikāṛṇā[ib]
- 24 [ha]stā prada[tiś⁵ a]hāḥ hi[pi] pu 103 [!]⁶
- 25 [ā-chandr-ārka-kāla]-paryantaṁ sādhu-pu-
- 26 [rūshaiḥ⁷] paṭipālaniyā⁸ ||

No. 7—BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 17

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, DOTAČANUND

Sometime about the beginning of 1951, Pandit Vishnūāl Śūstrī, a Research Scholar attached to the History Department of the University of Patna, kindly informed me that he had seen a copper-plate inscription at the village of **Bangāon** (P. O. Bariahi, Sub-district Saharsa) in the Bhāgalpur District of Biḥār and that Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, President of the Chhēdnārāyaṇ Club at Bangāon, and formerly President of the Bhāgalpur District Congress Committee, might be approached for further information about the inscription. I at once wrote to Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, requesting him to send me a pencil rubbing of the epigraph so as to enable me to have a rough idea of its importance. Pandit Jhā kindly complied with my request and, on an examination of the rubbings sent to me, I found that the plate was issued by king Vigrahapāla III of the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Biḥār. I was then eager to have the plate on a temporary loan for a careful examination of the inscription, and Pandit Jhā was good enough to send it to me about the beginning of June 1951. I am grateful to him for this act of kindness as well as for the following information regarding the findspot and discovery of the inscription.

The owner of the plate is Pandit Guṅghur Jhā, teacher of the Kalubati High English School, Bangāon. The village is an old one, situated on the bank of the Dhāmura, a tributary of the Kōśī. To the west of the rivulet, there stands Māhishmati, the *siddha-pīṭha* of the goddess Tārā and the native place of Maṇḍanamūra, famous in the Śaṅkarācārya legends. To the north-west lies Kamlaha where there is a temple of the Sun-god, said to be founded by a king named Bhavāditya, and to the north there is the Bāpāvara Śiva-līṅga, installed, according to tradition, by the demon king Bāṇa. To the west of the village is a Gaḍh-Dih where some gold coins of the Muḡhal times

¹ Or, *tapasvinō* śhijē.

² Possibly the intended reading is *kāparya*.

³ The rule of *anāhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *pra* is redundant.

⁵ Better read *pradattam pañc-ādihika-purāṇa-samam*.

⁶ The word seems to qualify *darī-tālā* independently.

were dug out some forty years ago. A poster still hangs at the place forbidding people to dig earth there more than three feet below the surface. There are also several *Gadhs* and *Diks* to the east and south of the village of Bangaon. The plate under discussion was discovered by Pandit Ghughur Jhā sometime in 1950 accidentally in the south-eastern part of the village, close to the Sharari-Dih. It was found buried in the earth with only the top of it visible above the ground. Pandit Ghughur Jhā dug it up and carefully preserved it in his house.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 13·4" in height, 12·2" in breadth and ·15" in thickness. On the top side of the plate is soldered the Pāla seal (7" in length and ·75" in thickness), shaped like 'the ace of spades' and known to have been called *Dharmachakramudrā*. The legend on the seal runs: *Śrī-Vīgrahapālādēvāy*. The copper plate with the bronze seal is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation and weighs 425 *tolas*. A portion measuring about an inch in length has, however, broken away from the lower left end of the seal on the obverse of the plate. There are 32 lines of writing on the obverse and 19 lines on the reverse. Considerable space (from 5·4" to 7" in length) in the central part of five lines at the top of both sides of the plate is covered by the lower bifurcated part of the seal, causing a break in the continuous writing of those lines. The seal is fixed to the plate apparently with the help of three knobs passing through holes made in the plate.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the eleventh century A.D., which I am inclined to call the Gaudīya script. In regard to palaeography, language and orthography the inscription under discussion closely resembles other Pāla inscriptions of the said age, especially the Āmṛgachhī¹ and Belwā² plates of Vīgrahapāla III who also issued the present charter. The letter *g* is written in two different ways (cf., e.g., *śamupagat-ā* in line 26 and *parāga* in line 31), one of which is commonly used and resembles the form of *ḍ* (cf. *śamupagat-āḍsha* in line 26). The letter *r* is also written both in the Bengali and in the Dēvanāgarī fashion (cf. *śutaḥ* and *śiḍ* in line 50). The superscript *r* is often a short horizontal stroke put below the top *medā* towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. *nirpāta* in line 48) and is sometimes not easily noticed: but in a few cases it is put above the top *medā* (cf. *ś-yaḥ* in line 49). The superscripts in the conjuncts *ṇ* and *ṣ* are often undistinguishable (*śvaṇṇa* in line 25, *śiṇṇa* in line 30, *parṇa* in line 32, etc.). Medial *ḍ* is usually of the Bengali type put to the left of the consonant (cf. *śaḍa* in line 26): but in some cases it is put above the top *medā* of the consonant as in Dēvanāgarī (cf. *śiḍa* in line 31), while in a few cases it is indicated by a short downward stroke or curve put at the left end of the *medā* (cf. *śiḍa* in line 31, *śiḍa* in line 32). Medial *ḍ* is sometimes without the top curve and is undistinguishable from the Bengali type of medial *ḍ* usually found in the record. The *anuvāsa* is written in both the Bengali and Dēvanāgarī fashions (cf. *śaṇṇa* and *śiṇṇa* in line 18). The sign of *anuvāsa* has been used in several cases. The engraving is neatly done and there are only a few errors of language and spelling. The letter *ai*, which is a contraction of *śābaddha* meaning 'registered' or 'approved,' is found both at the beginning and at the end of the first line on the reverse of the plate. This characteristic is also found in some other Pāla grants, including the Āmṛgachhī and Belwā plates on which, however, the signs are seen on the obverse. Similar endorsements on the copper-plate grants of the Varmanas and Śēmas of Bengal show that the two 'ai's refer to the approval of the king himself and of one of his high officials.³

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 293 ff.

² *Pañcīya Śābaddha Parichai Patraḥ*, Vol. LXI, pp. 60 ff. The inscription has since been edited by me, see above, pp. 9 ff.

³ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 64, 75, etc. For an absolutely wrong value attached to the sign, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1950, p. 107.

The charter under review is dated in the 17th regnal year of king Vigrahapāla III whose reign has been roughly assigned to the period 1053-70 A.C. in the latest authoritative work on the history of Bengal.¹ As will, however, be shown below, this dating requires modification in view of the evidence afforded by the present record.

The inscription begins, as usual, with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *smṛti*, which are followed by fourteen verses (in lines 1-21). These verses are found exactly in the same order in both the known charters of Vigrahapāla III and have been fully discussed in our paper on the Belwā plates of Mahīpāla I and Vigrahapāla III. Lines 21-23 quote the usual description of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāśrma* (possibly, temporary capital) whence the charter was issued. It is well-known that several of such *jaya-skandhāśrmas* are already known from the Pāla charters, the same description (suggesting their situation on the river Bhāgirathī or Ganges) being applied to each one of them. Our record adds a new name to the list of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāśrmas* so far known. Lines 24-25 of the inscription say that the charter was issued by the *Paramasūnata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Vigrahapālādēva meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, Nāgapālādēva, from the *jaya-skandhāśrma* at *Kāñchanapura* which is as yet unknown from any other Pāla grant. Line 25 speaks of the land to be granted as a part, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called *Parāpati*)² of the locality called *Vaṇukāvartta* in the *Hṣīrāya maḥāya* (district) of *Tirabhukta*. The lines that follow (lines 26-31) quote the list of feudatories, officials and others, associated with the above piece of land. The same list is also found in other Pāla grants, including those of Vigrahapāla III himself. The charter then goes on to say (lines 32-40), in the well-known style of the Pāla grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of *Vaṇukāvartta* was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the *pratyāgas* such as *bhāga*, *bhāgu*, *kara*, *harappa* and others) in accordance with the *bhūmivāśikāśrma nyāya* (i.e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Like many other Pāla grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *Vishuvats saṁkrānti*. As expected, this portion of the charter is almost a replica of the corresponding section of the Belwā plate already discussed by me. The donee of the present charter was *Ghāṭṭākaśarma* who was an inhabitant of *Ṭṭāhaka* or *Ṭṭhōka*. He was the son of *Tuṅga* and grandson of *Yōgasvāmin*. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been *Kōlāñcha*. He is described as well-versed in *śāstrānta*, *vyākaraṇa* and *torika* and as belonging to the *Śāṇḍilya gōtra* having the *Śāṇḍilya*, *Asita* and *Dāvata pravṛtas*. The donee is further said to have been a *śubrahmacārī* of *Narasaiṇa* and a student of the *Āṅhandōga śāśā*. It is well-known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a Brāhmaṇa as a *śubrahmacārī* or *śiṣyāgri*, i.e., a student, of a particular *śākhā* or *charaṇa* of a Vēda.³ In later Pāla charters, however, we have often mention of the donee as *śubrahmacārī* of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of 'a pupil'. Thus *Ghāṭṭākaśarma* was probably a pupil of *Narasaiṇa*.

future rulers of the region not to confiscate the gift land. This is followed by the date of the charter: the 28th day probably of the month of *Āṣvayuj* in the 17th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III. Next follow in lines 42-47 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The two verses that

¹ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

² The grants of the Senas of Bengal usually refer in a similar context to the annual income of the gift land in *Purīṇas* counted in *muṣṭi-muḥi* (see *Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 83, 74, 87, etc.). The records of the rulers of ancient Assam, however, speak of *muḥi* in the same context (*Kāmarūpa-śāstrānta*, pp. 78, 89). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measure of the principal crop.

³ *U. I. I.*, Vol. III, no: 87, 103, 105, 120, 173, 190, 248, 298, etc.

follow in lines 47-49 speak of the *dāta* or *dātaka* (i.e., the executor of the grant) and the engraver of the plate in the usual style of the charters of Vigrahapāla III. What is, however, very interesting in our record is that its *dāta* is said to have been the *maunin* **Prahaastarāja** described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vigrahapāla III, the ending *rāja* has been preferred to the expected *pāla* cannot be determined.¹ The engraver of the plate was the artisan **Saṅkīdēva** who was the son of **Hṛdēva** hailing from Pāṣaṭṭ. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village. Indeed the same verse also occurs at the end of the Āṅgāchhī plate where, however, Saṅkīdēva is called *Mahidharadēva-sūnu* instead of *Śrīmān-Hṛdēva-sūnu*. The passage in our record is, however, grammatically wrong and requires some modification. Whether the reading intended is *śrī-Mahīdēva*² cannot be determined, although in such a case Mahidharadēva and Mahīdēva may have been regarded as identical.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end (lines 49-50). According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmanya officers, named **Ghaṇṭiśa**. This man is described as a *vidhyā* or servant of the lord of Gaṇḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own *kala*, probably meaning the *jāgīr* under his possession. Ghaṇṭiśa was the son of Yōgēśvara and the grandson of **Vivada**. This Vivada is said to have been born of **Idḍichalā**, daughter of **Gōhapaka** and granddaughter of **Kāchohka** who came [to Tirabhukti or North Bihar] from **Krōḷāṅcha**. There is no doubt that **Krōḷāṅcha** is the same as **Kōḷāṅcha** mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of **Ghāntūkasaṛman**, donee of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the **Kailān** (otherwise called **Kailain**) plate,³ according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmanas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla *jaya-skandhāvān* and a hitherto unknown son of Vigrahapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a rent-free holding, a fact of considerable importance in the Bangaon plate is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year.⁴ Of course there were the **Kurūkhūr** image inscriptions,⁵ dated in the 15th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, and a manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣā* copied in the 26th year of his reign.⁶ But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vigrahapāla III or his great-grandfather Vigrahapāla II. The recently discovered **Naulāgarh** image inscription,⁷ dated in the 24th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vigrahapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vigrahapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers⁸ assigned to Vigrahapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vigrahapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others⁹ assigned the long reign-period to Vigrahapāla II. In

¹ Was it due to the fact that **Prahaastarāja** was born of a concubine of king Vigrahapāla III?

² *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

³ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 179; *Rhandacker, List*, No. 1632.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 26 f., 239 f.; *History of Bengal*, loc. cit.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 179.

⁶ *University of Calcutta Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 1-16; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXVII, parts 2-4, pp. 1-5.

⁷ *Ray (H. N. I.)*, Vol. I, p. 335 assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 992 A.C. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1035-81 A.C.

⁸ *Majumdar (Hist. Beng.)*, op. cit., p. 177 assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 900-88 A.C. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1035-70 A.C.

the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vīgrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vīgrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vīgrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vīgrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

The rule of Vīgrahapāla III in Tirabhukti or North Bihār about the third quarter of the eleventh century has now to be reconciled with Kalachuri expansion in that area. Such facts as that the city of 'Banāras' * belonged to the territory of Gang * about 1034 A.C. when, according to Balhaqi, Ahmad Niyāltigin, a general of Ma'sūd I (circa 1030-40 A.C.) invaded it, † and that the Benares plate (Kalachuri year 733-1043 A.C.) of Kalachuri Karna (1011-72 A.C.) records the grant of a village in the Kāśī district ‡ point to the inclusion of the eastern U. P. in the dominions of Karna and his father Gāṅgāyādēva Vikramāditya. The Karanād inscription § assigns to Karna a victory over Gauda and the Bheraghat inscription ¶ speaks of his hostility with Vaṅga, while his Paikora pillar inscription † points to his advance as far east as the Birbhūm District of West Bengal. Under these circumstances, the Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyana*, completed in [Vikrama] Samvat 1076 (1019 A.C.) when Tirabhukti was under the rule of Gāṅgāyādēva, § may be regarded as proving Kalachuri occupation of North Bihār in the first half of the eleventh century. It should, however, be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Mahipāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) from Sarnāth near Banaras (dated Vikrama Samvat 1085-1026 A.C.) in the eastern U.P., from Nālandā, Bodhgayā and Tetrawan (dated in the regnal years 11 and 31 or 21) in South Bihār and from Imādpur (dated in the regnal year 48) in the Munawarpur District of North Bihār, while two inscriptions (dated in the regnal year 15) of Nayapāla (circa 1038-55 A.C.) come from Gayā in South Bihār. ¶ The Tibetan life* of the Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa Dipaśikara Ści-Jñāna refers to an invasion of Magadha or South Bihār under Nayapāla, father of Vīgrahapāla III, led by 'King Kargya of the west', i.e., Kalachuri Karna. According to this tradition, Nayapāla ultimately succeeded in defeating the invader, while, according to the *Rāmancharita*, § Vīgrahapāla III defeated Karna and married the latter's daughter Yanvanairi. It has been supposed that this refers to a second invasion led by Karna against the Pāla empire. In any case, the present inscription shows that North Bihār was reconquered by the Pālas from the Kalachuris at least before the 17th year of Vīgrahapāla's reign. Karna's son Yaśhkarna (circa 1072-1125 A.C.), however, claims to have devastated Champācarya (modern Champāran in North Bihār) according to the Bheraghat inscription. ¶ It seems, therefore, that the Pālas were struggling with the Kalachuris in Bihār, both North and South, for a considerable period of time.

Another interesting fact revealed by the Bangāon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmanas of North Bihār to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of Kālāñcha or Kṛdāñcha. Ghaṇṭiśa, a Brāhmaṇa of Tirabhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kālāñcha Brāhmaṇa named Kāchchha through the granddaugther of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmanas of Kālāñcha is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his own land in favour of

* Ray, *D. H. N. L.*, Vol. II, p. 773.

† Ibid., p. 776; Bhandarkar, *List*, 1223; cf. the Sarnāth inscription (Kalachuri year 910-1039 A.C.; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1225) of the same king.

‡ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 774.

§ Ibid., p. 784.

¶ Ibid., p. 774; *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 292, note 3.

* See *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

† Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 326.

‡ *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

§ Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 787.

another Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇa. That Kōlāñcha, together with Tarkārī, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early mediæval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place.¹ The identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śrāvastī country, i.e., the district round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the U. P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal.² The suggestion of the former group of scholars appears to be more reasonable. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāñcha, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihār and Bengal.

According to the *Kulaṇḍī* or *Kula-pañjikā*³ of Bengal, the Rādhīya and Vārāndra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha (Kānyakubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Ādiśūra because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas venerated in the Vēdas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Ādiśūra are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Aṅga, Kalinga, Karmāta, Kērala, Kāmarūpa, Samrāshtra, Magadha, Mālaya and Gurjara. His capital is placed by some at Gauda in West Bengal and by others at Vikramapura in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Śaka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A.C.⁴ There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śūra dynasty in Bengal.⁵ But no genuine ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources. The only Ādiśūra known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihār or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A.C. Maithila Vāchaspatimītra refers to this person in his *Nyāyakamāṇḍī*,⁶ a commentary on Maṇḍanaṃśūra's *Vidyābhāṣā*, in the passage: *nija-bhūja-viryam-āsthāya śūrān-Ādiśūro jayati*. Vāchaspatimītra composed his *Nyāyārāṭhī* in [Vikrama] Saṃvat 898 (*vase-nika-casu-ratsarē*), i.e., in 841 A.C.⁷ Thus Ādiśūra, contemporary of Vāchaspatimītra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Ādiśūra was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihār cannot be determined; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this

¹ See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 479-80. Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha is also called Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñchi and Krōḍāñja.

² *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 825-26.

⁴ See *JASSB, Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. Śrīdhara who wrote his *Nyāyapaṇḍitī* in Śaka 913-991 A.C. was an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Bāṅga; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author's patron Pāṇḍitāra seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, p. 588n). The case of Udayana who composed his *Lakṣaṇasāra* in Śaka 906-985 A.C. is more dubious (cf. *ibid.*, p. 318n).

⁵ *Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

⁶ Benares ed., p. 290; *Vaṅgīya Śāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, p. 88.

⁷ See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 181. Recent attempts to refer the year 898 to the Śaka era (*J.O.S.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 340-53; *Vaṅgīya Śāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, op. cit., pp. 69-70) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Mithillā and the neighbouring areas in the tenth century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as 'the year' as in the *Nyāyārāṭhī*, etc.

Brahmanical king, probably parts of Mithilā and North Bengal, became important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vāchaspatimīśra. It is possible to think that this Ādiśūra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kālāñcha Brāhmanas in Bengal. If this suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to think that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihār. This is further suggested by the possible identity of Maithilī Brāhmaṇa families of the Gaṅgauli *māla-grāma* (the same as the *gā* of the *kula-paṇjikā* of Bengal) and the Rādhiya Kulin family styled Gaṅgopādhyāya (Gaṅguli).¹ There is a strong Maithilī element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Maithilī families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the location of Kālāñcha or Krōḍāñcha has been indicated above. *Tirabhukti* is the ancient form of modern Tirhut in North Bihār. The district of Hōdrāya and the village of Vasakāvarita in it are difficult to identify. I have not succeeded in locating Kāñchānapura and the village called Iṭṭhāka or Iṭṭhōka.

TEXT²

(Metres : verses 1, 8 *Śragdhara* ; verses 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25 *Sāntulanikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasanta-tīlakā* ; verses 5, 22 *Āryā* ; verse 9 *Indrasajjā* ; verse 11 *Mūlinī* ; verse 12 *Śikhariṇī* ; verse 14 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 15-19, 23 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 20 *Sōlinī* ; verse 21 *Pushpitōgrā*.)

Obverse

- 1 Siddham³ Maitrīn⁴ kāmṇya-ratna-pranūḍita-⁵l[ī]dayaḥ prōyasth sandadhān⁶h samyak-samv[ṛ]t[ṛ]mb[ṛ]dhi-
- 2 vidyā-sarid-amala-jala-khālīt-ājñāna-paṇikāḥ | jivā yaḥ kāmakūri-pra-
- 3 bhavam-abhūbhavān āśvati[ṛ] prāpa sānti[ṛ] as śrīmān⁷-Lōkanāthō ja-
- 4 yati Daśava(ba)ḥ-nyāś-cha Gōpālādēvaḥ || [1*] Lakṣmī-janna-ni-
- 5 kētanānī samakarō v[ṛ]dh[ṛ] kahamaḥ kahmā-bhara[ṛ] pa[kha*]-chchhēda-
- 6 bhayād-⁸apasthitavataṁ-āk-ārayō bhūbhūpātān(tām) | maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ [⁹ sau-(an)ry-ālayō-smād-abhūd-dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-bhū-mahimā iri-Dharmapālō nripaḥ] || [2*] Rāma-
- 7 sy-eva grīhita-satya-tapasas-tasy-ānur[ṛ]pō gugaiḥ Saumitir-¹⁰adapādi talya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām-ānujaḥ | yaḥ śrīmān-naya-vikram-aika-vasat[ṛ]r]-bhārāt¹¹ athitāḥ śāśnō ā-
- 8 nyāḥ śatru-patākmiṇibhū-akarō-āk-ātapattirū diśāḥ || [3*] Tasmād-¹²apēndra-charita[ṛ]-jagat[ṛ] punānaḥ [pu*]trō vaḥbatbhūva vijayi Jayapāla-nāmā | dharmā-dvishā[ṛ] samayitā yudhi Dē-
- 9 vapālō yaḥ pūrvajō[ṛ] bhavana-nūjya-sukhāny-avai(nat)shīt || [4*] Śrīmān-Vigrahapālas-tai-eṣaur-Ajātakatrur-iva jātāḥ | śatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilō[ṛ]pi-vimal-āśi-jala-dhārāḥ || [5*]

¹ *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 89. Cf. Bidey, *People of India*, p. 218.

² From the original plate as well as its impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Dootanmūd.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ According to rules of Rānchi the a here should change to the anu.

⁵ The *daḍa* is superfluous.

Obverse



Reverse

84	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	84
86	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	86
88	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	88
40	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	40
42	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	42
44	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	44
46	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	46
48	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	48
50	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ।	50

SEAL



From a Photograph

- 10 Dīkṣāpālāḥ kṣhīti-pālanāya dadhataḥ dāh[ā] vibhaktāḥ-guṇān śrīmantadī janayāmva(mba)-
bhūva tanayān Nārāyaṇa sa prabhuh(bhūm) | yāḥ kabōḥpātibhūḥ ūrō-maṣi-ruchā
śāṣṭy-āṅghri-
- 11 pūṭh-ōpala[m*] nyāy-ōpāttam-alamchakāra charitāḥ svair-ōva dharm-āsanam(nam) || [6*]
Tōyāśay[air]=jaladhī-mūla-gabhīra-ga[r]bhā[ṛ]-dēvālayais-cha kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kalbh-
aḥ | vikhyā-
- 12 ta-kṛtīc-abhavaṭ-tanayās-cha tanyā śrī-Rājyapāla itī madhyamaśōkapālāḥ || [7*] Tasmāt-
pūrva-kṣhīdhrūn-nidhīr-iva mahasūb Rāshṭrakōṭi-ānvay-āndōs-Tungasy-ōttuṅga-ma-
13 l[ā]r]=dūhitarī tanayō Bhāgavadōvyān prasūtaḥ || [8*] śrīmān-ōṣpālādēvaś-chīrataram-avanīr-
ēka-patnyā iv-aikō bhartī-ābhūn- naika-rutna-{dyu}ti-khaṣhita-chatuh-sindhu-chīr-śūśu-
14 kāyāḥ || [9*] Yadi avāminān rāja-guṇair-anūnam-āsēvaṭō chārulay-ānuraktā | utsāḥa-mahita-
prabhū-śakti-lakṣmīḥ prithivī[di*] sapatnīm-iva śūlayanti || [9*] Tasmād-va(d-ha)bhūva
ā(sa)-
- 15 vitu[ṛ]-vasu-kōṭi-varshī |¹ kālēna chandra iva Vīgrahapālādēvaḥ | nētra-priyā vimalēna
kalāmāyēna yēn-ōditēna dalitō bhuvanasya tāpāḥ || [10*] Ha-
- 16 ta-sakala-vipakṣah saṅgarē vū(lū)lu-darpād-anadhikṣita-viluptān rājyam-āśāya pīṭyām-
(tryam) | nūhita-charaṇa-padmaḥ bhūbhū(bhūbhū))ā[m*] mūrdhni tasmād-abhavad-
avaṇipālāḥ śrī-Mahī-
- 17 pālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyajan-śōś-āsaṅga[m*] śīras kṛita-pādaḥ kṣhībhṛitān vitau[ṛ]jan sarvv-
āśāḥ prasabham-āday-[ā]dr[ṛ]-iva ravīḥ || [12*] hata-dh[ṛ]jāntah saigdha-prakṛitir-anurāga-
(g-ai)lu-va-
- 18 asti[h*] eutō dhanyaḥ puṇyair-ājanī Nayaṣālō narapatīḥ || [12*] Pīṭah sajjana-bhānāḥ-mara-
ripōḥ pūjāsu raktaḥ sadā |¹ saṅgrāmē dhavalō-dhīkaś-cha Haritāḥ
- 19 kālān(lah) kulō vidvāḥśāśhām | chāturvartuṇa(mya)-mamāśrayāḥ ā(ni)ta-yasa(sa)ḥ-pūra(r)-
jjagad-raḥjayaḥ |² śrīmād-Vīgrahapālādēva-ōripatīḥ puṇyā[ṛ]-jjanōśān-ābhūta(bhūṭ)
|| [13*] Dēśō prāchi pra-
- 20 chura-payasi svachchham-āpiya tōyān svairmā bhīrūtā(utvā) tad-ānu Malay-ōpatyalā-
chandaśōbhū | kṛitvā sāndaur-Marusha jādātā[m*] śhānair-abhira-tulyāḥ Prālōpādēv
kajakam-abhu-
- 21 jan-yaṇya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14*] Sa khaḥa Bhāgīratīl-paṭha-pravarttamāna-nāśvīdha-nan-
vāṇaka-saripādita-ōtūva(ba)ndha-nūhita-śāḥa-śūkhara-ōṭōḥ-vibhramāt |³ nūti-
- 22 āyā-ghana-ghanaḥghana-ghana-ghaṭā-syāmsyamāna-vāra-lakṣmī-samāsvdha(bdha)-santata-
jalada-samaya-sandēhāt |⁴ adēbīn-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit-āgramāya-kyā-
- 23 vāḥini-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūscribe-dig-antarālāt |⁵ paramāśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-ōśōdha-
ja(mvū)(bmō)dvipa-bhūpāl-ā[ṛ]na* jata-pādātā-bhāra-namad-avanōḥ |⁶
- 24 Kāśhānapura-samāśāś[ā*]t śrīmā-jaya-skandhāvārō paramasagatō nūhārō[ā]dhīr[ā]ś-śri-
man-Nayaṣālādēva-pād-ānūdyātah paramōśaraḥ paramabhāṭṭārakō
- 25 mahātājādhrūjāḥ śrī-Vīgrahapālādēvaḥ kṣhāl | Vīrahluḥ[ṭ]au Hādēya-vaiśāyika-Vasu-
kāvaritāt | yath-ōpatyā(ttyā) pañchu-śatik-ā[ṭh] || [15*] ||

¹ The *dēśō* is superfluous.

² The *dēśō* is unnecessary. Similarly the *śāṣṭy* further on, mostly in lines 23-41, are superfluous.

³ A letter has been cancelled between *śa* and *śā*.

⁴ There is a conventional floral design between the first two pairs of *dēśō*, while the space between the second and third pairs is left vacant.

- 26 samupagat-āsēcha-rājapuruselūn | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra-rājāmātya- | mahāsāndhī-
vīgrāhi-
27 ka- | mahākshapaṭalika- | mahāsāmanta- | mahāsēnāpati- | mahāprastihāra- | dāṇḍādha-
sādhanaika- | mahādāṇḍanāyaka- | mahākumārāmātya- | rājap[ā]ṭh[ā]n-ōpari-
28 ka- | dāsā(sā)parādhiika- | chaurōddharapika- | dāṇḍika-dāṇḍopāsi(ō)ka- | sau(sau)lkika- |
gaulmika- kshētrapa- | prā[m*]ṭapāla- | kōṭa(j)ṭa)ṭāla- | aḡgarakaba- | tadāyukta-
viniyukta-
29 ka- | haaty-asv-ōshṭa(ahṭra)-mau-va(ba)la-vyāpṭitaka- | kiśōra-vaḡavū-gō-mahishy-aj-āvik-
ādhyaḡkaha- | dōṭa-prēhaḡika- | gamāgamika- | abhītvaramāḡa- | viśhayapati- |
gā(grā)mapati- |
30 tarika- | Gauda- Mālava- | Khāsa- | Hu(Hū)ḡa- | Kuḡika- | Karḡḡāḡa- | Lāḡa- |
chāḡa- | bhāḡa- | sōvak-ādīn | anyā[m*]ḡa-ch-ākirtitān | rāja-pād-ōpajīvinah prati-
vāsinō
31 Vrā(Brā)hmap-ōttarān | mahattam-ōtama- | kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga- | Mād-Āndhra-Chāḡ-
ḡāla-paryanta(nā)n | yath-āha(rhām) mānayatī | v[ō](bō)dyati | samādiśti cha |
viditām-astu bhavatām
32 yath-ōparilikhitō-ya* grām-ārdhila-bhūh eva-simā-triṇa-pūti-gōchare-paryanta(h)(nā) sa-talāḡ-
(lā) s-ōddēah(ā) s-āmra-madhukah(kā) sa-jala-sthalah(lā) sa-garī-ścharah(rā) sa-
daś-āpachārah(rā)

Reverse

- 33 sa-chaurōddharapah(nā) | pariḡṭita-sarva-piḡah(ḡā) | a-chāḡa-bhāḡa-pravēśah(ā) | a-ki-
34 ōchit-pragrāḡah(hyā) | samasta-bhāḡa-bhōḡa-kara-hirany-ōdi-pratyāya-sa-
35 mētal(tā) | bhūmi-chōhlādra-nyāyēna s-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāḡa-
36 m mātā-pitrōr-ātmataś-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhividdhaye bhagavantah
37 Vu(Bu)ddha-bheṭṭārakam-uddēya | Śāḡḡilya-sagōtrāya | * |
38 Śāḡḡily-Ānta-Dōvala-pravarāya | Narasiḡha-savra(bra)hmacāripō | Uchḡha(Chha)mbōḡa-
kāḡh-ādhyaḡinō | mīmāḡsā-vyākaraṇa-tarḡka-vidyā-vidō |
39 Kōlāḡcha-vim[ri]ḡḡatāya | Itḡhāku¹-vāstavyāya | Yōḡasā(evā)mi-pauttrāya | Ttu(Tu)ḡga-
puttrāya | śri-Chāḡḡūkaśarmmagō | vim(abu)vat-saḡkrāntyāḡ vidhivat | Ga-
40 ḡḡāyām² anōtvā āsanikṭitya pradattō-(tt-ā)emābhīḡ | atō bhavadbhīḡ sarvair-³
ānumantavyam bhāvivāḡr-⁴api bhūpatibhīḡ bhūm[ri]-dāna-phala-gauravāt | apaharaḡḡ-
41 na cha mahānaraka-pōta-bhayaḡ(t) | dānam-idam-anumōḡy-ānumōḡy-ānupālaniyam prati-
vāsiḡhiś-cha kshētrakurāḡ | āḡḡā-śravaṇa-vidhāyibhūya yathā-kālāt samu-
42 [ch]ḡita-bhāḡa-bhōḡa-kara-hirany-ōdi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḡ kārya iti || o || Saḡ 17 Avayan
dinō⁵ 28 [i*] bhavanti ch-ātra dharm-ānuśah[uh*]ḡāḡah śōḡkāḡ || Va(Ba)hubhīḡ[ri]-vasudhā
dattā rā-

* A space of about four inches is left blank at the beginning of this line.

¹ Read 'Itḡhā-ḡḡam'.

² A little above the left and right margins of this line are respectively ai | and ai |. The akshara ai is written to resemble na without a circle. Ni is a continuation of aśuddha, 'registered' or 'approved'.

³ A little space is left blank between the two danda.

⁴ The reading may possibly also be Itḡhāḡa.

⁵ The expression Gauravāt had been originally omitted and was later inserted. For want of space after y the medial ā sign of this letter is indicated above the top mātrā as in older inscriptions.

⁶ The medial i in di had been originally omitted and was later only imperfectly made above the top mātrā. For Avayana, Avayana (Sanskrit Avayana) seems to be the reading intended.

- 19 तिरोहीशं वदं चकेऽप्रहोद्भवं । तोपाक्यबालीसामूपादक्षराजेन कथितात् ॥२५॥ प्रास्तावं
स्वपुहे चके मेव-
- 20 मंदिरनामकं । पीछोलाक्यतटाकस्य तटे मोहनमंदिर(रं) ॥२६॥ जगत्सिंहा(ह)नुपाकालो
वाँ(वाँ)सवालानुरे गतः । प्रथानो भागचुं(चं)-
- 21 बाख्यो रावलः सायलो गिरी ॥२७॥ गतः समरलोनामा ततो लक्षद्वयं वदो । वं
रजतमुद्राणां भूत्यभावं सदा वधे ॥२८॥ कुं-
- 22 दीपशशुनस्य भावसिंहाक्यसूतवे । स्वकन्यां विविना भूपो इत्वा(त्वा)वं वदो पुनः
॥२९॥ सप्तविंशतिसंख्यास्तु राजभ्येभ्योन्यकन्य-
- 23 काः । एकलिंगालवे चके हेमकुंभचक्रादिकान् ॥३०॥ वत्सरेष्टनकपाक्ये शते वीरशके
गते । दीपाक्यसूतवे बाई^१ राजजा-
- 24 वृकतो व्यधात् ॥३१॥ डारकातीर्थयात्रां श्रीरणछोडस्य सेवनं । तथा कप्यतुलां चके
दानान्यन्यानि सादरं ॥३२॥ गोस्वामिपत्न्य-
- 25 मनुनाचसुतामुवैर्धं भूमिं हलद्वयमितां पुरं ब्राह्मदाक्ये । तद्वृत्तंवीरमयसूदनमनुनाका पत्रं
विधाय च वदो जगतीशमाता ॥
- 26 ३३॥ राजप्रप्तोः समारभ्य तुलां कप्यमयी व्यधात् । प्रतिवर्षं जगत्सिंहो दानान्यन्यानि
दातनोत् ॥३४॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुराक्येवके शु-
- 27 ची । सुवंप्रहे जगत्सिंहः संपूज्यामरकंदके ॥३५॥ ज्योतिर्लिंगं तु मांयानुसेव्यमोकार-
मोश्वरं । सुवर्णस्य तुलां चके^२ अथ प्रत्यक्षमातनो-
- 28 त् ॥३६॥ स्वजन्मदिवसे मोदान्महादानं पु[रा] व्यधात् । कप्यवृक्षं स्वर्णपुष्पीं सप्त-
सागरनामकं ॥३७॥ विषयचक्रं कमा(मा)वस्मिन्वर्षे माता
- 29 जगत्पतेः । श्रीमन्नांदुक्तीबाई^३ प्रतप्ते तोर्ववृष्टये ॥३८॥ काल्तिके मयुरायात्रां चके
पोकुलं(ल)दयानं । श्रीगोपद्वैतनाथस्य दीपाक्यपत्रक-
- 30 दयोः ॥३९॥ अपदयदुत्सवं तूर्जगीर्णमा(मा)स्यां तु वीकरे । क्षेत्रे गंगातटे चके तुलां
कप्यस्य दातनोत्^४ ॥४०॥ बीकानेरीशकर्म[स्य*] सुता रां(रा)मपुर-

^१ This dialectal word is used here *withkakika*.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ Here one of the two verbs *chake* and *astake* seems redundant.

- 31 भोः । हृष्टीतिहृत्स्य सत्त्वानो¹ उकारान्तं कुं कति ॥४१॥ मातामह्या जांबुवत्या संने
कम्पा(ष्य)तुलां व्यधात् । पूर्ववर्षे जांबुवत्या आजमानंदर्-
32 वरिः ॥४२॥ श्रीजांबुव(ब)त्या यदे मां स्थापयित्वा मुदा ववो । रणछोडाय महं
सा दानं सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४३॥ प्रयागे राजतमुलां
33 काश्यपोध्याविदर्शनं । कृत्वा मुहे सा(स)माधाता जफे कम्पतुतामयं ॥४४॥ केकीसाकार्यं
गोस्वामितनयां मधुसूदनं । तत्पतिः श्रीज-
34 गतिहृत्स्यया सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४५॥ अदायपकुतं दानं श्रीमन्जांबुवती यथा [१^{*}] राणा¹
अमरतिहृत्स्य राणीभिवंसमादितः ॥४६॥
35 इदं दानं मयैवान्यामघावपि मिति(ति) वदे । त्रिशतांमितदानानि¹ ग्राम्यां तत्त्वानि
तत्कुटं ॥४७॥ अस्मिन्वर्षे पूर्णिमायां वेशाश्वे
36 श्रीजगत्पतिः । श्रीजगन्नाथे(ष)रायं सत्प्रासादे स्थापयन्वर्षो ॥४८॥ गोसहस्रं महादानं दानं
कल्पतताभिधं । हिरण्याश्वमहादा-
37 नं ग्रामपंचकम्पदात् ॥४९॥ मधुसूदनभट्टाय महागोदानमध्यदात् । कृष्णभटा(ट्टा)य सुषार्म
भंसदारस्नपेनुवं² ॥५०॥³ श्रीराणोदयांसि-
38 हस्तनुरभयत् श्रीमत्प्रातः सुतस्तस्य श्रीशमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो
राजजगत्पति(ति)श्च तनयोस्माद्वानसिहोस्य
39 वा पुत्रः श्रीजगत्पतिहृ एव कृतयान्तव्यस्तवागलेलितं ॥५०(५१)॥ श्रीराकं रणछोडनदूरवितं
इतिश्रदाकयेन्दके पूर्णे सप्तवशे शते तपसि वा
40 तत्पूर्णिमायां तिथौ । काश्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलयेः श्रीराजसिंहेन वा सुष्टोत्सर्गविधेः सुवर्ण-
नमयं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५१(५२)॥ इति पंचमस्व(स्त)र्गः[]
41 'मज्जधर उरजण गजधर सुष(ष)देव सुवपार केसालाडा भूवर[भंज]ज लालाजा[त]
सोमपुरा वृत्तरा पुर[ष्य] — संवत् १७

Slab VII: Canto VI

[Metres : vv. 1-24, 26-31, 33, 34, 42, 43 *Anushpūb* ; v. 25 *Argā* ; v. 32 *Gā* ; vv. 35, 36, 44 *Srngdharā* ; vv. 37-41, 45, 46 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे तवाख्येन्देकरोत्तुतां ॥(१) कप्यस्य [माते]
वक्षेया(व) कात्पुने हृष्यपलके ॥१॥ द्वितीया-

¹ *Scandla* is not observed here.

² Instead of the first *śi* was written and later the sign for medial *i* was scooped out.

³ Read *Bhāṣaśloka* *Āṭaślokaśloka*.

⁴ With this list of metres compare the one given above, Slab III, lines 26-37.

- 2 विष्णो राज्ञं राजसिंहो नरोत्तरः । राज्ञो भूदृष्टिपाकर्णनाम्नो ज्येष्ठाय सुनवे ॥२॥
अनुपसिंहाय इवो स्वप्नारं विधि-
- 3 ना नृपः । अर्धभ्योऽर्धार्ध(इ)वृकन्या एकसप्तसितसिताः ॥३॥ कुलकं । शते सप्तदशे
पूर्णे दशास्पेन्दे [तु] पीपके । कृष्णकाव-
- 4 शिकापां तु राजसिंहनरोत्तरात् ॥४॥ पवारद्वंद्वमालाक्षरावस्य तनया तु या । तदा-
कूबरिनाम्नी तत्कुक्षेर्जातो
- 5 जयप्रियः ॥५॥ जयसिंहाभिः पुत्रः पवित्रदिग्ब्रकेतिकृत् ॥६॥ संजातो जगवाह्मचंद्रमाः
कीर्तिचंद्रयान् ॥६॥
- 6 भीमसिंहः पुत्र आस्ते गजसिंहः सुतस्तथा [१*] पुर्जसिंहाभिः पुत्र इंद्रसिंहः सुतस्तथा
॥७॥ स बाह्यपुरसिंहः
- 7 धीरावसिंहात्मजास्तथा [१*] स न(ता)रायणदातो वाऽपरिणीताप्रियाभव[ः*] ॥८॥ आरभ्य
कीमारपदासय(वं)सुमुखलज्ज(ध्व)ये । शीतवं-
- 8 सुविनातास्यं स्वाराजं कृतवाध्वपः ॥९॥ वाप्यां लीरनिधौ धन्यो तदमीयुक्तो विराजते ।
नारायणगुप्तो राजा नोका-
- 9 से(से)वकणाध्वयः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे एकादशे स्थिते । अजमेरी साहि-
जंहा(जहा)दिल्लीजं तं समागतं ॥११॥ श्रुत्वाच
- 10 राजसिंहो(सिंहो)दक्षिणकूटे समागतं । तं साधुल्लहखानाक्यं दिल्लीशहरमंत्रिणं ॥१२॥ प्रेषया-
नास तत्पात्वं भट्टं तु मधुसूद[न] । कं(का)ठोरीवंश-
- 11 लेखने(नः) स गतः ज्ञानसन्निधौ ॥१३॥ खानः पंडितसंबु(बु)ठपा भट्टं प्रत्युक्तवान्कथं ।
शरीरवातो रायेन कथमाकारितस्तथा ॥१४॥
- 12 आलाखरायसिंहश्च भट्टनोक्तं सदावितः । जातन(मे)धं प्रतापाक्षरानाज्जाता रणोत्कटः
॥१५॥ अकतसिंहो मेघनामा राजतो मेद-
- 13 पाटतः । आपाली स्वापितो दिल्लीनायेन किल लो पुनः ॥१६॥ मेदपाटे समागतो
अकार परमेश्वरः । इति स्वामिप्रमुक्तानां
- 14 राजन्यानां स्वस्त्ययं ॥१७॥ खानेनोक्तं सत्यमेतत्पुनः[ः*] खानस्ततीवदत् । राजनेश-
स्पादकवाराणां संख्यां [कच]न^१ पंडित ॥१८॥*

* There is a scored-out sign for medial *t* over *ga*.

* First *to* was engraved which was later corrected as *ta*—.

* This letter is not corrected into *af*.

* This is *af* corrected into *an*.

* There is a scored-out *na* between *ra* and *af*.

* There is a scored-out sign for superscript *r* over *ga*.

- 15 संहितसिंहस्थाणि भट्टेनोक्तं स उक्तवान् । दिल्लीशस्यशिववाराणां लक्षसंख्यास्ति तत्कर्षं ॥२६॥ कार्यं स[मा]न[नं] भट्टेन प्रोक्तं
- 16 ज्ञानं धनुं स्फुटं । दिल्लीशस्यशिववाराणां लक्षं राणामहीपतेः ॥२७॥ संहितसिंहस्थाणि साम्यं सृष्टिकृता कृतं । ज्ञानो-
- 17 तः कोपवान् ज्ञानो जयसिंहस्तदोक्तुः ॥२८॥ ज्ञानसने साहिबहा[जहाँ]दर्शनं वेत्करोत्यहो । राणाकुमारस्तु तवा जगुर्वज-
- 18 मिता मया ॥१२२॥^{*} देशः दिल्लीश्वराद्व्याप्य बिहारे मधुसूदनः । राणसेवां व्याधादेवं स्वाभिषेको महोक्तिहृत् ॥२३॥ दिल्लीश्वर-
- 19 कुमारस्य संगेऽस्मत्पूर्वजन्मनां । कुमारः मिलनं चक्र राजसिंहो विचार्य तत् ॥२४॥ तुलतानसिंहनामकमहाकुमारं तु ठक्कु-
- 20 रेः सहितं । साहिबहा[मुतवारासकोह]संगे संप्रेष्य ॥२५॥ एवं साहिबहानेन^२ मिलनं^३ कृतवाधुपः । राजसिंहो भाग्य-
- 21 दानविक्रमेर्विक्रमार्कवत् ॥२६॥ जनादेनामजननी चक्रे रूप्य(प्य)गुलास्त्रिता । तथा(या) कारितवा[न्य]त्र मज्जदानस्य निष्कयं ॥२७॥
- 22 ब्र[ह्म] संकल्पितं रूप्य(रूप्य) मुवा पंचशतमितं । मधुसूदनमष्टाय दाने(ने)दस्तद्वदो धनं ॥२८॥ युगलं । राठोररूपसिंहाख्यं स्वमंड-
- 23 लगडाड(ड)नं । वंद्यं राघवरासाख्यं प्रेममन्त्रिद्वयं व्यवात् ॥२९॥ शले तप्तवदो पूर्णं ज्योतिषमितिष्वको । हेमः सा-
- 24 डंडिशतक[प]लंबंहाडकं कृतं ॥३०॥ कार्तिक्या पूर्णिमायां श्री^४एकविंशतिवांतिके । इत्या(त्वा) वेदोक्तविधिना राजसिंहो
- 25 विराजते ॥३१॥ पंचमहाभूतमयं ब्र(ब)ह्मांडं मुज्जली(ला)डपलचु(चु)मूलं । भत्वा मुषणपूर्णं कृत्वा ब्र(ब)ह्मांडकं त्वया दत्तं ॥३२॥ हे-
- 26 मत्र(ब)ह्माडवानेन ब्रह्मांडस्वाः क्षितीश्वर । प्रा(प्रा)ह्मणास्तोषिता दानं त्वया ब्र(ब)ह्मापंशो-
कृतं ॥३३॥ हेमत्र(ब)ह्माडवानेन ब्र(ब)ह्मांड-
- 27 स्वां धियं भवान् ॥(१) स्वापयन्ना(न्ना)ह्मणगृहे दारिद्र्यं दत्तवांस्ततः^५ ॥३४॥ ब्र(ब)ह्मांडे जसिह प्रभुवर भवता दत्त एव द्विजेभ्यस्तद्देवास्त-

¹ The correct form is *ullama*.

² Read *Sahibahā*.

³ The usual form is *Sahibahā*, but its variant *Sahibahāna* is here used obviously for the sake of ease in inflection.

⁴ *Sundhi* is not regarded here.

- 28 इगृहे वा परनिवतनुभिर्भुजते भावुकं यत् । शंभुर्नृतेर्विहीनो विधिरपि य(ब)हुधा सृष्टि-
कार्यानिधीनो भानुर्वागीतभानुर्धरति-
- 29 धरमणे¹ श्रीसिद्धः साद्धिमुक्तः । [1^{*}] ३३ । [1^{*}] य(ब)ह्मादे राजसिंह प्रभुवर भवता वत्त एव
विजेभ्यः [की]द्वार्थं तत्सुतानां भवत इतिविषु कंदु-
- 30 कैतोलगोली । प्रारोहार्थं च नंदिदृष्टिस्तितमहाईसकी पंचवक्त्रविचित्राधानेकनेत्रो म[भति]
सुरपतिस्तर्जनाय गजास्थः । [1^{*}] ३३ [1^{*}]
- 31 श्रीराजसिंहनुपतिः कलिक(क)लमप्ये कर्तुं न योग्यमतुलं ह्यमेघकर्म प्राप्तुं समस्त-
मधुना ह्यमेघधर्मं पूर्णे तु सप्तदशके धतके मुषः
- 32 वै ॥३७॥ एकोनविंशतिमुताग्निं च पीयमाते ।² एकादशीशुभदिने किल शुक्लपक्षे ।
मन्वादिदिव्यदिवसे मधुसूवताप तैलगतद्गुरुकु-
- 33 तस्यकठोडिकाय ॥३८॥ इवेतावमुच्चतममुच्चगुणातिर्गेषमुच्चैः³ श्वःसममहो विधिर्नैव वत्वा(त्वा)
। पत्न्याणहेम[पु]नमेव[सर्म] च
- 34 भाति प्रायो हरिर्गुणगुरोर्भुवरर्चनेन ॥३९॥ संस्थाप्य तत्र नवतादितुरंगधगस्कंधे तदुषितमधुरं
मधु[सु]दनाख्यं । सत्सप्तविंशतिपदा-
- 35 ति ह्यस्य मछ(च्छ)ध्रपे[स्थ]⁴ एव धृतवान् ह्यमेघ(ध)धर्मे ॥४०॥ सिंहासने स्फुरितधामर-
बीज्यमाता(नक्षु)ध्रुवोपशोभितशिरा रञ्जिताम्वमेधः⁵ श्रीरामचं-
- 36 इ इव(व) भाति मुलक्षणावपः श्रीराजसिंहनुपतिनुपसिंह एवः । [1^{*}] ४१ । [1^{*}] नवताख्य-
तुरंगस्य हेमपत्न्याणमेरुर्न । कृतवानुचितं भूपो विषु(वु)धं म-
- 37 पुनूदन(नं) ॥४२॥ [मनजी]राजसिंहाद(वि)मुखापाठकमुत्थकैः⁶ । सप्रेसरंजनेर्मुक्तो विमानि
मधुसूदनः ॥४३॥ इवेतावदे वत्तम(मा)मे रथति⁷ ह्यनघसत्पु-
- 38 ष्यतो भास्वरोद्यन्तोऽश्वो⁸ श्रीमेघपाटोमवदतिललिता ते सभातो मुघर्मा । जिष्णुस्त्वं सत्सहस्रेण
इह विषु(वु)धप्रातकागप्यदुष्टो तु-
- 39 श्री जेतामुराणां मुक्तगुणमुक्तस्वापको युक्तमेतत् ॥४४॥ दानस्य चास्य नवदि[व्य]सहस्र-
[सं]ख्या दत्वा(त्वा) गुणजगुरोरेव सु-

¹ This *pi* is a corruption from *pi*.² This *dhaga* is not necessary.³ The letter *th* here looks more like *ch* ; compare *ch* in lines 32, 34 above.⁴ Better read *dhya*.⁵ Better read *dhya*.

- 40 कृष्णमुद्राः । काशीनिवासस्य कारितवाग्रदः स्वस्थापि पुषा(पु)कृतये मधुसूदनस्य ॥४४॥
विश्वेशदशनेविभौ स[निक*]र्णिकाया[स्ती ?]-
- 41 — — — 'बहुति[म?]'सपदेयताया । [। पुजा?] सदाशिवमहो नृपराजराजसिंह-
वीरोत्तुभाय न नमो मधुसूदनाय ॥४५॥ इति धीधृष्टः [सर्गः ।]

Slab VIII ; Canto VII

[Metra : vv. 1, 3, 4, 12, 20, 22, 25-28, 30, 31, 34-38, 42, 43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 14-18, 24, 29, 32 *Śrāgdhara* ; vv. 5, 31, 33, 39, 41 *Śāntālanīkrīḍita* ; vv. 6-11, 19, 23 *Bhujāṅga-prayāṭi* ; v. 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 40, 44 *Upajāti* ; v. 45 *Prakṛt*.]

- 1 ॥ शीगणेशाय नमः[*] । शते सप्तदशे पूर्वे चतुर्दशमितेवके । राधे^१ शुक्लदश-
म्या(म्या) तु जंत्रयात्रा(त्री) नृपो व्यधात् ॥१॥ मध्योद्यद्भानुकिवा(विवा) द्वित्रपतिविनु-
2 ता मंगलाद्या बुधातिस्तुत्या जीवतितं(व)द्याः कश्चिदनुतापोऽमंरकप्रकाशाः । विस्फूर्जत्संहिकिया
विदधति चल[न] केतवः कि सहास्ते
- 3 [प्र]ये सोमप्रतापास्तव विजयकृते राजसिंहेति जाने ॥२॥ पाठव(र्ध्व)स्वगोलकद्य(च्छ)-
यमुदनाला वन(व)नियताः । भाति स्वछा(च्छा)ः जम्बुजम्बाः कालिका[ः]
- 4 [कि]त नालि[का] ॥३॥ किं मृत्युदंष्ट्रा(ष्ट्रा)ः किं जम्बुप्राणसंस्थानकंदराः । किं वारि-
शोकमुच्यतव(र)क्तास्वानीह नालिकाः ॥४॥ किं वा वीररसा[व्ये](ज्व)रेव वितसक्त-
- 5 स्तोत्रमालो — किं वा वितरणीकदाशपटनेनान्वि(व)तः शोक(स्वोक्त)तः । किं
वारैः स्फुटमेकसिंघमतिरो नीलाज्जपशान्वितो^२ रावेदः कवचं दधत्सुहृदिर लो-
- 6 किरिति प्रीच्यते ॥५॥ ततो बुंदुभीनां निवारप्रतानमंहाकाहलानां च कीलाहलंदन । तथा
संघर्षंश्चापि आदिशब्दार्थहृयानां च [जी]त्कारवारंर'पारेः ॥६॥
- 7 त्रिमोकीमहामंडल(ले) पल्लवार्धे वनाः खंडार्धे च(व)भूवेत्यधीचुः । धरित्री चित्तित्री^३
भवत्कंपनात् स्फुरद्दिगा(ग)जा[*] ।^४ कंबुकीभावमायु[*] ॥७॥ समुत्थोकम्-
- 8 कपालिता ऊर्ध्वलोकास्तलाद्यास्तथा सप्त लोका व्यधास्वोः । सकलाः समुद्रा[*]^५ प्रशंसाः
सर्वास्तदर्थं वमु(वमु)वृत्तवाना सज्जम्बाः ॥८॥ जवेनीद्य(च्छ)लंति

^१ The lettering of this line is not clear on the impressions ; consequently the reading is very uncertain.

^२ That is *Vaiṣṇava*.

^३ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^४ Perhaps the intended reading is *par-dashat*. There is a superfluous *anvāsa* over *१६*, if that was meant to be placed over *१६* then the reading would be *par-dashat*.

^५ Instead of *vayam* read *vānīm*.

^६ *Vijaya* is superfluous here ; read *nichātibhānt*.

^७ This *dash* is not needed.

9. स्म सर्वे समुद्रास्तथाऽक्षुद्रकपाश्च भद्रालम्बिनः । महोद्भास्तथा^[३] विदि (चिदि) लोद्धानुकाराः पत-
(तं) ति स्म वृं (वृ) क्षाः सदृक्षाः क्षतांगैः ॥६॥ अलं स्नेह (स्नेह) सीमस्थिताः^[४]
10. सर्ववीरास्तथा नानुया मंश (भु) विभु स्थिताश्च । विदीर्णोक्तोद्भवोऽनघ (नघ) कर्णा धमति
स्म रक्तं सुरक्तं मुखेभ्यः ॥७॥ ह्यालोत्तुरोद्भूतधूलौमधूली मग्न-
11. स्प (लो) मवाडां (ढी) च कर्णाशुगोत्रं (त्वां) । विषं (बं) ति स्फ (स्फु) टं शत्रुपक्षात् (ब) नातां
गुहाहपलोत्तालकालिद्विरेकाः^[५] ॥८॥ महोदयपुत्राश्च भ्राति नास्त्वयं पर्वताः । त-
12. न्मये त्वत्पुत्र (रं) गालीपुत्रैश्चूर्णोक्ताविचरं ॥९॥ रिंगसुरंगपुराजिरजःसमूहं नंदो जलाश्रयगणाः
स्वल्पमायमायुः । दृष्ट्वा जगद्गतजलं तम-
13. यो महोद्वा (दो) ज्येष्ठेऽपि वर्धनमहो सहसा जकार ॥१०॥ युष्मज्ज्येष्ठप्रपाणध्वक्कतिगन्तिप्राण-
निःप्रा (निष्प्रा) णकानां स्नेहा (स्नेहा) तां छादनार्थं भवति ह्यसुरोत्पति (त्वात्) धु-
14. लीसमूहः । माक्षन्मस्तंगस्तस्वलगलदनुलोद्गमवानां (तां) वृं (वं) हिंदुकां निधापां कलिस्तवि-
लहते स्नेह (स्नेह) पक्षस्थितातां ॥११॥ रिंगद्वितावतां (तां) म (प) डभरवि-
15. गलज्जूमिस्तंभ (भू) तगर्ताः प्रोत्तोत्तकणोवातेः प्रचलितविलसत्पर्वतानामखर्षाः । प्रावाणः प्राणहो न-
प्रतिभटकुठि (ठि) तस्नेह (स्नेह) कानां तनुनां प्रक्षेपाद्या (व्या)-
16. दनार्थं स्वत इह नृप ते जैत्रयात्रासु जाताः^[६] ॥१२॥ अंगो जातप्रसंगो भवति भयभू-
तोत्संगरंगः कस्तिंगो बंगः पूर्वाति (ति) सगः कलकलकलितोऽप्युत्कतो
17. निःक (निष्क) लश्च । शेषित्वं संचिलेपि स्फुरति भयमयकोदको गौडली (लो) को देशः पुषो
विगवं (वं) स्तव विजयक (क) ते प्राप्तपाणे प्रवाणे ॥१३॥ तंकातं काकुलान्-
18. त्कारगस्तद्व (ब) लाक (क) कणा कुंकाणां कर्णाटः सन्कपाटश्चत इह मलवी द्राविडो द्रावि-
तेजः देशस्त्रोत्तश्च लोत्तश्चत इह भयात्केतुवत्तेतुवं (वं)-
19. यः श्रीरामाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतो जैत्रयात्रोत्त (त्त) वेध ॥१४॥ श्रीराष्ट्रो हा (हो) नराष्ट्रः
प्रभवति सकलः बाह्य (कच्छ) देशोऽप्यनघ (नघ) छ (ष्ट) द्वा ह्युत्तिहो नः वि-
20. गति कलको रोमधर्ता — — — संचारः सांघकारो धनदग्निधुना विधंता
बावतेऽहं श्रीरामाराजसिंह जितिधय भवतो जं (ज*) पात्रोत्तवेधिमत् ॥१५॥ इरी-
21. बाजमास्ते इरीवा (वा) सभाजो जना मादित्वास्तथा स्थादित्वाः^[७] जनाः पूतिमायाः^[८]
शिरोपूति (या) सास्त्वदोपप्रवाणे सुमानेशरत्न ॥१६॥ राहोता-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² These three syllables are missing.

³ For the sake of the rhetoric embellishment I assume, we may, as in the original, read this syllable as *ba*.

⁴ There is a superfluous sign of anusvara over this letter.

- 22 यादिकषहेताश्चीनच(वे)ताः सुपीणितः । तद्वेतासुत्रीरेला भसंहनाकूनोभवत् ॥२०॥ एषा
साहिपुरा प्रवाहितमुक्ता सा केकरी किक्करोभावं वा
- 23 विरघाति [मं]त्तु सभयाक्षिभरिः शीवरिः । आज्ञाजपुराभिवासनसहो दुःखावरः सावरः
भीरानामणिराजसिंह भवति तज्जेप्रमाणे(चो)त्तये
- 24 ॥२१॥ श्रीज्जातीयभूपानां देशः क्लेशविशेषवान् । घनद्व(न्द्व)ः कद्व(न्द्व)वाहानां जत्रया-
जानु तेनवत् ॥२२॥ रणस्तंभसंस्थाः रणस्तंभमुक्ताः प्रमत्ते-
- 25 रास्तेपि कलेपुरस्थाः । व(व)षानाजना दूरसंतुष्टपांनो जगार्थं प्रमाणे कुमारेश ते स्युः
॥२३॥ मेरी तक्ष्माजमेरी विषय उद्यमय(यं) जायते स्फीतफेरी
- 26 कोशद्या मं(नी)ति लोशद्यवनिषु गनितत्राणमाना व(व)षाना । यत्ते कलेपुरं न ज्ञानमपि
न मुक्तं दशमुडे तवाड(डा) श्रीरागाराजसिंह कितिप जयक(कु)तेऽमानमानो(ने)
प्रया-
- 27 मे ॥२४॥ वर्षमेवाकवर्गवैलु(वैगवैलु)दितं भवती भटः । दरीया(वा)नगरं । सून्यदरीभावं
समादयो(वी) ॥२५॥ मंड्यास्ते मादितस्थ(लेभ्य)चित्ता योषंस्तु तज्जुटाः । श्रावि-
(वि)-
- 28 कतिसहस्रानि कृष्यमुडावलेदंद् [ः^{*}] ॥२६॥ वनहेवास्थिता बीरा राने(ने)ड भवत(ते)
वहुः । मडि(डि)कतिसं(त)हस्तो(वी)षद्व(न्द्व)मुडाः करं परं ॥२७॥ धीराः साहिपु-
- 29 राधीरा रानेद्र भवते बहुः । डाविंशतिसहस्र(वी)षद्व(न्द्व)मुडाः[†] करे(रं) वरं ॥२८॥
लोशद्या(यो) प्रेषयित्वा भटपटलभूतो राणसिहस्र राजः कत्तेवं(वं)दं सहस्र(सं)-
- 30 अयमित्तुभटञ्जाजमानं प्रधानं । वण्टि(ण्टि)स्फूर्जस्तहस्रप्रमितरजतसन्मृशिकासंघपदं तन्मात्रा
संप्रनीतं प्रहृदवाकतस्थं गृहीत्वा वि-
- 31 भाति ॥२९॥ सहो बीरमदेवस्य पुरं महिषं पटं । राजत्वह्नी जुहोति स्म कोपि कोपो-
ज्जुटी भटः ॥३०॥ भवान्मातपुरे राजतकनीमातातिलुंद-
- 32 नं । श्रीपांज्जोके रचितवालो(वाक्को)कनंवरिमावधि ॥३१॥ युष्मदि(डि)गनु(सु)रांगप्रनु-
रखुरपुंडंनूणितानं(नी) पुरेस्मिन्पूर्वाणां शर्कराणां पटुकरदिष्ट-
- 33 टाकणेतत्प्रधातेः । उट्टीना[नी] समूर्हजंलनिषय इमे पूरिताः क्षारभावं मुक्ता मिष्टावभाजः
क(कु)त् इति भ[वता] भूम विष्णो(स्वो)पकारः ॥३२॥ जाते माल-

* The sense as well as the reading of this verse is obscure. Compare the printed text.

† There is a superfluous sign of anapæst over this letter.

‡ This *śrīśa* goes with *upakāra*.

- 34 पुरस्य लुंदनविधौ सद्यः(च)कैराणां पुरः कर्पू(प्र)करस्य वा हयसुरप्रोद्धतसुदं रजः । उद्धीनं
गगने विभ्राति भवतो भूयो मया तर्कितं श्रीरानामणि-
- 35 राजसिंहनृपतेः कीर्त्तः[*] प्रकाशः परः ॥३३॥ गुह्य(च)वदगुह्य(च)हारास्ते कनकं कन-
कोपमं । प्रवालवत्प्रवालावच प्राचुर्मीललुंदनेभवत् । ॥३४॥ सुकर्तुराः
- 36 सुदुर्बर्णाः¹ सद्गरिष्ठाः प्रवालकाः । हृदय(भ्य)श्च गृहेभ्यश्च संप्राप्ता लुंदने जनैः ॥३५॥
सुजातकपकं तीक्ष्णं श्वेतशोभं जनैर्मुह्यः । नानाम्लेह्य(च)-
- 37 मुखं दृष्टं पतितं पथि लुंदने ॥३६॥ लुंदने लुंदनकरंलुंदितं येन वत्सया । तस्मै प्रयत्नं
तद्दृष्ट्वा तथोदारं(र)चरित्रता ॥३७॥ प्राप्ता भूवातता रं-
- 38 का निःशंका घनलाभतः । लुंदने पुरनृपस्यु सि(नि)र्धना रंजतां गताः ॥३८॥ लक्ष्मी-
सम्पत्तिकल्पवृक्षतुरभीहालापनुर्वाजितः शंखा-
- 39 इच्छंमुवागजैःसुमनःस्वीयैश्चविद्याया(ध)राः । लोकैर्मातपुरोल्लसज्जलनिधेमैरेषु रत्नाग्नयं लभ्या-
नोति विचित्रमग्रं न विष(ध)क(के)नापि स-
- 40 च्च(च) तथा के(क)चित् ॥३९॥ सुवर्णमूल्यस्य तु कप्यमुदिका सद्गुणो मूल्यमभूदिलुंदने ।
सद्गुणमुद्रामितवस्तुनः पुनः कथोपि कर्पस्य(स्य) वरा-
- 41 टकं तथा ॥४०॥ स्वीयशा(वा)ह्यसंजलौकृतमहाहोमान्वितहोषोष्टनिर्घर्जभूरिभूतादिवस्तुरचितादीर्घस्य
शास्त्रो(त्यं) मुने । बहे(ह्ये)र्नालपुरं
- 42 [शुभी]प(ध)धर्म्य होमीकृतं मृष्टवाग्मये सांख्यमेव पांड्य इव श्रीराजसिंहो नृपः ॥४१॥
टोकं च सांभरिं ग्रामात्वा(मात्वा)लसोदिं च वाटम् । रानेद्रमुमदा जि(नि)-
त्वा वंदयि-
- 43 [त्वा] च(व)भुर्भूषं ॥४२॥ रानाग्रमरसिंहोत्र च(व)नी ग्रामद्वयं स्थितः । राजसिंहः
स्थितस्तत्र विजं नवदिवाचवि ॥४३॥ यनां(वु)युक्त्वाइतिनिम्नगाज्जगता नदी भव-
- 44 स्तेष्व हि नीचगामिनी । विघ्न(घ्नो)कृतो नीचतया तथा तताः[*] श्रीराजसिंहः[*] स्वपुरे
समागतः ॥४४॥ मनोज्ञतर्कगणधितगवाक्षपक्षद्वये विचित्रपदघट-
- 45 नाविलसद्वृहते पुनः । समुद्रदधत्युते करदिसद्वृटाटोपके महोदयपुरे नयः प्रविशति स्म
वीरोत्ततः ॥४५॥ इति राजप्रशस्तिमहाकाव्ये सप्तमः[*] सर्गः[†]

¹ Meaning 'undescribable'² Sandhi is not observed here.

- 46 [गज]वर कल्याणतत(त)पुत्र र(रं)गव(ना)य आत्र उरुण्य तत(तु)पुत्रजातलयाः जसा-
हरजीनातसोगपुरागोत्र

Slab IX : Canto VIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 9, 12-16, 18-43, 46-52 *Anuṣṭupb* ; vv. 5, 6, 44, 45 *Upajāti* ; v. 7 *Indravajrī* ; vv. 8, 53, 54 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 10, 11, 17 *Bhujangaprayūta*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [1*] शते सप्तदश(मे)तीते चतुर्दशमितेन्दके । शिशिरे धाद्विनिगदी-
तीरस्थे स्वेष्ट(८८)मातके ॥२॥ आ(ची)र(रं)गजेव(ब) दिव्यीश(ज्ञं) जात(तं) भुत्वात्र
त-
- 2 न्मुदे । धरिसिंहं प्रपि(हि)तवान् आतर(रं) नृपतिस्ततः ॥२॥ धरिसिंहः^१ सिंहवदन-
पत(पं)तं गतवान्दशौ । धरिसि(सिं)हाय दिव्यीशः स इ(ह)गरपुरादिकान् ॥३॥
- 3 देशाग्नजादि तत्सर्वं धरिसिंहः सम(मा)पेवत् । धीरगजसिंहवरणे सोमं योग्यं दशौ मुदा
॥४॥ गते शते सप्तदे(द)शे तु यथे चतुर्विंशत्ये स(ब)हुषा-
- 4 णयथे । सूताख्यसोदयंवर(रे)ण मुड(डं) धीरगजेव(ब)स्य कितन्वतीस्य ॥५॥ मुदे कुमारं
तिरदारसिंहं स जेययामात नृपः पुरं । धीरगजेव(ब)स्य पुरः
- 5 स्थितोसौ रणे कुमारो जययामात जात(तः) ॥६॥ धीरगजेव(ब)ः तिरदारसि(सिं)हवीराय
देशाग्नजाद्यजातः । टी(रा)णाङ्गिपरोर्य^२द(दे)व सच(बं) योग्य(गं) स ज्ञात्मे
- 6 प्रददे नृपदः ॥७॥ पूर्वे सप्तदशे शते मरपतिः सत्पौदशाख्येन्दके^३ आकापौतमठञ्जुरेर्गिरिधरं
तं इंगराष्टे पुरे । सद्राग्यं कित राखलं विदधता
- 7 कृत्वात्मतः तेषकं ।^४ प्रेम्णात्मै प्रददौ सुयोग्यमज्ञितं सेवां व्यथादायतः ॥८॥ शते सप्तदशे
पूर्वे जते(वं) या(यो)दशनामके । आगणे तु वनाकाण्यदेर्गं इ-
- 8 ष्टं नृपो ययौ ॥९॥ भटंरुद्रं राजलाघेयं(वं)वाङ्मयः प्रच(चं)ड(डं)श्च वेत(तं)डक्यंरुपेता-
(ता) । गृह्णावा महाकाङ्क्षितौ राजसिंहः प्रतस्थे जसाप्रद(दे)शेषभाय ॥
- 9 ॥१०॥ ततो दुर्धमिप्रोत्पन्नार्थं जिताम्भारवंः पाख्यदेशस्थितानां जनानां । विदीर्णानि वशांसि
यक्षी विविभं(धं) म्भाराव(ल)स्यापि मरुह(ड)नस्य ॥११॥ भा-

¹ Reading of this line is not certain ; its language is not Sanskrit. The list of mss. given here may be compared with that occurring towards the end of Slabs III, VI, IX and XXV.

² The correct form should be *apayad*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ This *daya* is superfluous.

- 10 लोहकुलतानाथं चोहणं तं महाबलं । रावं सखलसिंहकं रघुनाथाररायतं ॥२२॥
चोडापत(त्) नुहुकमसिंह(सिंह) अस्तावतोत्तमं [१^०] एतानुरा(रो)प-
- 11 ताकृत्वा^१ एतेषां चा(बा)हुमश्रयम् ॥२३॥ स रायतो हरासिंहो यमो देवलिप(मा)-
पुरात् । आगत्य राजसिंहस्य राजेवस्य पदेऽपस्तम् ॥२४॥ कन्दमुद्रामुपवाश्रय-
- 12 ह्यग्नौ नमोऽदयत् । मन्तरावतनामानं करिणं करिणोमनि ॥२५॥ अते सप(प्त)दशे पूर्णे
वर्षे प(पं)वदशाभिषे । वंशाये(षे) कृष्णनवमोदिवते श्रीमवासरे ॥२६॥
- 13 महाराजसिंहस्य वांसकालेऽज्ञायां कतेचंदमनी प्रतप्ते । धम् प(पं)धराजसहजद्वारमंडा-
कुरेर्गुडितां ता(तां) गृहीत्वा ॥२७॥ ततः सगरास(रसि)-
- 14 हस्य रावलस्याय(ब)लस्य वै । लज्जा(त्)क्या रूपमुद्रा देशदानं च हस्तिनी ॥२८॥ पक्ष
वंदं वंशायांकृत्वापातयद(धं)हिम् । राणेवस्य कतेचंदो भू-
- 15 त्य(स्यं) कृत्यैव राजल(त्) ॥२९॥ दश प्राधान्येशदानं रूपमुद्रावलेतुंगः । अद्रिगतिसह्यग्नौ
राजलाय दशो मुद्रा ॥३०॥ श्रीराजसिंहकनात्क-
- 16 नेचंदः स ठकुरः । चक्रे देवलिगानं(गं) हरोसि(सिंह)ः पत्तायिते(त्) ॥३१॥ हरिसिंहस्य
माता तु गृहीत्वा पौत्रमागता । प्रतापसिंहं विदधे प्रसन्नं
- 17 राजवंशिनं ॥३२॥ रूपमुद्रासह्यग्नौ विंशत्याकारात् हस्तिनी(नी) । वंद(दं) प्रकल्प्य स्वल्पं
त कतेचंदो दयामन[१] ॥३३॥ राजे(षं)द्वारभाष्यणे 'गान(ना)यामा-
- 18 स तं च(ब)लात् । प्रतापसिंहं ज्ञातस्तत्कतेचंदः प्रभोः द्विप[१] ॥३४॥ अषे(ले)राजं
[सि]रोहो(षं) रावं भक्ततम(मं) स्फुटं । प्रेम्णैव वरप(र्यं) कृतवानराजसिंहो नहीप-
- 19 तिः ॥३५॥ अते सप्तदशे पूर्णे षोडशेऽथ कात्मुने । बंधवारीमहापट्टे शैलशिलच्छे नृपो
व्यधात् ॥३६॥ द्विचक्रकरध्वजान(भं) ला(लो)हपञ्चकोत्त-
- 20 युक् । वैरिषोपाटन(नं) प्रोचकपाटयुगलं दधत् ॥३७॥ अनमंलद्विधचिह्नतामंलरुपांगलायुता(तां)
सिंहप्रकोष्ठः(ष्ठं) सत्वोष्ठं द्वारं द्विद्वारवारनं ॥३८॥
- 21 कुलकं । अते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे सप्तदशे ततः । गत्वा [कु]लकच्छे द्विप(ष्ये) म[ह]त्पा
म(वि)नया युतः ॥३९॥ दिल्लीशर्यं रक्षिताया राजसिंहनरे^२व-
- 22 दः । राडोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः पाणिग्रहं व्यधात् ॥४०॥ एकानावशात(एकोनविंशति) स्वच्छे गते
सप्तदशे अते । मेघर्षे देशमतनां(नो)ल्यकापत(त्) धन(धनान्)नृपः ।

^१ Smaller is not observed here.^२ First rd was engraved, but later on it was corrected into rd by scoring out the right hand vertical stroke.

- 23 ॥३१॥ मीनाजिनेतमीनामान् इवा(डा) ववा(डा)तिवक(दुष्क)रान् [१^०] त(सं)इयामामुर-
विकं मीनासे(सं)स्य महामदाः ॥३२॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहो मेवत
- 24 त्वसितं इदी । स्वीपराजम्पयन्म्यो धासोहृषनानि [च^०] ॥३३॥ अते सप्तदश(ते)तीते
विशत्याह्वयस्तरे । श्रीराजसिंहस्पाज्ञतः ता(ति)रोही-
- 25 नगरे गतः ॥३४॥ रानावतो रामसिंहः सत्तम्यो रावनाकुल(तं) । पुत्रेणोदयमानेन गड-
कऽमायवहुतात् ॥३५॥ अक्षेरानं तस्य राज्ये स्वा-
- 26 पयानात तत्सुदृष्टं । राणा निजारिराज्यानां स्वापकोत्थापका इति ॥३६॥ अते सप्तदशे
पुन^२ एकविंशतिनामके । अर्धे भार्गोसिताष्ट-
- 27 म्यां राजसिंहा(हो) महौगतिः[] ॥३७॥ अनुपसिंहमुपस्य वा(वा)धेतावावप्रभोः । भावसिंह-
कुमाराय कन्यामजवकुवार(वरि) ॥३८॥ संकल्प्य विधि-
- 28 ना इत्वा(त्वा) महाराजन्यपंक्तये । गोवजाष्टम्यकन्यानामष्टायां नवतिं इदी ॥३९॥ अथायं
पां(पा)कशालायां राजसिंहो नरं(रे)इवरः । भावसिंह-
- 29 कुमारार्धवीधयीपेस्तु वा(वा)हुजेः^३ ॥४०॥ अस्पर्धभोजिभिः ताकमुपविष्टो विशिष्टभाः । कु-
र्वाणो भोजनं भाति वांघवीपेस्तवेरित(ते) ।
- 30 ॥४१॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य यदग्रभतिपावनं । तज्जगन्नाथरायस्य प्रसादात् न त(सं)शयः
॥४२॥ तदग्रभोजिन्ये(नो) ह्यष्ट वय(यं) प्राप्ताः १-
- 31 विजता । हृष(य)ग्नजात्रू(रू)षणानि वरेभ्योशस्त्र(स्त्र)हीगतिः[^४] ॥४३॥ पुन^२ अते सप्तदशे
नुवर्धे तवैकविंशता(त्य)भिधे तु माधे । सुख्यमुद्राद्विगहल-
- 32 हेमकृता शुभोपकारपुरिता(ता) च ॥४४॥ सुर्पोगरागे तु हिरण्यकामयेनं महादानमवाप्त-
कृत्यं । स्वाधात(सु)तां वा गजमोक्तिकाष्ट(व्यं)
- 33 गजं इदी श्रीरव[रो] नरं(रे)[इः] ॥४५॥ अत(ते) सप्तदशे पुन^२ पंचविंशतिनामके । वय-
(नं) माधे राजसिंहो वज्रभ्यो(म्यां) [शुक्लपक्षके ॥४६॥ व ?]दीधामे
- 34 तदगस्त्योक्तवै कृत्यमुतां व्यधात् । नामाकरोत्तद[र]गस्य जनाज्ञामर इत्ययं ॥४७॥ इदी
गरीयदासाष्टपुरोहितवराय सः । व(पा)नं
- 35 तु मुषहंशार्थं तथा देवपुराभिधं ॥४८॥ षट्(६) तथानि सहस्राणि^५ अष्टाशीतिमिताम्बहो ।
सप्तानि कृत्यमुद्राणां तदामे भद्रदाय-

¹ The sign for *congruence* after *ta* is not required. The intended reading means to be *vidhane=andā pad=*
bidak.

² *Samiti* is not observed here.

³ *Bahuj* means *Kahutripa*.

- 2 वयोज्य(ज्य)तहीरकोत्तमयहानुषः श्रवार्त्तसम(न्) श्रु(श्रु)गारामुत्तापरस्तव मुदे गोवर्द्धनोद्धारकः
॥१॥ महाराजाधिराज-
- 3 श्रीजगत्सिंहि विराजति । वस्तरेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके गते ॥२॥ श्रीकुमारपदे पूर्वे(र्वे)
राजसिंहो यथो प्रति । दुर्गे जैसल-
- 4 मेराक्य पाणिग्रहहते तदा ॥३॥ द्वादशाब्दवया एव प्रवया इव ध्रु(ध्रु)दिमान् । द्वादशा-
त्मसकुरतेजा इ(ई)दशी मतिमावचे ॥४॥ ओषु(षु)वा स-
- 5 नषाद्वच सिवालो च भिगार्त्तवा । मोर्चना च पत्तो(र्वे)इव खेडी छपरल(ले)दिका
॥५॥ तासोल मेवावरको भानो ग्रामो तुहानकः । वासोल गु-
- 6 इत्ती^१ एषा^२ काकरोली मटा^३ इति ॥६॥ ग्रामाणां शोभिन् इष्टा समा तदागकरभोजिता ।
स्वमतः स्वापवामात व(व)दुमज जलशय ॥७॥ यर्मे-
- 7 कार्ये मतेर्षतो शम्भोहंतां तदा रणे । यदा राज्यस्य कर्ताय भुवो भर्ताभवत्तदा ॥८॥
शते सप्तदशे पूर्वे^४ अष्टादशमितेखके । मासे मा-
- 8 गे यथो इष्टुं कवनारायणं हरिं ॥९॥ तदेतां वीक्ष्य वसुभां तदाय व(व)दुमुद्यतः ।
पुरोधसाकरोन्मन्त्रं कार्यं स्वाधिति लोचयत् ॥१०॥ अ-
- 9 डा पूर्णाऽविरोधित्वं दिल्लीशेन जयते व(व)दुः । इत्यस्येति भवेत्त्वेत्स्वाद्र[र]जोक्तं स्वा-
ययं ततः ॥११॥ पुरो हितकर्[ः]^५ श्रीमत्पुरोहितपुर-
- 10 सरः । पुरोहितवयो राजा कार्यं कर्तुमथोद्यतः ॥१२॥ अक्षर्ययोः पर्वतयोर(र)तरे गोमती
नदी(वी) । रोडुं ज(व)दुं महासेतुं रायेंद्रो वस्तमाव-
- 11 ये ॥१३॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशामिधे तु शतके स्वष्टादशाख्येखके मावे कुरुणनुपक्षके कित वृधे
सप्तसप्तमीवातरे । इ(ई)द्वर्त्तव इहेव-
- 12 शाङ्खयमुते कलि(काले) तु कार्यं कृते व(सं)ख्यातः खलु नामतोपि च समो मे बांछि-
ताथो भवेत् ॥१४॥ पुनो(र्णे)वेति च सप्तसागरदशाशाब्दादश-
- 13 द्वीपकक्षेष्वा(ष्वा) स्वीयपशःप्रकाशकृतये मरायो मम स्वात्मवधित् । कुरुणः पशकरो नृपाः
स्तुतिकराः सप्तसप्तमीविश्रुव(वं)
- 14 श्रीव्याधं तु जलशयस्य कृतवान्मुपो नृहर्षहं ॥१५॥ सेतुं व(व)दुं व(व)दुपर्वैर्भुतचिज्जनि-
षकोः । कर्तुः खननमारब्धं नृमर्षश्च य-

^१ The sign of *anuvāda* over *ra* is meant to be over *ga*.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ Syntactically the word *śaka* should come after *iti* at the end of this verse.

^४ In this verse there is obviously a play on the numerals of the date the details of which are contained in the foregoing stanza.

- 15 सलम्बये ॥१६॥ तदोद्भूतः षष्ठिसहस्रसंमितः समुद्रतमो^१ सगरात्मजं यथा [१^२] अकारि भूमेः
सत(न)नं तयाभूमिं कर्तुं द्वितीयं^३ रचितं नृ-
- 16 कोटिमि[?] ॥१७॥ अनेह्यं सनने तत्र जायमाने जनेः कृते । पृथिव्यां पृथ्वीं जातौ
म(मु)त्तिकोपेन पर्वताः ॥१८॥ महत्कार्यं महाराजा
- 17 सत्वा साधारणं देवैः । न सवेत्सत्सुं स्थित्वा कारयन्माति युक्ततः ॥१९॥ सत्वा^४ रानो
महा(ह)त्कार्यं सेतुबंध(बंध) नृब(बंध)हृत् । स्वस्मात्^५ का-
- 18 रवापात तमेव कृतवान्मनुः ॥२०॥ कार्यस्य महतो ह्यस्य कृत्वा भागाननेकशः । राज-
न्यादिकधन्येभ्यो दत्तवांस्तान्मरा-
- 19 र्णतः ॥२१॥ सेतोर्वाधिपकृते पृथ्व्याः पृष्ठे स्वापयितुं शिलाः । ज्वलितः सारणं कर्तुं प्रयत्नं
कृतवाद्युपः ॥२२॥ सार्कं पराक्रमः क(का)लमा-
- 20 युष[?] धनवं जनेः । जित्वाबु(बु)कषणं राणा वक्ष्य(णं) जेतुमुद्यतः ॥२३॥ तदा अकम्पता
तत्र घटीबंध(बंधे)न मृष्ट(कृतं) । पृथयुक्तेन कार्यस्य
- 21 साह(हा)व्यमूर्तितं हि तत् ॥२४॥ क्रियमाणे घटीबंधं जलनिःसारणं जनेः । तेषां तत्को(त्का)-
बंधकरणं सार्यकः स घटीमणः ॥२५॥ स्वतंत्रं दश
- 22 घटीबंधैरस्वतंत्रैः स्फुरद्भूयः । घटीमात्रेण घटितं मूर्ति निःसारितं जने ॥२६॥ जलबंधै(बंधे)-
हृविषं रपयुपरि कल्पितैः । लोकेभू-
- 23 पृष्ठं नीरं सर्वं हृ(हृ)रीकृतं द्रुतं ॥२७॥ अस्मिन्नरतखंडे नृ यावतः सति साधने ।
ज्वलितः सारणोपापास्तावतः कल्पिता इह ॥२८॥
- 24 युक्तिभिः सुवधारंश्च यामरैरपि ये पुनः । जलनिःसारणोपायाः प्रोचतास्ते निमित्ता इह
॥२९॥ इतो निःसारितं नीरं सारणीकृत-
- 25 रैः परैः । ग्रामे ग्रामे जलनोनं(नं) ग्रामा नगरा गताः ॥३०॥ यथा ज्योतिषसारण्या
वास[रः^६] श्रेष्ठसाधनं । कृतं तयाबु(बु)सारण्यावस-
- 26 रः श्रेष्ठसाधनं ॥३१॥ एवं सानाप्रकारेण जलं निःसार्यं सर्वतः । सेतुबंध(बंध)कृते
लोकेभू(भू)पृष्ठं प्रकटीकृतं ॥३२॥ प्रथम(म)-

^१ The way of writing the syllable *agat* is peculiar: one would read it rather *agā*.

^२ The *anubandha* sign ought to be placed over *ya* as appears in the following letter, i.e., *ra*.

^३ There is a superfluous *anubandha* sign over *id*.

^४ The expression *anubandha* is a literal rendering of the Hindi or Hindustani idiom *apna parna* 'dancing in one's own presence', which, however, literally means 'in front of one's own self'.

- 27 नीरवर्षो मित इदो गिरिधरेण कृष्णेन । कथनाः परीक्षपुरितजलो जितो राम तत्त्व-
यो(या) चित्रं ॥३३॥ पु(पु)र्णे सप्तवर्षे जतेन उदिते दि-
- 28 व्यंकविंशत्यभिध्याताख्ये दिवसे जघोदशिकया धायाकप्या[स्ते] धुने । वंशाखे सितपक्षके
जलु विधोदरे किर्तताद्वे काले मा-
- 29 विमुक्तार्थसूक्तसमानार्थवजारवायुते ॥३४॥ जंबूद्वीपवरन्वसप्तवर्षाधु द्विषे कौत्वात्तमे नि(नि)षी
मनि(नि)र्यंकविंशतिमहा-
- 30 कुःसन्धनादृष्टये । पथेक्ष^१द्युतिलब्धये कुलम्ह(हा)भावादिदृष्टे । तदा साभार्थ सितपक्षकस्य
व(व) विधुस्वाह्वादिक्त्याप्तये^२ ॥३५॥ धीराणा-
- 31 राजसिंहोयं मेतोः सत्ववपूरनं । कर्तुं मूहर्तं कृतवाप्तवपहव(व)लान्वितः ॥३६॥ कुलकं ।
गरीव(व)रासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो
- 32 रणछोडरायः महाशिला पंचसुरत्वपूर्णाभावी इवे तत्र पदस्य पुस्तये(स्ये) ॥३७॥ दृष्टोपलप्र-
वानेन सुधापानेन पत(ल)तः । सतोः पदस्या-
- 33 जरत्वममरत्वं कृत(तं) जनेः ॥३८॥ महासेतोः प्रथ(व)पेस्मिन्महाकार्ये महागजेः । सुधा-
पूर्णं समानीतं परिपूर्णं न बाहुतं ॥३९॥ सर्वतो
- 34 मूककपस्य जलस्य मूकमुद्रणं । धीरावरकृता युक्तं राजसिंह त्वया कृत(तं) ॥४०॥
शिष्टान्वेषी जलमथ इह क्षमाप सर्वं सहोदामूर्द्धन
- 35 स्त्रीयं दण्डलिवं हृष्टमात्रं त्वया तु । गर्नवाप्रोचितमिति शिलाश्रेणिभिः क्षारचूर्णाज्जूर्णा-
भिर्वाकतवतुलमूखोत्सुद्रणं सुष्टमेव
- 36 ॥४१॥ मूनं कामोति राजेदं यत्र तजोविता(व)लान् । शंबर^३ं युक्तिं तन्मन् युक्तं
संतुप्रथ(व)पकृत् ॥४२॥ कव(व)धनिकमजयी वा^४नरप्रजपो-
- 37 वकः । रामकनाभिरानोति सेतुं वप्या(वप्या)ति युवतता ॥४३॥ गोत्रेर्गेहेन वकं
हरिरमितजलं वूरतः शकमुक्तं सप्ताहं श्रीम[ता] तद्वदन-
- 38 समुचितं वारि दुरीत(कृ)तं हि । धातुस्तावदं मुणोवातुक्तिभरभूता ता(स्या?)द्वितीय(क*)-
प्रमु(पु)र्तिसन्वत्कीर्तिः कृष्णकीर्तरेभि भवति परा कृष्णवक्तस्य श्री-

^१ *Shardala isle*.

^२ Again a play on the date mentioned in the preceding verse.

^३ The five conventional gems are : *aksha*, *vajra*, *pramudita*, *manjita* and *prastha*.

^४ Note the double meaning here, *Sambara* = water and *Sambara* = the name of the demon who was slain by Pinak-
rumba.

^५ *Kabandha* = a demon slain by Rāma ; *ka-bandha* = 'dammning of water'.

^६ *Vāna* = 'monkey' ; *id auro* = 'and man'.

- 39 र ॥४४॥ श्रीराजसिंहः प्रथमं शरीरं(बं)धमकारयत् । महासेतोत्ततः पञ्चासत्तैभरो
ब(बं)धन(नं) दृढं ॥४५॥ मत्स्याः पांडुररक्तपीतवर्णयः सेतो-
- 40 स्त(स्तु) भा[ने परे पातालात्किल निर्गताः शुभतरं गर्भोदकं निःसृतं । तेनोत्तं त्विह
सूत्रधारनिपुणैर्योत्थ[नाथं भवेद्भूपाताय निवेदितं नरपतिः क्षुत्वा स्नितास्योभवत्
॥४६॥ रामो नाभापसायं क्षितिधिरसि न वा कारयामास सेतुं गोत्रे-
- 41 ब्राह्मनरंवा(वां)द्भुड इति धनुष(वा ?) धानरामु(रोमु ?) ब(ब)भंज [१*] हुरिहरमांशु(नु)-
पृष्ठे भूय इह मुनरैः सृष्टवान्मूपलैस्त्वं तन्मूर्त्तं रामवर्षाधिकदृढ-
- 42 इति ते तत्कृपातोस्ति सेतुः ॥४७॥ स्पले जलाशयः सृष्टो जले सेतो[ः] स्वर्गं त्वया ।
कीतारे नग[रं] सृष्टं वीर ते देवपुर्णता ॥४८॥ इति भट्टरि(ट्टर)-
- 43 पद्मोद्भूते श्रीराजप्रशस्तिकाय्ये नवमः सर्गः ।

Slab XI : Canto X

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 10-12, 16-19, 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37-39 *Upejñā* ; vv. 5-7, 9, 13-15, 20, 21, 33-36, 40-43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 8 *Śrāgharā* ; vv. 26, 29, 32 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सुवर्णशतुरमात्यमान^१ श्रीद्वारकायां धनभासमानः । चतुर्भुजो
राजसमुद्रतीरे श्रीद्वारकानाथ-
- 2 हरिः सुवीरे ॥१॥ शान्तीतमभः किल राजमंदिरोद्भूब(ब) व(व)पाठमंहिर्गजैवजगैः । सत्कार्मवयं
ब(ब)हृद्यस्तदीवि(वि)त्ती व्याघ्रे-
- 3 न वाना(नी)तमिदं तव(द्भू)तं ॥२॥^२ सुवर्णशैले किल लिष्णुकपः श्रीरत्नसिंह[ः] कृत-
वान्मनस्वी । खेतु(तु) जगत्यामसुराणां कुणं स्वाम(स्वमं)[दि^३]-
- 4 रं सुंदरमद्वितीयं ॥३॥ पूर्ण(र्णं) जल(ले) सप्तदशे तु भागं वर्षेन शवि(र्षदि)शतिनाम्नि
भूयः । पद्मे^४दशम्या(स्यां) क्षितिमंदिरे(रं)दः प्रसादमायै ह-
- 5 तवाग्रवेशं ॥४॥ . शते सप्तदशतीले व[दि][दि]शतिमि[ले]व[स्व]के । अर्चण^५द्वितीयायो(यां)
राजसि(मि)हो महीपति[ः*] ॥५॥ हेमनः पलसते[ः*] सृष्टे[ः*] पंच(च)-

^१ The portion within the square brackets, i.e., from *gl* to *lee* was first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who afterwards added it at the end in the last line, indicating the addition by the *śloka-pada* signs.

^२ This *pāda* is short of one syllable. The letter *sa* appears more like *re*. Perhaps the intended reading is *śuvārṇaśatūreśvībhāgāmanān*.

^३ *Padā-dāśamī* here is only the form in local dialect of *Pāda-dāśamī* in 1-29, p. 51, and means the tenth day of the yellow month, i.e., Māgha. Mr. Bhaktidhār Gahlot informs me that *padā-pañcāmī* and *padā-dāśamī* are observed as festivals in Kāngri on the 5th and 10th days respectively of the bright-half of Māgha.—N.P.G.

^४ Read *Dejah-kriṣṇa* ; the first word meaning *Nārtika*.

- 6 कल्पद्रुमेयुतं । हेनः पञ्चशतैः स(सु)ष्टं महाभूतषट्ठाभिधं ॥६॥ हिरण्यवद्वर्यं कल्प-
मन्त्रावशाशतैः कृतं । इत्या(त्वा) महादानमुग-
- 7 नेतद्विप्रानतोषपत् ॥७॥ विप्रैभ्यो राजसिंह प्रभुमुकुट घटः श्रीमहाभूतपूर्वा(वी) व(त्तो)
देवदुमावतः सकलसुरमयो
- 8 मेदरेव त्वया य(त्*) । तदेवाः स्थानहीनाः कृतमतय इतो ब्राह्म(बाह्म)णेषु प्रविष्टास्ते
ज्ञाता भूमिदेवा [इ]धति गृहगणै मेवभोगं स(त्व)-
- 9 वीये ॥८॥ एकादश सहस्रा(खा)णि यद् ज्ञातानि च सप्ततितः । ज्ञानानि ज्ञाना^१ कल्पस्य
मुद्राणां दानयोरिह ॥९॥ पुनर् ज्ञते सप्तव-
- 10 [जे]य वर्यं चकार वद्वि(वि)जतिनाम्नि राये । सितप्रमोदप्रमिषेद्वि सेतोर्नुपो मूर्तं^२ पुरि
का(का)करा(रो)न्या ॥१०॥ ततोत्र सातो र-
- 11 वितः पुषिष्वां जनैर्विचित्रैः मुचुभिः कनित्रैः । महाशिलानिः समुधा(धा)भराभिः सेतोः
पर्वं पुरितमेव तु(तु)र्ग ॥११॥ पने(पुनै)
- 12 ज्ञते सप्तदशेय वर्यं^३ बा(बा)दमासाविक एव ज्ञाता । ज्येष्ठेय वद्विजतिन्म(ना)म्नि ज्ञया
जलस्त्वितिर्वृष्टिर्नवा तदाये ॥१२॥ [वर्यं]वा-
- 13 बाडबहुतपक्षस्मैरतिथो(वी) रवो । व(वा)ष्टकेन वा पंचमासेः वद्विजतिनेः कृतं ॥१३॥
मुखसेतोस्तु मूपुष्टं शि^४मुधापूर्वशिखा-
- 14 गणैः [१^५] पुरितनितिकपोन्वं मूत्रधारेर्ध्वं कृतं ॥१४॥ ईदृक्कालकृतन्यास्य दृष्टया
सिध्य(इय)ष्टकं नृणां । पंचेन्द्रियाणां पापांश्च
- 15 यद्विर्महरण(यं) भव(वे)त् ॥१५॥ अस्मिन्न(स्म)हावत्तर एव नव्य(व्यं) संस्थापितं व(य)त्
जल(न) तदाये । दु(दु)रोद्धतं तसु समस्तमेव जनैरव-
- 16 तुष्कीकरणे प्रवीणैः ॥१६॥ आशाचतुष्कागतमानवैर्नर्बर्तनाचतुष्काः कनिता जलाशये [१^६]
वि(दु)ष्टया चतुष्कीमृत एतसो^५
- 17 कृत नृणा(नां) पुमर्थोन्वचतुष्कदोभव(वे)त् ॥१७॥ तत्तश्चतुष्कमिगमनिःसृ(सु)ताना(नां) मुदा
समूहा मनुजेषु(यै)वाद्यैः । सहस्त(स)संख्यैः सु-

^१ *Laganai* goes with *anushasani* and *śālinai*, while *laganai* qualifies *saptatik*. It may further be observed that the word *laganai* is used here in the sense of *vyagata* 'open', which is more common in Hindi than in Sanskrit.

^२ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

^३ The meaning of the word *manu* here seems to be five from the conventional number of five assigned to the arrows of Kāma.

^४ The letter *śi* is superfluous.

^५ There is a play upon the numbers mentioned in this stanza with reference to those of the date occurring in verse 13 above. The six *ganas* are enumerated as *śiṣa-māhas jayī-māyāś kṣat-pāpāś śat-śrīmayāś*.

^६ Perhaps we have to read *śaka śādhātā*, referring to *śādhā* or *jādhā*.

^७ Again a play on the number four, *pancārth-śikṣa-chaturthā manas parashartha-chaturthāya*; *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mōkṣa*.

- 18 अतः प्रणीता मध्यस्य सेतोः परिपूरणाय ॥१८॥ मृदां गणैः कल्पितपर्वतीयाः सेतो
[वि]लीनाः क्व च(च) नैव दृश्याः । यथा पुरः रा-
- 19 ध्वसेतुबंधे वाता विलीनत्वमहो गिरिद्विः ॥१९॥ अते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तविंशतिनामके ।
वर्षे स्वजन्मदि-
- 20 वसे हेमहस्तिरव(धं) शुभं ॥२०॥ हेम्नो विंशत्यवदशततोऽनकनिमित्तं । महादानविधानेन
राजसिहनुषो
- 21 वदो ॥२१॥ पूर्णे अते सप्तदशे सुवर्षे सप्तविंशत्यवधिं मूहत्तः । आवाहमानेऽति-
तस्तत्त्वतुर्था(ध्यां) नृपणे(ण) नोः(नीं)(स्था)-
- 22 पनकस्य सृष्टः ॥२२॥ जनेस्तुतीयादिवसे तु नीकायोग्यं जलं नेति कृते विचारे ।
आगामिवर्षे(वं) तु वृ(द्ध)हस्पतिः स्थास्ति-
- 23 हस्तिपतस्तत्सुमहत्तं* । एषः ॥२३॥ नागोत्र वर्तति तदायक(का)र्षे मृगस्तु री(रा)णा
वत रामसिंहः । तदा[†]कृतवानस्ति हि चोक-
- 24 धीन(नी)[‡] मध्य(ध्ये) जलं क्षेप्यमिहान्मद(वं)भः ॥२४॥ नीकान(सु)हृत्तो(र्तो)स्तु महापुरोधा गरीव-
दासानिच उक्तवान(म्) ?) । अर्धे प्रनोरेष जना
- 25 विचार(रं) कुर्व(वं)ति राजप्रति वा महा(हो)त(त) ॥२५॥ आहवर्षमेवा(वा) गम भाति
चित्ते स्यात्कार्यंमार्सीत्सुखबाधुपस्तत् । भूत्वा द्विजा-
- 26 न्वाकृणसूक्तमंत्र(त्रा)न[§] जप्तुं त विद्वानविंशपुरोधाः* ॥२६॥ अंगारपूर्णा प्रविधाय नीकां
मूहत्तमागामिसुवासरे तु । नीकाधि-
- 27 रोहस्य मृदा विधातुं कृतप्रतिज्ञं नृपराजसिंहं ॥२७॥ समीक्ष्य शक्नोपि तच्चित एवा-
भवत्तदस्मिन्सय(म)र्षे मया चेत् ।
- 28 क्रियते वृष्टिर्न तदा मर्मव दोषं वदियन्ति जनाः समस्ताः ॥२८॥ इन्द्रात्प्रभुत्वं स्थिति
पञ्चपाठ(ठं) वित्तेवधार्येति मर्मांश ए-
- 29 षः । पूर्णास्य कार्येति मया प्रतिज्ञा रक्ष्या द्विजानान(म)पि सुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा) ॥२९॥
तत्तत्सुतीयादिवसे द्वितीये यामे धर्षणं[¶]ल-
- 30 वा मूहर्त्त(र्त्तं) । नीकाधिरोहस्य चकार भूयो मंदाकिनीनीः(नीं)स्थितशत्रुत्वं ॥३०॥
उक्तं जनेः कर्तुमर्थं यदेव समुद्यतस्तत्पर-
- 31 मेश्वरोत्र । करोति चापे सफलं सुकार्यं भविष्यतीत्यस्य तयो(या)भवत्तत् ॥३१॥ पूर्णे अते
सप्तदशे सुवर्षेऽष्टाविंशतिभ्राजि-

* Read *śat-sikṣāṇām*.† The word *cākhāṇī* in Marwari *chakri*, Sanskrit *chakṣhāṇī*, meaning here 'excavated square'.‡ *Sandhi* has not been observed here. For the Varāṇasī *sūtra*, see *Rigveda*, I, 25, 19.

- 32 तनामवेये । रत्न(का)तिवी नालविमृश्यं द्राक्¹ ज्येष्टे(ष्टे) कृतं सुवधरेन्पोक्षया ॥३५॥
शते सप्तदशे पुणे² एकोनविंशद्वये ।
- 33 वर्षे विधुष्टे माये वानं कल्पनतदमकं ॥३६॥ हेमः सार्द्धशतद्वय(प)त्तै सुवष्ट(ष्टे) वदो
तथा । हेमनस्त्वशीत्यप्रशततोत्तकः
- 34 परिकल्पितः ॥३७॥ हलेस्तु पंचभिर्पुक्तं पंचलोपलनामकं । भावनीग्रामसंपुक्त(क्तं) महादानं
वदो नृपः ॥३८॥ अष्टाविं-
- 35 कल्पप्रवशशततोत्तकसंमितिः । हेमः समभेदद्विधदानधोरतयोरिह ॥३९॥ पुण(णं) शते
सप्तदशे सदेकोनविंश-
- 36 दग्धपाव्ययुक्ताल्पुनेत्र [१^{*}] कृष्ण(कृष्णो)त्तम(मे)कारशिकादिने वा अभे भवतीगिरिणाद्वयदेन(शे)
॥४०॥ सत्तंगिकायंस्व तु सुव्य-
- 37 सेतो नृपो मुहूर्तं कृतवाक्यलोडः । श्लक्ष्णीकृतः पांडुरवर्ण[युक्तः^{*}] सुधाधिसिक्तंद्वंद्वनंविधेयः ॥४१॥
महोपतेः रेजलसुवधारे-
- 38 निस्त्यमान(विस्तार्यमाणे) किस रुगिकायं । भुत्ते(तो)वये स(मे)गिनि कायंययं नृपस्य चित्तं
सुखसंगि ज्ञातं ॥४२॥ शते सप्तदशतोत्ते¹ एको-
- 39 नत्रि(त्रि)शदाह्वये । ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठस्य सुवत्तसप्तमया(न्या) राजसिंहो महोपतिः ॥४३॥ एकविं-
(लि)गालके त्विद(त्विद)सर आख्ये जलाशये ।
- 40 ससोपाने जोगंसेतो प्रतोलीनां चतुष्टय(यं) ॥४४॥ अष्टात्सुवधं सत्काय(यं) सुशिला-
गणरा(रे)जितं । अष्टादशसहस्रा-
- 41 नि कथ्यमुद्रावलेरिह ॥४५॥ लग्नानि राजवीरोक्त्या प्रशतितनिर्मिता मया । ध्रुवा तां
स ददावाज्ञा(ज्ञा) शितायां
- 42 लिखनाय² म(मे) ॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्तिनाममहाकाव्ये रणछोडनद्विरचिते दत्त(ज)म[^{*}]
सर्गः ॥

Slab XII : Canto XI

[Metres : vv. 1, 13, 14 Upajithi ; vv. 2-12, 15-48, 51-57 Anushtubh, vv. 49, 50 Gāhā.]

- 1 [1] श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सेतोर्मितिः पंच प्रतानि देव्यं मुह्यत्य वं पंचदशोत्तराणि ।
तले गजानां च प्रतानि पंच से(सं)कल्पशीलि-

* Sandhi has not been observed here.

* Better read *Ukhaṇḍya*.

- 43 jabbhī Sugar-ā[di*]bhīh [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīś-tasya tasya tadā phala(bh)lam || [15*]
 Bhūmīś yab pratigrihāti yas=cha bhūmī[n*] pragachchhati | ubhau tan puṇya-karmāgā
 * niyatan svarga-gāmī.
- 44 mau || [16*] Gām-ākaś avaragam-ākaś-cha bhūmīś-apy-ardham-aṅgulaś(lam) | hama-
 narakam-āyati yāvad-āhu(bh)ta-samplavam || [17*] Shuab[te]-va(r)cha-sahasraṇi va(r)g-
 mūlāni bhūmīśah | ākheptā ch-ānu-
- 45 mantā cha tāny-eva narakā vaset || [18*] Sya-dattāś paraddattāb vā yā harā[ta*] vaundharām
 | sa viśā(chthūyā[n*]) kṛmī[r]-bhū[va] pṛibhīh saha pachyat | [19*] Sarvān-ātān-
 bhāvināb pā[ti]bhivendrā[n*]
- 46 bhūyā bhūyab pṛ[ti]thayaty-āka Rāmāh | āmānyā-yau-āhu(r)ma-ātu(r)-nṛpāgā[ti]
 kālā kālā pālanīyāh kramāga || [20*] Ii kamala-lal-ānu(mala)-vindu-āla[n*] śrīyam-
 anuchintya manushya-
- 47 [vitaś-cha | sakalam-bhūm-māhritāś-cha va(bu)ddhyā(ddhvā) nahi parushāb para-kṛttayā
 vilōpyā hī Śrīmān Vīgrahapālāh | kṛtīpatir-ākarāś | sva-dīhajanmā-
- 48 mun(tum) |] sa śrī-Prabhasarājāh | māntrīgam-āha āśanā dīdān(tam) || [22*] | Pōshāh-
 grāma-niryāta-śrīmān-Hrīdēva¹-su[śā]nnāh | ulā[n*] āśanam-ākrīpā[n*] śrī-Śaśidhēva²
 ālpi-
- 49 uā || [23*] || Krōdāchchām-niryāya Kāchchha³ yāh sad-Vā(d-Brā)hmapānām sthitā-tasmāś-
 (dīhanakō dvij-āttama-grīham⁴-vīrāmā-bhū[va]vanāś(nām) | āsmāś-bādhakul-āti
 yatra Viva-
- 50 ānu(dō) Yōgēvarā yat-antah khyātaś-Tuṅga lō-pi nirmūla-yatā Ghagṛā-nām-āma[ti]
 || [24*] Yō Gaṅg-ādhīpatīś-āśma-guṇa-bhū rājāś vūdhēyō āśām-bhūpālāśha vūdhāya
- 51 maltryam-āśmanam sant(u)āha-chīnt-āchīta[ti] | kṛtvā āśanātma(m-āta[ti]-āma-dhba(ha)-
 lātāh klām-apy-avanya[udhya]-sthitim vīrāmāya cha dīna-duhkhita-janasy-ābhūd-ā-
 āv-āśa[ma*]m || [25*]

No. 8—KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

(2 Platten)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, MADRAS

The set of copper-plates which is edited below^a was discovered at Kalidindi, a village in the Kalahur taluk of the Krishna District, by a farmer while digging for earth in 1933. It was handed over to me by the late Sri G. Ramabrahmam Chaudary, the editor of the *Prājñimitra*, who had obtained it from the discoverer, for decipherment and publication. The set consists of five copper-plates of which the last is a broken fragment. The copper-plates measure

1. The first part of the book is a history of the city of New York, from its founding in 1624 to the present. It covers the city's growth, its role in the American Revolution, and its development as a major center of commerce and industry.

* The days is mentioned.

² There is a small vacant space between the two double dindas.

* Read *Armad-Bridgim*.² As already noticed, the Amgūchhi plate has the same term reading, however, in the corresponding passage, *Mahidharadōva*. If the reading intended in our record is *Ar-Mahidōva*, it may be suggested that this Mahidōva is the same as Mahidharadōva of the Amgūchhi plate.

* Read either *des-Sainton-épipé* or *Saint-on-épipé* to suit the metre.

* There is a floral design between the double dogies.

* Flood grounds in

* Originally 1844 was Ireland

* This is C. P. No. 7 of the *Am. Rep. S. I. E.* for the year, 1937-38.

5" by 10" each, while the length of the broken portion of the fifth plate varies from 2" to 3½". They are all strung on a circular ring about ½" in thickness and 5" in diameter, the ends of which are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal about 5" in diameter with the rim raised all round. The set of plates with the ring weighs 292 *tolas*; and the plates alone weigh 200 *tolas*.¹ The ring had been cut before the plates came to my hands.

The **seal**: This is a very fine specimen of the seal of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The surface of the seal is countersunk on either side. The base of the seal is moulded into the shape of a four-petalled flower. On the upper face, it bears the legend *Śrī-Tridharmadharmasāsi* in relief across the middle. Above the legend are represented in relief the crest of the Eastern Chālukya royal family, viz., the bear in a rearing posture facing the proper left, and other symbols of royalty: the elephant goad, the *ḍamaru* or the double drum, the *śaṅkha* or the conch shell, two *chavris* or flywhisks and the royal parasol. The figures of the crescent moon and the sun are found at the top. Below the legend are seen three objects, a four-legged stool in the proper right, a four-petalled flower in the centre, and a lotus bud with a stalk in the proper left.

The **alphabet** is old Telugu, commonly met with in the inscriptions of the period to which the record belongs. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank; the other plates are written on both the sides. A peculiarity which is common to the copper-plate charters of Rājārāja I, the donor of the present grant, may be noticed here. Including the present grant there are three sets of copper-plate records of the king that have come to light so far; and they are all partially palimpsests.

Of the present grant the latter part is a palimpsest. Beginning with line 75 (10th line on the second side of the third plate), traces of earlier writing are distinctly visible up to the very end of the inscription; but the characters have been so thoroughly beaten in that it is almost impossible to make out any letter. The reasons which prompted the adherence to this practice by the secretariat of Rājārāja I are not quite obvious. The first two plates have perhaps been engraved by a different hand; but the form of the characters throughout the inscription is so much alike that it is not possible to lay any emphasis on this point.

The **language** of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, both verse and prose, 41 stanzas in different metres and 8 prose passages of varying length interspersed among them. However, a few Telugu words have crept into the text of the inscription, while describing the topography of the village granted, e.g., line 75, *Pallapa-Guṭṭavāra-vishayam*; lines 108-9, *Tāmara-kolani-Kroṣṭiḍḍipam-bāma-Tullikroṣṭi-nāma nadi*. Several errors, mostly scribal, are found in the text and they have been noticed in the footnotes. The **date** of the record is either not given or lost in the missing portion. If the date were given, as in the Nandampūḍi grant of the same king, at the end of the record, it must have been lost with the major part of the fifth plate.

The text of the genealogy including the *prastuti* embodied in the inscription under consideration presents close textual affinities, with slight variations here and there, with the other Chālukya charters of the period especially the Kōrumelli plates² and the Nandampūḍi grant³ of Rājārāja I himself and the Raṇastipūḍi grant⁴ of his father, Vimalāditya.

¹ The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly furnished me, at my request, with the necessary details pertaining to the measurement, weight, etc., of the plates.

² The Superintendent for Epigraphy believes that the Kāḍiṇḍi Plates were issued shortly after the king's (Rājārāja's) accession in Śaka 944 (A. D. 1022).⁵ See *As. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1937-38, part II, para 14.

³ *Iud. Act.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and plates.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 200 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 247 ff. and plates.

The text of the present inscription falls into four divisions: I. the genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukyas up to Rājārāja I; II. the narration of the circumstances in which the grant was made; III. the description of the boundaries of the village which is the subject of the present grant, and IV. the imprecatory verses together perhaps with the names of the author of the *prakāśi* and the scribe.

I. This part further divides itself into two sub-sections:—(a) legendary, and (b) historical.

(a) The legendary genealogy opens with Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Atri, Chandra, etc., and proceeds without a break up to Udayana, the son of Śātānika. Then comes a hiatus which the composer of the genealogy bridges up with fifty-nine nameless kings who are said to have ruled at Ayōdhya. The sixtieth, Vijayāditya by name, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, where, in an encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava, he perished. His posthumous son, Viśhugavardhana, however, restored the fortunes of his family and established his authority over the country between the Narmadā and the Śeṭu.

The first point that has to be considered here is the origin of the legendary genealogy. No traces of it are to be found in the numerous records of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs till we come to the time of Vimalāditya's accession. Certain features of this legendary genealogy are found in some contemporary records of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi.¹ The reign of Vimalāditya marks an important stage in the development of the *prakāśi* of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The records of the early monarchs of the dynasty from Kubja-Vishnugavardhana to Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III embody, with some small variations, the *prakāśi* found in the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, and mention generally the immediate ancestors of the donor without giving any particulars about them. With the accession of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III there sets in a change; while the preamble retains its original form, the part relating to the donor and his parentage undergoes a change. The names of his immediate ancestors yield place to an elaborate list of all the past kings of the dynasty, in which are set forth the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reigns. With the passing of each generation, the list increases in length and the *prakāśi* is soon transformed into a family chronicle. This form was adhered to for a long time; and no further change is perceptible in the charters of the subsequent period until the accession of Vimalāditya, when, as pointed out already, a further change was introduced in the form of a long Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodying their lineage and *gotra*. The circumstances under which this change was introduced are not known. It is not, however, unlikely that it was due to the Chōla influence on the Eastern Chālukya kings since the restoration to power of the main line in 939-1000 A. C. The latter had political as well as matrimonial relations with the Chōlas.

Another point that deserves consideration is the historicity of Vijayāditya, the ancestor from whom the Chālukyas are said to have descended in the later Eastern Chālukya records. It is believed by some scholars that this Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōla;² but the evidence on which the belief is based is quite late and untrustworthy. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the parent stock from which the other families branched off, do not refer to Vijayāditya as the progenitor of their race. They trace, on the contrary, their origin to Jayasimhavarāṇa of whom very little is known. Similarly the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi make no mention of Vijayāditya in this context. The Kautbām grant, no doubt, mentions Vijayāditya, not, however, as the founder of the family, but as one of the two additional names or epithets

¹ The Kautbām grant of Vikramāditya V, dated 1000 A. C. mentions for instance the rule of fifty-nine nameless kings at Ayōdhya and the subsequent migration of the family to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21).

² The present writer who had subscribed to this view formerly finds it untenable on further investigation. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Chola Studies*, pp. 67-68.

especially peculiar to the Chālukyas, the other name being Viśṇuvardhana.¹ And even among the Eastern Chālukyas the name of Vijayāditya as the founder of the dynasty was altogether unknown until the time of Vimalāditya. In view of these facts, it is not possible to accept Vijayāditya as a historical person and regard him as the founder of the Chālukya family.

(b) The historical section of the genealogy constitutes a family chronicle in which are embodied the most outstanding events of the Eastern Chālukya history. The history of the Eastern Chālukyas is traced from Kubja-Viśṇuvardhana to Rājārāja I. It is practically identical with similar accounts found elsewhere. There is, however, a small variation with regard to a minor detail which may be noted here. In this as well as in the Kōrumelli grant, in the description of the succession of early kings from Kubja-Viśṇuvardhana and Jayasinha, we have *tad-anuj-Endra-rāja-śrī-vandana-sapta dināvi* (line 33)² instead of the usual *tad-anuj-Endra-rāja-sapta dināvi*.

The genealogical account, as embodied in the present charter, discloses certain facts about Rājārāja's reign, unknown from other sources. It refers, no doubt, like the Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants to Vimalāditya's marriage with Kumālavai and the birth of a son to them called Rājārāja as well as the coronation of the latter in Śaka 944 (expired) on Thursday, *ba. di. 2*, Uttarābhādra, when the sun was in the sign of the lion (lines 50-54, 53-55). The new information found is that Rājārāja, when still a boy, was invested with the necklace (*kaṣṭhikā*), the insignia of the office of *yuvārāja* (lines 52-53); and that his uncle, the Chōla emperor Rājendra-Chōla Madhurāntaka, having heard of his great qualities, bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter, the princess Ammatā, who became his chief queen (lines 52-54). In this connection occurs an elaborate description of the greatness of the Chōla emperor, his supremacy over the kings on earth, and the extent of the dominion subject to his authority (lines 56-62). The stanzas beginning with the words, *Śaśpāśad-upi sa Himāśā* and *Sa-drūpāṇa chatur-amburāṇi-parākhāṇa* (lines 58-62), probably allude to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangothic expedition and his transmarine conquests respectively.

Thus, four important events of Rājārāja's life are mentioned here: (i) his birth, (ii) investiture as *yuvārāja*, (iii) coronation, and (iv) marriage.

(i) The date of his birth is not known.

(ii) The investiture of Rājārāja as *yuvārāja* must have taken place duly without any obstacle.

(iii) His coronation, however, does not seem to have been performed without obstruction. For the date of this event which is stated to have taken place according to the present inscription in Śaka 944, Bhādrapada, *ba. di. 2*, Gaurvāra, corresponding to 16th August, 1022 A.C.,³ is nearly four years later than the last date, i.e., 1018 A.C., August, of his father and predecessor Vimalāditya.⁴ This reveals a gap of four years in the Eastern Chālukya chronology between the close of Vimalāditya's reign and the coronation of Rājārāja I, and the events of this interval are by no means clear. Several scholars who have attempted to bridge up the gap have been at great pains to

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21. *Sahasambharavarṇana-Sarvabuddhārāja-Parakramāditya-Varagaditya-Adi-Vardhanasimha-rāja-nimānān-adhikāra-lābhāni*. It may be noted that these two names are alternately assumed by the Eastern Chālukya kings and it may be suggested that these names were assumed at the time of coronation.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 62, l. 37.

³ The date is corroborated by his Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 33; above, Vol. IV, p. 307.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 234, 261. According to the Raṣastipūṇḍi grant, Vimalāditya, the father of Rājārāja I, was crowned on 16th May, 1011 A.C., and as this inscription is dated in the Śirisha month of his 5th regnal year, corresponding to August, 1018 A.C., he must have been ruling until this date. How long his rule lasted subsequent to this date it is difficult to discover; but since in all the records of his successors a period of seven years (reckoned in round numbers) is invariably assigned to his reign, he must have died before the end of his 5th regnal year.

extend the reign of Vimalāditya up to the date of the coronation of Rājārāja, taking it for granted that Rājārāja's accession to the throne did not take place earlier than the actual date of his coronation as recorded in his grants.

However, there is good reason to believe that the reign of Rājārāja I began a few years earlier than the date of his coronation in 1022 A. C. Śaktivarman II, the nephew and immediate successor of Rājārāja I, ascended the throne of Vāṇī on Thursday, 18th October 1061 A. C.¹ Rājārāja is said to have ruled, according to the charters of his descendants, for a period of 41 years and this is corroborated by an inscription dated in his 41st regnal year.² This yields 18th October, 1020 as the starting point of his reign. The following inscriptions of Rājārāja I, which give both the regnal and the Śaka years, point to the same date.

<i>Insc. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Starting point</i>
183 of 1893 (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1008)	Śaka 969—regnal year 26	Ś. 945
663 of 1920	Śaka 983—regnal year 37	Ś. 943
671 of 1920	Śaka 983—regnal year 41	Ś. 942

These records seem to suggest two different starting points for the reign of Rājārāja. The apparent discrepancy has perhaps to be attributed to the practice of quoting the Śaka dates, either in the expired or in the current year, rather than to any fault in the chronological data given in these records. Of the three, the last one is surely dated in Śaka 983 expired, as shown by the cyclic year *Phava* corresponding to it. The dates of the other two are not capable of verification, as the corresponding cyclic years are not given. If, however, the Śaka year cited in them be taken to be current, all these three dates would yield Śaka 942 (expired) as the starting point of the reign of Rājārāja I and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II which terminate Rājārāja's reign with Śaka 983.³ There is, however, one inscription which gives a different and an earlier date as the starting point. In the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII, it is said that after Mummadi-Bhima (i.e., Vimalāditya), his son Rājārāja ruled for a period of twelve years; then, Vijayāditya, Mummadi-Bhima's second son by a different mother, expelled Rājārāja, and having seized the kingdom crowned himself king on *Aditya-tadina*, *an. di. 5*, Karkataka, Kanyā, Śūryyabha (Uttara-Phalgunī or Pūrva-Phalgunī) in the Śaka year 953, corresponding to Sunday, 27th June 1031 A. C.⁴ If Rājārāja I, as stated in this inscrip-

¹ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 40.

² No. 671 of 1920 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44.

⁴ *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 294. According to the calculation of Mr. R. V. Krishna Rao, the date of Vijayāditya's coronation given in the record corresponds to Thursday, 9th July, 1030 A.C. (*JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38); but he does not explain how *Aditya-tadina* can be taken to denote Thursday and how the *nakshatra* denotes *Hastā*. The date has been calculated afresh, at my request, by Mr. K. G. Sankar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the details of his calculation as communicated to me in a letter dated 11.11.1941 are given below.

Śakā-dyig-śha-mūḥa-mūḥa = Ś. 952 = 1030-31 A. C.

Karkatā Karkatā-mūḥa = Śukr in Karkā (Jyest-July).

śūḍḍha-pamukamī = *an. 5*.

Aditya-tadina = Sunday.

Śūryyabha = Uttara-Phalgunī (Aśvina) or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Bhādra).

Kanyā-lagne = Kanyā-lagne = 10 A.M. to 12 noon.

These details correspond regularly to Sunday, 27th June, 1031 A.C.; on that day *an. 5* ended at 37 of the day and Uttara-Phalgunī began at 48 of the day after the Pūrva-Phalgunī ended. At 10-12 A.M. the *nakṣa* and the *nakṣa* current were *śukla 5* and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

tion, did rule actually for 12 years before Vijayāditya's coronation in June 1031 A. C., he must have begun to reign in June 1019 A. C. As Vimalāditya was still ruling at the time of the Raga-stipendi grant in August 1018 A. C., Rājārāja I appears to have succeeded his father almost immediately. As the available evidence regarding the exact starting point of Rājārāja's reign gives two different dates, viz., 1019 and 1020 A. C., it can be safely stated that his rule must have commenced some years before the date of his coronation which took place, as stated in his own records including the present one, on the 16th August, 1022 A. C.

If Rājārāja began to rule either in 1019 or in 1020 A. C., as shown above, there must have been some cause for the postponement of his coronation until 1022 A. C. Although no such reason is disclosed by the Eastern Chālukya records, the contemporary Chōla inscriptions distinctly indicate the existence of political disturbances in Vēṅgi at this time.¹

(iv) The last point of interest to be noted in this section is the marriage of Rājārāja I with Ammaṅgā (lines 61-65), the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rājendra-Chōladēva, a fact known hitherto only from the records of his descendants. The marriage was not merely the renewal of an old alliance between the Chōla and Eastern Chālukya royal families. It was also intended to serve a political purpose. Rājendra-Chōla aimed at providing a permanent bond by which Vēṅgi might be attached to his kingdom; therefore, he bestowed the hand of his daughter Ammaṅgā on his nephew.

II. The most important part of the present inscription is the passage which narrates the circumstances in which the gift was made. It states (lines 77-85) that the general Rājārāja-Brahma-Mahārāja rose to eminence by the grace of the king Rājendra-Chōla Madhurāntaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasure. No sooner did he receive the orders of his sovereign than he marched into the Āndhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama-Chōla Chōḷakūṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milādajaiyān. The three Tamil commanders, who were like the three firm bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karpāṣa army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karpāṣa. The battle between the two armies is described vividly (lines 85-93). The engagement, however, seems to have ended indecisively or at any rate not in a victory for the Chōla forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides who participated in the fight perished with their forces (lines 93-96). It was in these circumstances that the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I set up, in memory of Rājārāja-Brahma-Mahārāja, a temple dedicated to God Śiva called Rājārājēśvaram in the village of Kalidīpdi. Two other Śiva temples were also built in memory of Uttama-Chōla Chōḷakūṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milādajaiyān respectively. For conducting worship in these temples, and for the maintenance of a choultry for feeding fifty students, etc., the village of Kalidīpdi renamed Madhurāntakanallūr, together with two other villages called Kaḍapattu and Āvakūru, was granted by the king (lines 96-103).

The place and date of the battle are not stated in the record. It would, however, be possible to fix them with some precision. It may be noted that the record states that memorial temples for the deceased Chōla generals were founded. Such temples are sometimes founded on the

¹ Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. These epigraphs of the reign of Rājendra-Chōladēva from the Madhukaira taluk of the Anantapur District, all studied together, allude to an expedition sent by the Chōla emperor Rājendra I against Vēṅgi about the 10th (c. 1021 A.C.) of his reign to overcome some trouble there, under the leadership of one of his generals, named Āreyan Rājārājan alias Vikrama-Chōla, Chōliya-varaiyan. Of them No. 31 of 1917 refers probably to a battle which he fought with the Kalīṅga, Oḍḍa and Feluga, while another (751 of 1917) expressly declares that 'the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Sōliya-varaṇan to conquer that country'. These records which, as pointed out by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'obviously belong to the same time' (*Calcutta*, I, p. 273), allude to a military expedition sent by Rājendra-Chōla about the 10th year of his reign (1021 A.C.) to conquer Vēṅgi.

site, where the persons, to perpetuate whose memory they are built, are interred or cremated. As the memorial temples of the Chōla generals were erected in the village of Kalidindi, they must have been buried or cremated in the place; and consequently the battle in which they were killed might have been fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

The difficulty of fixing the date of the battle is great. However, certain facts mentioned in the record would help us in arriving at a probable date. The inscription contains the date of Rājārāja's coronation, i.e., 1022 A. C.¹ and alludes perhaps to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangetic expedition and transmarine conquests (vv. 19 and 20). Moreover, at the time when the battle was fought, Rājendra-Chōla (1012 to 1044 A. C.) was still ruling at Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram. These would indicate that the battle should have taken place between 1022 and 1044 A. C., the last date of Rājendra-Chōla. But no evidence is available from the Chōla records during this period of 22 years about any war between the Chōlas and the contemporary Western Chālukya king Jayasīma II, of which the battle at Kalidindi might have been a major event. The last we hear of the fights between them is in 1021 A. C., when Rājendra Chōla I's attack on Raṭṭapāḍi took place.² However, there is one Western Chālukya record at Hoṭṭār in the Bombay Karnāṭak,³ dated 1037 A. C., which mentions a *Devaṇāyaka* of Jayasīma II, Chāvaṇarasa by name who bears the title, "destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi". If this Bijavadi is taken to be identical with Bezvada⁴ in the Vēṅgi country, it would appear that sometime before this date, i.e., 1037 A. C., the Western Chālukya general invaded Vēṅgi and captured the city of Bezvada. The Karnāṭaka invasion of Āndhra (i.e., Vēṅgi) and the battle described in the present record may have taken place during the same Western Chālukya expedition under Chāvaṇarasa, especially as the distance between Bezvada and Kalidindi is less than 60 miles. As victory was not secured by the Chōla allies of Rājārāja, even as indicated by the record, it is not unlikely that the event may be connected with the disaster which overtook Rājārāja I in 1031 A. C., when he was deprived of his throne by his step-brother and rival Vijayāditya VII.⁵ Although evidence is lacking as to whether the *coup d'état* effected by Vijayāditya was with or without Karnāṭa help, a suggestion may be made that as Rājārāja was supported by the powerful Chōla emperor, his rival, Vijayāditya, secured the help of the Karnāṭa king. Such an alignment is consistent with the political background of this period, as the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas were always arrayed against each other in support of rival claimants in disputed successions.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Karnāṭadhīśa may be Jayasīma II, as the date of the battle is about 1031 A. C. As explained before, the Draviḍadhīśa is, doubtless, Rājendra-Chōla I who is mentioned by name at another place (line 59) in the record.

Much is not known of the Chōla generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Uttama-Chōla Māḍaṇḍaiyān, figures as the ruler of the hilly tracts in the present South Arcot District in a record of the 4th year (-1016 A.C.) of Rājendra-Chōla, where he is spoken of as Yādava-Bhīma of the Bhārgava gōtra;⁶ but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Neither of the other two finds mention in contemporary Chōla inscriptions. A *Sāṃpati* called Uttamaśōla Brahma-Māḍaṇḍaiyān is mentioned in an epigraph at Kōllār, dated about 1033 A. C.;⁷ he, however, seems to be a nobleman quite distinct from *Sāṃpati* Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja of the charter under consideration.

¹ See above, p. 58, note 2.

² *Chōla*, I, p. 243.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 78.

⁴ Dr. Barnett identifies it with Bijavādgi near Hungund, *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵ Pāṇikerāśa plates: *JAHNS*, Vol. II, p. 334.

⁶ No. 20 of 1903 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁷ No. 480 of 1911; *EC.*, Vol. X, K1, 100-a.

III. *The details of the donation*: For the maintenance of daily worship, celebration of festivals, etc., in the temples built in honour of the three deceased Chōla generals, three villages all situated in the Lower (Pallava) Gudravāra *visaya*, were granted by Rājārāja I. Though Kalidindi and Kadapattu are clubbed together and renamed Madhumānakasāṣṭi, their boundaries as well as those of the third village are separately described. The boundaries of Kalidindi are given at first in lines 103-6; then follow from *Pallava-Gudravāra* in line 106 to *śimā* at the beginning of line 110 the boundaries of the village of Kadapattu; and finally with *Pallava-Gudravāra* in line 110 commences the description of the boundaries of the third village Āvakūru, which is unfortunately lost with the broken fragment of the fifth plate. The three memorial temples were perhaps given one village each for their upkeep, maintenance of daily service, etc. Of the three, Kalidindi was situated in the east; it is said to have been bounded by Pōtumbattu in the north and the north-east, Konneki in the east, ... Adattu in the south-east, Kōṭṭhama in the south, Vēvāka in the south-west, Kadapattu to the west, and D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-west. The second village, Kadapattu, was situated to the west of Kalidindi: its boundaries, as described in the inscription, are Kalyasaṭṭa in the north, D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-east, Kalidindi in the east and south-east, Vēvāka in the south and the south-west, Āvakūru in the west, and the streamlet Talikroyya (a branch of Tamarakōṭamī-Krovyāḍiḷḷu) in the north-west. The boundaries of the third village, Āvakūru, are not definitely known; of the villages that surrounded it, the names of only two, viz., Kadapattu and Konḍika-Maṇḍalūra, are found in the extant fragment of the fifth plate. In addition to these, another village called [Duḷḷiyya]pāḷḷi is also mentioned with Kadapattu; but the connection between these two villages is not quite clear.

Two of the three villages which form the object of the present grant, Kalidindi and Āvakūru, retain their names to the present day and are situated on the eastern fringe of the Colair Lake in the Kankalūr taluk of the Krishna District. The third village, Kadapattu, cannot be traced in the available maps and records, but must, however, be looked for in the same locality, as it is said to have been situated between Kalidindi and Āvakūru.

Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, Tāḍināḍu is identical with Tāḍināḍa which is situated, even as stated in the inscription, to the north-west of Kalidindi. Pōtumbatti is not, strictly speaking, the correct name of the village. The suffix 'ti' with which the name of the village ends is the inflexion of the genitive case meaning 'of'. Pōtumbattu therefore means 'of Pōtumbattu'. This must be identical with the modern Pōtumbattu in the same taluk. Similarly Vēvāka must be taken to represent the present Vēvāka. Neither the streamlet Talikroyya nor the other villages mentioned among the boundaries can be traced at present.

IV. The names of the executor, the composer and the scribe are unfortunately lost; but the last line in the broken fragment of the 5th plate, which begins with *āḍ Rāchiya-Peddēri (Bhī) ...* is found to form part of the following verse that occurs in the Kōruniellī grant of Rārārāja.¹

Āḍapṭi Katakāṣa Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhīma-nāma-taṇḍiḷḷi |
koṭṭā Bētana-bhaṭṭaḥ kāṇḍānāṁ lēkkāḥ-ṣya Gaḍḍāchāryaḥ ||

It may reasonably be assumed that the present grant ended with this same verse and that the remaining part of it was lost with the missing portion of the plate. If so, it may be inferred that the *āḍapṭi* of the charter was Katakāṣa, the composer Bētana-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhīma, and the scribe, Gaḍḍāchārya. Katakāṣa, who is spoken of as the *āḍapṭi* in several Eastern Chōḷukya copper-plate charters, is not the name of an individual but that of an office. The term *kaṭaka* denotes an army, a camp, a town, etc. Katakāṣa may therefore be taken to mean either the commander of an army or the governor of a cantonment. The verse cited above refers

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 55.

to four generations of the family of Bātana-bhaṭṭa,¹ the composer of the inscription. Though nothing is known of the first two members of the family, Bhāna or Bhāna-bhaṭṭa was a scholar and poet who flourished under Vimalāditya. He was the composer of the new Eastern-Chalukya *prasthā* embodied in the Raṣastipūṇḍī grant.² On his death his son, Bātana-bhaṭṭa, appears to have succeeded him in his office. In point of style and excellence of diction, the present record is superior to the Kōṇmelli plates. The passage in which the author describes the greatness of Rājendra Chōla is majestic and dignified; and his description of the battle of Kalidindi also is vivid.

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TEXT³

[Metres: Vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 28 *Sāritālavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 27, 31, 32 and 33 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 4 *Uḍḍi*; vv. 8 and 18 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9 and 19 *Mandākṛatā*; v. 12 *Upajit*; v. 13 *Mālinī*; v. 15, *Āryā*; v. 22 *Iti*; vv. 26, 29, 30 and 34 *Āpṛāṇṭa*; vv. 31 and 35 *Saṅgītā*; v. 37 *Vaṇāśaṭha*; v. 38 *Pushpātigrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 'Śrīdhāmanah Puruṣhottamasya mahatō Narāyaṇasya prabhōṭ-⁴nnābhū-paṅkārūhāt-babhū[va
jagata]-⁵śraṣṭā (Śvayam)-
- 2 bhūa-tata[⁶] [[*] jñānē mā[na]-sūnur-Atir-iti yas-tasmān-mānūr-Atirita-Sōmō varū[ka]-
kura-Sudhā[mānū-nalita-Srīka]ṭha-chū-
- 3 dhāmagh [[1]*] Tasmād-⁷abhū-Sudhāsūtār-bBudhō budha-nutā-tata[⁸] [[*] jñānē Purū-
ravā nāma chakra[⁹vartit] sa-¹⁰vikra-
- 4 mah [[2]*] Tasmād-¹¹Āyus-tatō Nahnabā¹² tatō Yayātīḥ chakravartit varūka-kartā tata[
Puru-iti chakra[¹³vartit tatō Ju-
- 5 namājyō-¹⁴svamātha-tritayasya kartā tata[¹⁵ Prāchīnāḥ tasmāt Sainyayātīḥ tatō Hayagrāh
tata-Sārvvalihau-
- 6 mah tatō Jayasēnāḥ tatō Mahābhāumāḥ tasmād-Aśānakāḥ tata[¹⁶ Krōdhānanāḥ tatō Dēvakiḥ
tasmād-Ribhu[¹⁷cha]-
- 7 ka[¹⁸ tasmād-Rikshakāḥ tatō Mativarāḥ sūtra-yāga-yājī Śarasvatī-māli-nāthāḥ tata[¹⁹ Kātyā-
yanāḥ
- 8 tatō Nilāḥ tatō Dushyantāḥ tat-sūta[²⁰ Chakravartī mahātōjā Bharatō yūpa-kānanāḥ |
kṛitv-²¹śāvamādhā-
- 9 n-akarōḍ-Gaṅgā-Yamunayōḥ-tatō || [3]*] Tatō Bharatād-Bhūmānyuh | tātas-Subhārah |
tatō Hastī | tatō Virūchanāḥ [[*]
- 10 tasmād-Ajamāh | tātas-Sahvaranāḥ | Sahvaranasya Tapana-sūtyās-Tapatyās-cha Sud-
hanvā | tata[²² Pari(ri)khit |
- 11 tatō Bhūmasēnāḥ | tata[²³ Prādīpanāḥ | tata[²⁴ Śantanuh | tatō Vichitravīryyāḥ | tata[²⁵ Pāṇḍu-
(uḍu)rājāḥ || Putrās-taya Yu-

¹ Kāchiya, Peddāri, Bhāna, Bātana-bhaṭṭa.

² *Aluka*, Vol. VI, p. 358.

³ From impressions.

⁴ [The symbol in the beginning, possibly a lotus, stands for *śākhā*.—Ed.]

⁵ Here as well as in several other places further on *śākhā* has not been observed.

- 12 dhasihī(dhishihī)ra-Bhīm-Ārjuna-Nakula-Sahadēvāh | pañchenāndriyavat=pañcha-sūrvri-
sa(saha)ya-grāhinas=tatra¹ || [40*] Jitvā yēna Pura-
13 āndarāḥ hutama(va)hē havyikṣtam kākāḥṣṭavam Yā-Sambhōr-(labhāt) sma samyati
bahūny-asrāgi divyāni cha | yēn-ādhyāsita-
14 m-āsanāh Maghavataś-cha-śiddharth mirā-divēkṣiṣāḥ satipīḥy-āgamayāt-Kṛtānta-nagarīm
yāḥ Kauravān-vilvishah||[50*] tatō-rjunā-
15 d-Abhimanyuh | tataḥ Parikṣit | tatō Janamājayah | tataḥ Keshamukh | tatō Naravā-
hanah | tataḥ Śatānikah | tasmā-
16 d-Udayanah | tataḥ paratḥ tat-prahṛitishv-avichohhinna-santānūshv-Ayōdhyā-siddhāsa-
śāinēshv-ākānmaśahhji-chakravartta-

Second Plate : First Side

- 17 śhu gatōu(śhu) tad-vamāyō Vijayādityō nāma rājā vijigishayā Dakṣiṇāpatham gatrā
Trilōchana-Palla-
18 vam-ādha(dhī)ksāpya kālavāl-lōkāntaram-agamat | tamin-satikulō tasya Mahādēvi
garbha-bhār-ālas-āntapū-ādhihji-
19 ta-vanitā-kamchukibhās-sārdham vpidh-āmātyaiḥ parōhītēna ch-āniyamānā kathadhichā-
[Mujjivēnu-nām-āgrahāram-upaga-
20 mya tad-vāstavyēna Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-sōmayājūnā dūhiti-mravitrvi)śesham-abhaga(ra)ksātā
satī nandanam Viṣṇuvarddhanam-a[śū]ta
21 s tasya cha kumārasya Mānavya-sagōtra-Hāriti-putr-ādī-eva-kshatra-gōtra-kram-śchitāni
karmāni(hi) kārayitrā ta-
22 m-savarddhayat || sa cha mātṛā vilita-vṛtāntas-man-sirggatya Chālukya-girau Nasādāni
Bhagavatān Gaurim-ārādhyā Kumāra-Nārāya-
23 pa-Mātrigaṇānī-cha śantāpya ivōt-ātaputr-uka-ga(sajit)kha-pancha-mahāsabha-pālīkēta-
pratiḥhakkā-varāhalānchechha(chha)na-pūm-
24 chechha-kumta-sūhāsana-makaratoṣaga-kanakalāṇḍa-Gaṅgā-Yamun-ādini eva-kula-kram-
āgatāni nikṣiptān-i-
25 va sāmājya-chihnāni sā(sa)māsādya Trilōchana-Pallavaḥ jīvā tat-antām² Uttamādānu-
apaya-
26 mya Kailāṣha-Gaṅg-ādī-bhūmipān-nirjjitya Sēru-Narmadā-madhyan s-ārādha-sapta-lak-
ṣhaṇā Dakṣiṇāpatham pāla-
27 yāmāsa || Tasy-āsāt-Vijayādityō Viṣṇuvarddhanā-bhōpatēḥ | Pallav-ānvaya-jātāyā Mahā-
dēvyāś-cha nandanah ||[60*] Ta-
28 t-sāmāḥ Pulakōśi Vallabhah | tat-putrah Kirtivarmma | tasya tanayah | Śrīmatūḥ sakala-
bhuvana-saṁstūjya]māna-Mā-
29 navya-sagōtrāgūḥ Hāriti-putrāgūḥ Kāntiki-vara-prasāda-labdhā-rājyānām Mātrih(tri)-
gaḥa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Mā-
30 hāsēna-pādānudhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalān[chechha]-
(chha) n-ēkshaḥa-kshaḥa-[va*]jī[kṛi]-
31 t-ārāti-maḥjalānām-aśvamōdh-āvabhṛta(thā)-soṇa-pavitrīkṛta-vapushāḥ(chēḥ) Chālukyā-
nām ku[ṭam-alarikarishūś-Satyā]-

¹ [The intended reading seems to be *pañch-Indriya-ant-pañcha-eyar-vriśhaga-grāhinas-tatra*.—Ed.]

² The letter ra in *ant* has a horizontal stroke inside, which is to be ignored.



iii.a

50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64

iii.b.

66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70
72	...	72
74	...	74
76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80

iv.a.

82	...	82
84	...	84
86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94
96	...	96

32 ārya-vallabhēndrasya bhrātā Kujja(b)a vishva(dhru)varddhanō-chāṭāśa varshāgi Vēngi-
dālam-apālayat-tat-aś(nu)h Jaya[sin].

33 ha [vallabhā=trayaś]trīmśatam | tad-annj=Ēndrarāja-namdanah(nas)=sapta dīnāni tat-put-
rō [Vishnuvarddhanō] nava va-

Second Plate : Second Side

34 rshāgi | tat-añnur-mMathigi-Yuvarājah padichavinśatim | tat-tanayō Jayas[im]has-tra-
yōdasa | tad-a[nu]ja]h Kō-

35 kilib shag=masān | tasya jyēshthō bhrātā Vishnuvarddhanas-tam-uchchātya sapta-tri-
mśatam=abdhān | tat-sutō [Vijayā]dī-

36 tya-bhāṭārakō-sh[ā]śaśa | tat-putrō Vishnuvarddhanah shay-trīmśatam | tat-añnur-aNarī-
māra-nigirarājō-sh[ā]śaśa[shay-trīmśatam]

37 tat-sutah Kali-Vishnuvarddhanō-dhy-arddha-varsham | tat-tanayō Guṇaga-Vijayādī[tya*]śa-
chatuscharvā[śimśatam] | tad-bhrātu-

38 r-vikramāditya-bhūpatō=sutā=Chālukya-Bhīmas-trīmśatam | tat-putrō Vijayādityashe-
shag=masā[n] | tat-a[ñnur=A]-

39 mmārājas=sapta varshāgi | tat-sutam Vijayādityah bālam-uchchātya Tāḍaparājō māsam-
ēkadī | [tad] jivā

40 Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō Vikramāditya ēkāśa māśān | tat-Tāḍaparāja-sutō Yuddhamallāśa-
sapta va[rshāgi] | ta-

41 ta] | Amārāj-ānnjō RājajāBhīmō Bhīma-parākramah | vijitya Yuddhamallah tad-
dvāśa-abdhān-dha . . . ||7||*

42 Sat-putrayō=dDaśamtha-pratimasya tasya Bhīmasya Rāma-Bharat-ōpamayōh=kanīyān |
Dānārjagav[ā]mā-

43 gripayōh khala padichavinśaty-abdhān-arakshad-avanitalam-Amārājah || 8||* Tasya
jyēshthō gripatishu chatu[sh-sha]-

44 shji-vidyā-pravīṇō yah Karṇy-ādīn-sura-taru-nibhō bhūri-dānāna [itvā] lōkā-uvarttadh
sachīram [adadhān]-nāma Dānār[jagav]

45 v-ākhyas=sa trin-abdhān-avahad-avanitū-arjagava-kshauma-kāntām || 9||* Tatah [pa]ruch-
patih labdhum-anurūpam-anā[ri]kā ||*|| [sa]-

46 ptavimati-varshāgi va[cha]shūr-ōva tapah kshamā || 10||* Atha Dānārjagava(vā)-jātah
kalāvān dvīp-tamō-harah | rājajā Chālukya-Cha[di]-

47 drō yah khamā-tāpam-apākarōt || 11||* Balid-grihitvā Balitō dhariśrīh(trin) girvāga-
śatrō-iva śatru-vargg[āt] śri-

48 Śadti(ku)varinnā sa samāśa-Chalukya-nārāyāḥ dvāśaśa rakshati sma || 12||* Tad-ann-
tad-annjanmā Rājamārttūḍa-bhū-

49 pō viśada-ruchir-arātī-dhvānta-vidhvāna-dakshah | sma vahati bhuvano-abdhān=sapta Sapt-
ōva-tōjās=sa[kala]-va-

Third Plate : First Side

50 sumati-bhūm-mastaka-nyasta-pādah || 13||* Lakshmi bhart[ri]-nibhasya tasya Vimalādityasya
Bhō[Chō]p[ā]r[ā]v[ā]ya-kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-

51 janmanah āriya (va śri-Rājārājādhīpa) | dēvyāśh-āba(ja)ni Rājārāja-dhātub Kuru-
dāmbhikāya-sutō ya-

* [The missing letters may have been śmāśaśa.—Ed.]

* One letter between bha and rōi was written and erased.

52. h Karularppe ivāpuraḥ prativasan loka-trayē atī-krīdī || [14]* Bālyō bhūṣaṇam-abbatad-
ratnamayī yasya ka-
53. dīdhikā karūṭhō | guṇa-lubdhay-ēva mālā dharayā dattā pativra[rayā] || [15]* Vāḍ-ān-
bhōdhi-nidhi-prāmāṇa-gaṇi(pī)tē Sā-
54. k-ābda-saṅghō Ravan Sūhāsiṭhō bahula-dvītiya-dīvaś vārō Gurō-śitagan | yuktō bh-
ōttarabhadrayādya(=py=a)ti-vagi-
55. j-yāmō tu [sarvva*]-kṣamādh trētum pattam-adhatta yō guṇa-nidhī śrī-Rājarijō-nripah
|| [16]* Yasy-ōttamābhāgam-ābaddha-
56. m-āliḥāt-paṭṭēna bhūyusā || [] | bhartum viśvambharā-bhāraṇa janaiś(r-ā)ropitah
yatō(thā) || [17]* Api cha || Khyāta-samasta-nara-
57. nātha-kirīṇa-kōṭi-ratna-prabhā-pa[ṭala-pāṭala-jāda-pāṭah] | yā-tyāga-varsha-pariharsita-
sat-samājō Rājēn-
58. drā-Chōḷa iti Chōḷa-kul-aika-ratnad || [18]* Ekasy-āśid-api sa Himavān-īśvara(r-ā)py-
āpatadbhīr-mūrdhna Gadhā-
59. vimala-salilais-śoḥyamānaḥ pavitraḥ | Rājēndrō-yah(yah) kim-uta namatām-īśvarāṅgān
bahū[nā]-
60. m ratn-ālōka-prakāṣita-jagat-prāmāṇō(yō)bhyaś-śirōbhyaḥ || [19]* Sa-śivipatiḥ catur-
ambusā(r-ā)ti-parikhān viśvambharām [n]-
61. tayā darpēn-aiva vijītya yō di(da)śa-dīś prātishṭhipat-sarvvataḥ | svair-ōdbhrānti-nivāra-
ṇāya vijaya-ata-
62. mbhūn-eva-nām-ānkitān-ālānān-iva badhūm-a[m*]dha-manasō darppēna dig-dantīnaḥ
|| [20]* Sa śra(śru)tvā paritashyū(ahya) vana-vinaya-
63. tyāg-ābhīmān-ōnatī[nā] prajñā-vikrama-satya-śau[cha]-paṭutā-śaurya-kṣam-ādhi-guṇō[n] |
Chōḷēśō Madhurā[nā]-
64. kaḥ eva-tanayām-Ammaṭiga-nāmān satīm Chālukya-ābharaṇa-ya ch-āgramahishīm spēhēna
yasy-ākarōt || [21]*
65. Yasmin-rājani rakṣati bhūchakram-avakram-achūta-mā[r*]ggōṇa | abhavad-ahādham-
akṣinaśham-a[dūshi]tam-a-

Third Plate : Second Side

66. matarani [prajābharitam]* || [22]* Rājō rāja-Chalukya-varṇa-latik-ālambaya yasya
avayam śakvat-kirtti[r-ālanikā]-
67. rōti mītarā[m loka-trayī-ka(kā)minīh] | hāra(rā)l-iva sagandhi-chandana-mayī ~ ~ ~
[lālāmaki]-māl-ēv-āmala-[jā]-
68. ti-ja(jā)la-kalitā dānkālā-Lakṣmīr-iva || [23]* Yasya śrī-Paragaṇḍabhairava-vibhōr-iddhō-
dīpaḍa-[kaṇkṣhēya]ka-prōdibhim-āhita-ka-
69. eti-masti(eta)ka-galan-mastakka-[khūl]-āśayā grīdizāḥ pakṣa-pu[ṭa]-vīśāryya viyati vyā-
baddha-chakrāś-chalat-piechhā-pa-
70. tra-chaya-śriyān vidadhatō vira-śriyas-samīyati || [24]* Ekōn-aiva hayi hayēna bahūś
vāhā-sahacraṇ-ta-
71. thā kō vā vira-bhāṭō jayēt prastibhatam ch-āstr-ābhivachais-tathā | kaś-ānuchōḍ-iti vidmā
raṇa-mukhāśv-āścha-

* The letters within brackets are engraved over an erasure.

* [The intended reading seems to be prajā-charitam.—Ed.]

* [The sense requires rāja-mukhāśv-āścha.—Ed.]

- 73 ryya-paryyākulā yasy-śrūtaya eva śauryyam-anīśah etanyanti tanvanti [cha] || (25)*
 Svasti [18a*] rvaśōkā-
- 74 āśya-śri-Vishṇuvarddhana-Mahārājābhīrāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāttārakā[h] Paramamāhā-
 74 āvarah Paramabrahma[nya]h mātō(tā)pitri-pād-ānudyātah Tyāga-sitha(hā)nan-[śōdhanah]
 Gādevalu-[nā]-
- 75 ma-vishaya-sahitāh Pallajam-Gadavāra-vishayam-adhivāsātah śiśtrakūṭa-pramukhā-
 [n-kuṭu]mbīnah śrīvān-śa-
- 76 mādhyā muntri-purāhita-senāpati-yuvarāja-dauvārika-pravā(dhā)n-āli-samaksham-ijittha]m-
 ājā-
- 77 palayati¹ | yadhā(thā) | Khyātō-śti Rājārāja-Brahma-mahārāja iti mahādāyapatiḥ ||*
 yō Madhurī-
- 78 ntaka-bhābhīti-karūṣa-śa-śikta-varddhita-yaśō-latikah || (26)* Rājendra-Chōḍa-bhūpāla-
 rūjyalakṣmī-mahā-
- 79 nīdhāh ||* rakshaya-kahama-dakṣ-ōgra-mahābhūja-bhūjagamaḥ ||(27)* Diktō
 dukṣipataḥ pumakṛita-bhīdā-dāḍah prachandā-
- 80 a-a yō vidvi[ś-śhō]ṇita-pāna-grīdhour-āparah kālō na v-āt-īkṣitah ||* Rājendra-
 kṣitipālākasya mahatō man-mātu-

Fourth Phale : First Side

- 81 lasy-ā(tu*)lasy-āśōśa[ti*] pratipadya tat-kṣhaṇata ev-Āndhra-kṣhamāh prāgamat ||(28)*
 Anyō-pi dāḍanāthō bhakti-klōśa-praru(hi)-
- 82 abja-niṣa-nādhā(thā)h ||* amun-āiv-āgatayān-ūtama-śōḍa-ch[ī]bhōḍagōn-iti vya(vya)-
 palish[ah] || (29)* Uṭtama-Chōḍa-Milōḍ-udā[yā]-
- 83 n-ity-any-ōpi dh-ō(ch-ā)gataḥ puruṣah ||* yab patir-atha senāyāḥ pativratāyāḥ parē-
 kṣhaṇ-śaśanāyāḥ || (30)* Ka-
- 84 rnatika-bal-āruyām(gyati) tā(da)gdhukāmam-āśōshataḥ | dāḍanātha-trayo(ya)pi dri-
 śhtam-agni-trayam-iv-ōjvalam || (31)* Karuṣ-
- 85 ta-Draṇul-ādihā-dāḍṣām-abhavam-śagath ||* paraspara-chatur-ddanta-pratighaṭṭana-
 bhikaram || (32)* Mucitāmushṭi kvachid-śtri-
- 86 śhām kśāksy-abharat-kṣhaṇat ||* dāḍḍāyāli kvachit-prōktan kuntākuntī
 nīrantaram ||(33)* Jaghnirō niṣa-śasir-āpi [kē]chid-dhanvinō
- 87 yudhi samarādihita-śauryāḥ ||* śenayōr-āpi paraspara-bāḍ-āpāta-[jāta]-jāva-vāta-vivye
 [tāh] ||(34)* Khadgi-khadga-śtri-
- 88 dhā-gluṭtam-jātē viapholindga-nivahē su[śa]labbā[h*] ayuh | ad-bha[śa(tā) bhaya-bhītaḥ(tā-
 śha]la-chitāḥ patihā-śa-
- 89 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ padātyōḥ || (35)* Nṛityamti(ati) ya* gaja-kabāḍ(n)dhās-turaga-kabandh-
 āśha nara-kabandha-pramukhāḥ ||* [ri]
- 90 nam-ady-aiva viyu(ma)kṛa[h*]niṣa-nāth-āvaṇḍhya-pōśhaḥasy-śu mudā || (36)* Gajair-
 gajā vājībhīr-eva vājīnō nara-
- 91 t-nnarās-tatra samam vinākṛitāḥ ||* dvi-pakṣayōḥ kāla-vaśōna samyugē samāna-yo[dhāh
 samam-eva

* Read śhāyagati.

* (The latter half of this verse is in the *Arpōḍi* metre.—Ed.)

* (This is superfluous.—Ed.)

- 92 mahyati [37]* Bhṛāṣam-avasaṣa śaha nah pragaṇṭam diyaṁ amahāntya padāti-yagna-
mukhyāḥ [1]* divija-
93 ya[va]ti-saṅga-kāṁkṣay-āyaḥ sa(a)ṁnam-atha daiya-durikayā [cha bhā]māḥ [138]*
Etad-Dravida-daṇḍanāthā-
94 m Rā[ja]rāja-Rāja-Brahma-Mahārāja-nāmadhāyō ava-mātulasya Madhurāntakadēvaśy-ā-
95 tadā(la)śy-ādēśah(ā) prāpya Kāṣṇā(mnā)ṭaka-daṇḍanādhāi(ṭha)śy-yuddhā 1(ai)r-āva
sārdḍham diyaṁ gataṣān-āvyi[kā]-
96 [na] haktikāna cha tadāna [bā]hā-balāna cha sama-balatvāch-ohu | tam-udhāya [Ka]ṭṭip[ā]-
grā[mā]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 97 Rājara[śavara]m-iti Śivāyatanaṁ-akavach | Uttama-Śāla-ohChōḍagōm-ity-Uttama-Chō[la]-
[M]-
98 āḍ-ndaiyān-iti pravaddhān-ānyān-api ch-āḍliya Śivāyatana-dvayaṁ [karōmi]
maṇ[ga]-
99 [-ṣitunḡa-saṁgītaka-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-nava-karmma-baly-ṇpahār-ādy-artham pa[mhāśaś-
chātrāpārā]-
100 śāstrasya śrōtri[ty]ḡām sāt-ārttham cha dvay-ādika-pachchāṭad-vāyābhāḥ | Brāh-
maṇa-śātēna brahma-[vā]-
101 dīnā huta-jātavēdaśa(sā) vāṣya-śātēna cha Dhamad-ōpamēna śūdra-śātēna Brāhma-
pāda-kamala]-
102 saṁbhūt[na]* cha sārddham Madhurāntaka-Nāḍūri-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ [Ka]ṭṭip[ā]-
nāma-grāma[h] Māga[śavara]-
103 grāmaṭikayā dattah saśy-āvadhayah [1]* Pūrvvataḥ Kōnnēki śim-aiva śimā āgnēya-
[tuh] lidoṛru*-ai-
104 m-aiva śimā | dakṣiṇataḥ Kōṭṭhama-śimā | nairṛityataḥ Vēvāka-śim-aiva śimā | pāchi-
mataḥ Kaḍa
105 śim-aiva śimā | vā[ya]yata[h] Dāḍināṇṭi śim-aiva śimā | uttarataḥ | Pūta[mhārti]-
śim-aiva śimā | [itānata]-
106 h Pūcūmhārti-śim-aiva śimā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Kadapaṭṭu-nāma-grāmaḥ [Dā]ggīya-
[pū]ḡḡi [grāma]-
107 aya pūrvvataḥ | Kaluḍiḡḡi-śim-aiva śimā | āgnēyataḥ | śah-aiva dakṣi[ṇa]taḥ | Vē[vāka]-
śim-aiva śimā | na(nai)ṛi-
108 tyataḥ śah-aiva | pāchimatataḥ | Āvakūru-śim-aiva śimā | vāyavyataḥ Tāmara-kolani-
Kōvviḡḡiḡḡath-bāsi-
109 na-Tallikōyya-nāma nāḍi | uttarataḥ | Kalvasaṇḍa-śim-aiva śimā | itānataḥ | Tāḡināḡḡi-
śim-aiva

Fifth Plate

- 110 śimā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Āvakū
111 ta[h] Kadapaṭṭi-[ai]m-aiva śimā | āgn
112 mataḥ Kōḍḡika-Munḡalūra-śim-aiva

* The final *śāla* in *Śivāyaśa-śāla* appears to be superfluous.

* The name of the village may be *Alidoṛru* or *Pulidoṛru*.

iv. b.



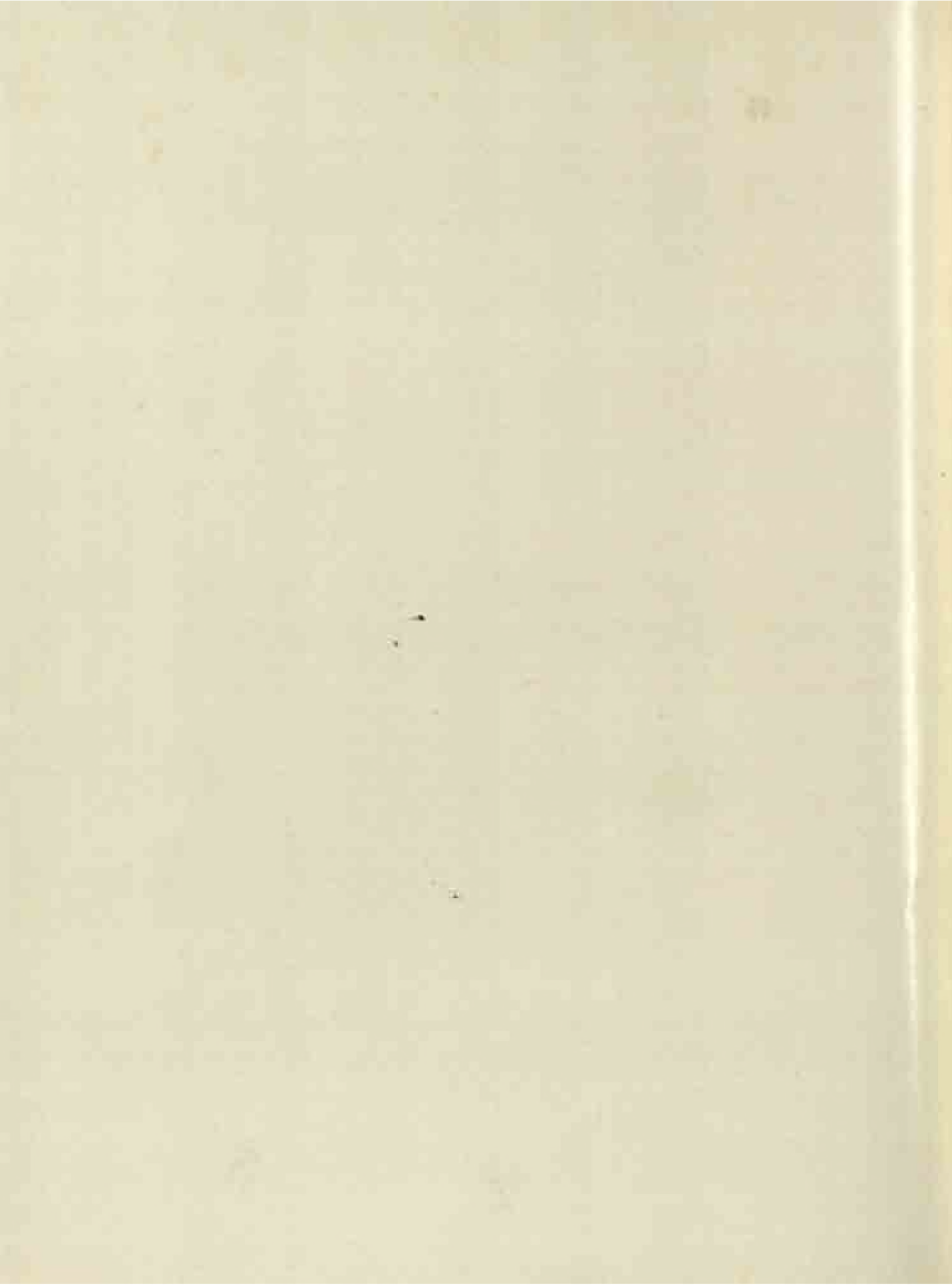
v.



Seal



(From a photograph)



- 113 *gā-ninī=ō(m=ai)va sīmā* | *lānataḥ Kaḍa*
 114 *sa paṇcha-mahāpātakaī-yyuktō bhā*
 115 *vā yō harēta vasu[nḍha]*
 116 *bahubhiś=ch=ānupā[ti]*
 117 *emma=ētur=uripāgānī kā*
 118 *bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[dra]*
 119 *bhūpā yē pālayanti mama*
 120 *pām-ādhikātva-vīdhinā śrī-Rāja[rā]*
 121 *śt-ādrēr=aparāt=ad=āsta-vīdhinā*
 122 *ā Rāchīya-Poddēri-[Bhī]*

No. 9—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF SADASIVARAYA : SAKA 1467

K. G. KUMBHAKAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the inner wall of the north side of the third *prākāra*, to the proper right of *Saṅgaśālā* in the Rāṅganāthasvāmī temple, *Śrīrangam*, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. It is dated Śaka 1467, Viśvāsa, Phālguna, *ku*: 7, Monday. The English equivalent of this date is A. C. 1546, February 8, Monday.

The importance of the record lies in that it contains a reference to a distinguished person known as *Nalantigaḥ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar* who had for a long time been associated with the administration of the *Śrīrāṅgam* temple and also mentions a descendant of *Śrīśailapūrṇa*, who was a preceptor of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The scripts used are Grantha and Tamil and the language provides a good example of the typical *Vaiṣṇava* style with a fair admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words, better known as the *manipravāla* style employed by the great Tamil commentators. In fact, the expression *śailapūrṇam aḍikkalāḍḍu paṇ perum* (i.e., this sin is highly valued) in line 7 conveys the same idea as contained in the Sanskrit quotation [*śaile-namita-kṛtam yāpnam api dharmamāṇa kulpatē*, cited immediately above and this Tamil expression is also found in the great commentary known as *Idu*². This is a clear testimony also to the fact that Vaiṣṇavaite commentators of the mediaeval period had achieved proficiency in rendering Sanskrit expressions into good Tamil.

The orthography of the inscription presents the following features. The *rēpha* is represented by a vertical stroke above the consonant to which it is prefixed as in *pēṇṇa*, *āḥāṇṇa*, *maṇṇipittā* (lines 3 and 10). But if the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *maṇṇāṇṇa* (line 6), *dharmma* (lines 7 and 10) the sign for the *rēpha* is inserted in between the doubled consonants. In line 3 the Grantha letter *pa* is used in the purely Tamil word *peṇṇa*. This is only an exception since the Grantha alphabet is uniformly employed to indicate Sanskrit words or letters.

The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections are indicated in the foot-notes accompanying it.

¹ *ASIE*, No. 13 of 1936-37.

² *Iḍa* 1, 4, 1. This commentary was written by *Vaḍakkū-tiruvillipputai* in the name of his teacher *Narāyaṇa*.

The use of the ancient form *gāṇa* of the word *river* in line 5, meaning river, is peculiar for a record of the 16th century and a similar example can be found in the word *gāṇa* used for *āṇa* meaning year. The word *kēṭṭa* is a dialectal variation of the original word *kēṭṭa* (*kēṭṭa* + *ka-kēṭṭa*). The word *paṇḍāraṇḍai* in line 8 is used in the sense that the income from the lands of this village had for sometime been enjoyed by the cultivators. There is a village today in Tanjore District named Paṇḍāraṇḍai. The word *kaṭṭolai* has been used with two meanings, viz., 'water' in line 8 and 'arrangement' in lines 10 and 11. The use of the honorific plural pronoun is not uniformly applied in the latter part of the sentence in lines 9 and 10 as both *namakku* and *ēṇ* are used to denote the same person.

The donor of the grant is Śrīśailapūrṇa Tātāchārya alias Avuku Tiruvēṇḍagayyaṅgār. He received a gift of the village Chintāmani from Rāmarāja and Sōmakulaṭṭaka Sadāśiva Mahārāja and in turn granted the same, for the merit of both the Rāja and the Rāja,¹ to the temple for the expenses of offering four dishes of food to the god as was once arranged by Nalantiga Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, allotting a share of the offerings for himself and his descendants. The village is stated to have been in former times given to the temple by a local Chōḷa king after settling a dispute over a stream cut from the main river. Then after a long time the village passed on to the ownership of the cultivators. Again the village was left uncultivated after a short period. Hence Tiruvēṇḍagayyaṅgār, the present donor who had himself received the village as gift, renovated the same and in his turn granted it to the temple.

The role that the members of this Śrīśailapūrṇa family played in the spread of Vaishnavism since the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna, as also in the conversion of the royal family itself to the Śrīnīshaguru faith, has been already discussed² in this journal and elsewhere. Two records at Hampi make mention of this Tātāchārya. One of them³ is dated Śaka 1465, i.e., about two years prior to the date of the present record. There he is stated to have granted a village, some fields and a garden to the god Viṭṭhaladēva. He is described as the son of Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Since no specific mention is made of this teacher as a guru of the king, it is probable that he became the royal preceptor only two years later, i.e., about the time of the present record. The other record,⁴ of Śaka 1478 at the same place, states that Aṇḍabārāja, son of Rāmarāja Kōṇṭayyarāja, raised a shrine for Tirumāṅga-Ālvār, granted a few villages for various services to be conducted for the Ālvār, and placed the endowment in the hands of Tirumāṅganakāḷam Rāmāṇḍayyaṅgār⁵ and his disciples who were required to conduct the services for the merit of Aṇḍabārāja's preceptor Tirumala Avuku Tiruvēṇḍagāḍāchārya. The latter is evidently the donor of the present record. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa⁶ alias Periya Tirumalainambi, the maternal uncle of the great Viśvāśāyita teacher, Śrī Rāmānuja. In the records about the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa that are available from the various places to the north and south of Tirupati, the names of the places where they settled are prefixed to their names, as in Kēṭṭar Sīṅgarāchārya, Sottai Tōḷappayyaṅgār, etc. Here the name Avuku or Aṇḍ indicates likewise the place where the donor had settled. His father is also called Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Hence it is clear that

¹ There are a number of inscriptions where both the Rāja and the Rāja are mentioned together though in a different manner: e. g., ARE, 246 of 1904; *Tirupati Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 63.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 161 ff.; Vol. XIII, p. 5; *Tirupati Department Epigraphical Report*, p. 312.

³ 707 of 1922, *RII*, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 697.

⁴ ARE, No. 51 of 1899, *RII*, Vol. IV, No. 250.

⁵ *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

⁶ The earliest reference to Śrīśailapūrṇa in the traditional Vaishnava literature occurs in the history of Rāmānuja in the *Garoparāmparāśāṣṭam*. Under the direction of his guru, Āṇandācārya, Śrīśailapūrṇa (Periya Tirumalainambi) migrated from Sōḷamangal to Tirupati.

a branch of the Śrīśailapūrṇa family had already settled there one or two generations earlier.¹ Avuku is a village in the Kodikuntla taluk of the Kurnool District. About the period of this record, Avuku was the seat of a powerful line of chiefs² under Sadāśivārāya and this Avuku Tiruvēṅga-jayyaṅgār seems to have wielded great influence over these chiefs and the members of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The interesting history of the village Chintāmaṅḡ is narrated in the inscription. It is in this part that the name of the eminent administrator of the Śrīraṅgam temple, Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar occurs. He is well known from other sources. He was first known as Kūṣanārāyaṇa Jiyar and began his life as a devotee at Śrīraṅgam and rendered many services³ to the temple, one of which may be noted here. When a member of the group called *śiṣyapāṇa śeyvār*⁴ became impure and consequently unfit for the service in the temple, Kūṣanārāyaṇa Jiyar was called upon to purify him and the Jiyar composed a work known as *Sudarśanaśāntakam*⁵ and chanted it to purify the person and make him fit for service. In recognition of this and many other services including the one mentioned in the present record, he seems to have been given the name Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar,⁶ i.e., Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who was eminent in doing good (*naḷam + tiṅaḷ*), and some of the devotees raised him to a new pontifical seat with the designation of Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jiyar and it continued to be held in regular succession by devotees chosen from time to time.

The present record deals with another but more benevolent act done by this same Jiyar. The frequent floods of the river Kāvērī south of Śrīraṅgam proved to be almost a permanent problem baffling solution. They were encroaching into the soil of Śrīraṅgam towards the direction of the temple. Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar took some steps to prevent the erosion. Some of the measures he took as detailed in our record were spiritual and the rest were methods pertaining to flood control.

The Jiyar fixed a *yantra*, i.e., a disc or plate with the powers of a *mantra* at Āṇaikāṭṭiṅḡ Karai facing west and also consecrated the deity called Śāstā.⁷ A stream was newly cut out, branching

¹ Similarly, Singarāchārya (Narasimhāchārya) and Raṅgāchārya, of this line migrated from Tirupati to Kyūr in search of better fortune by engaging in skilful exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Yet dissatisfied with their position the family went to Vijayanagara where they converted the royal family to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Doḍḍayāchārya, a descendant of Singarāchārya settled at Sholinghur, N. Arcot District, and Tātāchārya Ayyavayyaṅgār of this family lived at Bāḍḍi, Tirumalā (i.e., Tirupati) and also at Kumbhākoṇa. Again mention is made of one Sottai Tōḷapparaṅgār in a record at Conjeeveram. In the record under study the family is stated to hail from Auk. In some later records at Kōvilāḷi in Tanjavur District, Śrīraṅgam Tātāchārya and Śrīraṅgam Tirumalā Tiruvēṅgaḷa Tātāyayyaṅgār figure as donors. Lakṣmīkumāra Tātāchārya is well known for his activities at Conjeeveram and Tirumalāḷi (Chennai) (i.e., Alagarkoil, Madras District). Thus it may be seen that this great family spread itself to preach and propagate the Vaiṣṇava faith. (*Premaśaṅkṛti*, Chapter 126.)

² Tirupati District Museum Epigraphical Report, pp. 354-379.

³ Kōyilōḷaṅḡ (1909, Ananda Press), pp. 108-110. In these pages, there is a confused account of the services done by the various Jiyars of this line, services so distinguish which one has to proceed with caution. For example it is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Chāṇḍa Nāḍachārya was undertaken by Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. Chāṇḍa is identified with the Muslim prince of Delhi who plied away for the Manganaṭha idol carried away by the Muslim hordes in 1314 A.C. from Śrīraṅgam and later on recovered by the Vaidikaraites from the Delhi Sultan. It is highly improbable that Kūṣanārāyaṇa Jiyar lived till 1314 A.C. the lower limit of his life being 1157 A.C., the year up to which his teacher Kūṣṭhājyār lived. Hence only a successor's action is meant here.

⁴ This class of servants at Śrīraṅgam are engaged in the recital of the hymns before the deities on specific occasions, with music, dance and drama. Their duties are well defined in *Kōyilōḷaṅḡ*, vide p. 97.

⁵ Published in the Kivymālā Series, part VIII, Ninnajamangara Press.

⁶ Kōyilōḷaṅḡ, p. 115.

⁷ The deity is considered to be the son of Viṣṇu in the form of Mahim and Śiva, on the occasion of Amṛita-mathana. He is called Aḷṅṅār and Śāstā. This deity is believed to control all the evil spirits. See also *SHI*, Vol. II, p. 40, fn.3.

off the right bank of the southern branch of the Kāvērī¹ so that a large volume of water might flow out and the effect of erosion into the soil of Śrīrāṅgam, i.e., on the north bank of the Kāvērī, would be minimised. A coarse grass of the pennecid type was planted on the left bank. The grass served as a good protection to the boundary on that side. The waters of the Kāvērī were partially dried up along the south bank. Owing to the cutting of the stream² to the right of the Kāvērī, water encroached upon the cultivated fields belonging to the Brāhmanas of the village, Chintāmaṇi. They seemed to have raised objection to this step. The Jiyar gave them lands in the Kolakuttai village in exchange for the lands flooded on account of the cutting of the stream. But the Brāhmanas were dissatisfied and appealed to the Chōḷa king. The case was taken up and when questioned by the Chōḷa king about the injustice done to the Brāhmanas, the Jiyar, in the course of his arguments justifying his action, is stated to have quoted the Lord's own words . . . *namittakṛitām pāpam(pam)-api dharmamāya kalpatā* as occurring in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.³ The Chōḷa was much pleased with this representation and exclaimed that if that was the motive the sin was as valuable as pure gold and approved of his action.⁴

The *Kōyilolugam*, a chronicle of the Śrīrāṅgam temple, gives with a few differences the details of the same events recorded in the inscription regarding Nalanṭigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, a free translation of which is given below :

'Every year when the Kāvērī is in spate, the *Tirakkuralappan-nannidhi* used to be submerged under the waters flooding into the temple. In order to avoid this the Jiyar having informed the lord of the regions consulted Śrī Śivāpati Uharandharar Kandāḷai Tēḷappar and excavated a channel to the south of the Kāvērī at the end of the street leading to Punnāga-Tīrtha. The Brāhmanas of the village Chintāmaṇi obstructed the operations by lying down across the boundary. The Jiyar told them that it was a sacred service to the Perumāl and hence they should not obstruct. But they did not listen to him. The Jiyar looked down upon them. He went on with his work and raised embankments to the channel on both sides after erecting an avenue called *naṭi-araṅgaṇ-ōḷal*. He made his follower Karuṇākaradāsa stand guard at a point of the breach at the south east of Punnāga-Tīrtha and sacrificed him.⁵ To the north he consecrated the Kaṣṭhadrāvatā (i.e., Śāstā) and the village goddess known as Tiruvāṅgaachcheḷvi and took similar steps in

¹ It may be noted here that the undivided (iḷḷupḷa) Kāvērī divides itself into two, just above the town of Śrīrāṅgam. The north branch is called Kōḷḷōḷam and the south Kāvērī. The present record calls the southern branch 'Tēṭṭirukāvēr'.
² A Chōḷaṅkōḷ-ōḷai is spoken of in the Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, p. 145. But the stream of our record cannot be identified with it because the ḷḷai is said to fall into the Kōḷḷōḷam and this stream flows to the right of the Kāvērī.

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⁴ This is only one half of the verse of which the first letter is missing as the stone is peeled off here; and the verse is not found in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Evidently, the missing letter may be *sa* or *na* yielding the meaning *Immortal or done in my (God's) name*. The following instance of another irregular quotation may be noted : Tirumāṇḍi Āḷvār raised several structures around the shrine at Śrīrāṅgam with the help of many architects. They demanded payments of their dues. Luring them with the prospects of treasure treas on the opposite bank, he took them in a boat across the Kāvērī. He had given secret instruction to the ferryman to capsize the boats in the middle of the river in justification of which the following similes were said to have been quoted by him as the lord's own words : "Śāstā-kṛīyṇam mahāpāpa-bhūṭam n-āṭṭemanyatha | Purī Bhagavatsaivātthiā aḷḷahma-dharmam-ānūṭamam | Man-nimittamūḍam pāpam-ai panyāya kalpatā | Mān-āṇḍiṇiya paṇyam vā aṇi pāṇya" kalpatā." Vol. I, *Prapocāṇam*, p. 375.

⁵ *Idam arṇavaṇḍi tāḷṇ-pḍam aḷḷi-keḷai poṇ pṇam*. The idea of value is conveyed by the word *keḷai* a standard measure in gold and the word *aḷḷi* adds the idea of the fineness of the material and thus the *āḷḷi-pḷatā* of the action is indicated.

⁶ The corresponding expression *kalpi-ya arap-paṇi* as it occurs in *Kōyilolugam*, is not quite clear. In the other context it indicates that Karuṇākaradāsa was sacrificed. It is highly improbable that the Brāhmanas of Chintāmaṇi were sacrificed. And our record too tells a different tale.

the east end and thus saw that there was no room for Kshudra elements to interfere and mounted a *yantra* so that nobody could live within the temple.¹

This account has omitted to mention the important act of compensation arranged by the Jiyar and other technical measures adopted by him. Otherwise it corroborates some of the details given in our record.

About the date of this Jiyar our inscription does not give any indication except that he was a contemporary of a Chōla king. However, the following facts may be stated here. We know of one Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who flourished in the 13th century A.C. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.² This Jiyar was first known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the early years of his career when he composed the *Sudarśanastotram*. He was also known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Kavi. His original name was Nārāyaṇa. He is stated to have received his initiation from Kūratālvār³ at Tirumālirunṅṅalai-malai. Hence he was called Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. The *Kōyilolaga* places the date of this *Sudarśanastotram* in about the same period as that of Naṅṅiyar.⁴ The facts stated about this Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the *Kōyilolaga* and those mentioned in our inscription concerning Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar would render it quite possible that the two persons are identical. The date of the events recorded about Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must lie during the period of Kandāḷai Tōḷuppar,⁵ called Sēnāpati Dhurandharar, who was a contemporary of Nambiḷḷai, the successor of Naṅṅiyar. Hence Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar *alias* Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must have lived as a contemporary of both Naṅṅiyar and Nambiḷḷai who were great *śaḷāryas* in the line of Rāmānuja, and even lived further on. His long association with the administration of the temple had made him very popular and his admirers and friends ventured to establish a new pontifical seat named after him in rivalry with the established line of Rāmānuja and succeeded in making him the first Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar with special honours. Though the dates of these religious heads have not been settled accurately, it can be safely asserted that Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of our record lived from the middle of the 12th century up to the middle of the 13th. This inscription does not unfortunately give us any clue about the identity of the Chōla king who is stated to have settled the dispute.

The technical expressions in which the ideas about the methods to prevent erosion are couched deserve special mention. The words *kili-gāru* and *malaḍu-gāru* and the cognate verbs from which these nouns are derived are very aptly expressive of the operations involved. The word *kiliṭṭu* embodies the sense of force conveyed by the action. The expression *malaḍu āyuntā* is both literary and technical. The use of the word *malaḍu* is quite in keeping with the literary tradition of personifying rivers as women. At the same time the ineffectiveness of that section of the river and barrenness of that part of the land are precisely indicated. The names *kili-gāru* and *malaḍu-gāru* remind us of the small rivulets and channels in the vast distributary system of the Kāvēri and also of their names like *koraiyāru* (*koraiyāru*), *peṭṭāru* (*peṭṭāru*) and *vaḷappāru* (*vaḷappāru*). Perhaps *Kilpalāru* is the name of one such kind of water course. *Palāru* in this name may be a corrupted form of *piḷṭaiyāru*, just a variant of *peṭṭāru*. The divisions named after this *āru* came to be known as *Kilpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru* according to their directions from this *āru*.⁶

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 289.

² *Kōyilolaga*, p. 168. Kūratālvār was a junior contemporary of the great Rāmānuja and lived till about 1157 A.C.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵ There is one *malaḍḍāru* in the island of Srīraṅgam. This flows out from the Kāvēri and runs to the left of and parallel to the main river; Srīraṅgam Town Topographical Map, Reg. No. 25 (1946).

⁶ *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 424. In line 5 of this inscription, both *Kilpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru*, i.e., *Mēḷpalāru* are mentioned as belonging to Pichūḷi-kūṛram in Rājādja-vaḷaṇḍa, while Divadāman of our record belongs to *Kilpalāru* of Uṇṇiyār-kūṛram.

The expression *aḍikkalaṅṅa poṇ perum* is found in the commentary of Nambūḍṛai, a contemporary of this Jiyar. Most of the expressions in the Vaishnav parlance have been frequently used by the *āchāryas* in their discussions and then incorporated into their commentaries.

The village Chintāmaṇi is situated on the southern bank of Kāvēri opposite to and facing Śrīraṅgam on the other bank. Regarding the other **geographical names** in this record, Dēva-dānam which is said to belong to Kīlpālāra (division) is evidently the village still bearing the same name. The mud fort of Tiruchchirāppalli referred to as the southern boundary of Chintāmaṇi must have been once raised around the main rock before the date of this record and the lines of these outer defences are marked by scattered remains of the works and the ditch (now filled up).¹

The western boundary of Chintāmaṇi is said to be the road (*veṭṭi*) from Kṛishṇarāya Alavandapuram to Uraiyūr. This road can be traced on the map as leading to the south through Uraiyūr from the small ferry station of Ammanandapuram on the Kāvēri. Ammanandapuram is probably the Alavandapuram of our record and Kṛishṇarāya may be an addition to the name probably due to some association with Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagar, which cannot be traced in the present state of our knowledge. Kulakuttai may be the modern Kulakattaigudi a village due south of Chintāmaṇi on the bank of a tank near Koraiyār river.² Lands in this village which is more than twelve miles from the river might not have been so fertile as those that were encroached by the stream and hence the Mahājanas of Chintāmaṇi had raised serious objection necessitating the interference of the king.

TEXT*

- 1 Sēnavandyaḥ Śakasya-śikṣā Śrīmān-Vāṅkṣatadśāikāḥ | Chintāmaṇi-mahāgrāma(m)* | Śrī-Raḍ-gāḍāyī(ya) dattavān ||
- 2 Subham-asu ||* Svasti ||* Śrīman-Mahā-irā... Irāja-Irāja[pa]ramāśvara-Śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrīmat-Saḍāśiva-Irāja-Mahā-irāyar pṛithuvi-irājyam-paṇṇi arājūṇṇa Śakābdam 1467 idaṅ mēḷi kaḷḷaṇṇa Viśvānāṣa-samvatsarattu Phālguna-māsattu śukla-pakṣattu sapṭami yam Sōma-
- 3 vāramum perṭa Rōḷṇi-makṣatrattu nāl tēṇ⁴karai Pāṇḍikūḷāṣani-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Viśvavāṣ-vāṭividi⁵-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Tiruvārāṅgantiruppālī-Śrī-Raḍganāthadēvar-Śrī-baḍārattukku Śrīśailapūrṇachārya-Tātāchāryar-āna Auvukku-tīr⁶uḷḷaṇḍayaḍgār śilāśāṣanam paṇṇi samarpitta-
- 4 paḍi ||* Tēṇkarai Irājagamibhīra-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Taḷḷiūr-nāḍvaḍi Uraiyūr-kūṇṇattu Kīlpālāra-Dēvadānattukku māṇku Tiruchchirāppalli māṇkōṭṭaiḱku vaḷakku Kīrṇaharāya⁷-Alavandapuram Uraiyūr-veṭṭiḱku kiḷakku tīr⁸uḷ-Kāvēriḱku tēṇku inṇāḍg-ellaḱḱ-olpaṭṭu munṇāl Tiruvārāṅgan-tiruppadi pūḍāgai-
- 5 y-āḱḱi pinbu Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar Tiruvārāṅgan-tiruppadiyai yāru koḷḷigiradu kaḍu mēḷḷumam Aṇakāttāṅ-karaiḱku yaṇṇa-athāpaṇamum paṇṇi Śāstāraiyum prathiphiṭṭu Kīḷiyāṇu-giṇṇu tēṇ-tīr⁸uḷ-Kāvēri malaḍaṇ-ḱeyvittu malaḍaṇ-āru keḍa vaḷakarai nāḷaḷ naḍayum Kīḷiyāṇuḱku tēṇkarai nāḷaḷ?

¹ Vide *Tiruchinopoly District Gazetteer*, p. 326.

² Vide No. 129 of *Madras Survey Map*.

³ From inscriptions.

⁴ After n a s seems to be written, but this is redundant.

⁵ The second *et* is redundant.

⁶ Read *Eṇḱḱaḱ*.

⁷ The letter *p* is a mistake for *n*.

(lines 2-3) Be it well! Hail, Prosperity!

In the **Saka year 1467**, corresponding to the (cyclic) year, **Viśvāvasu**, in the month of **Phālguna**, on Monday which was a day of the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight, with **Rāhigī-nakṣatra**, when **Mahārājādhirāja-Rājapāramahēvara-Śrī-Viśvaśāya-Śrīmat-Saṁśīvaśīva-Mahārāya** was ruling the earth, **Avukku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār alias Śrīśailapārṇa-Tātāchārya** respectfully conveyed the following deed of endowment (*śilāśāsanam*) to the treasury of (the temple of) **Śrī-Raṅganātha** at **Tiruvamṇam-Tiruppaḍi** (situated in) **Viḷavarāvidi-vaṇaṇḍu** in **Pāṇḍikulāṣani-vaṇaṇḍu** on the southern bank (of the **Kāvēri**) (to wit)

(lines 1-7) (*whereas*) the village, **Chintāmaṇi** (*lying*) to the west of **Kēḷpalāṟu-Devadāgam** in **Uṇaiyūr-kōṭṭam** in **Taḷjāūr-nāvaḷ** in **Iṇṇagambhira-vaṇaṇḍu** on the southern bank (of the **Kāvēri**) to the north of the mud-fort of **Tiruchchirāppellī**, to the east of **Kṛishṇarāya-Alavaniyarttam**, on the **Uṇaiyūr** road and to the south of the **Kāvēri**, had been, in former days, made into a hamlet of **Tiruvamṇam-Tiruppaḍi** (and),

(*whereas*) later, **Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar** seeing the river oversteaching (on the land up to) **Tiruvamṇam-Tiruppaḍi**, fixed a *pondra* on the bank at (a spot called) **Āṇṇikāttāy-karai** facing west, consecrated (the deity) **Sāntā** there, cut out a stream (called) **Kiḷiyāru** (thereby) drying up the southern (branch of the) **Kāvēri** and in order to permanently dry it up planted *nōḷal* (grass) on the northern bank (of the southern **Kāvēri**) while not doing so on the southern bank of the **Kiḷiyāru**, (thereby) causing (some) land in **Chintāmaṇi** (to be) inundated (by the flow of the water), and issued a decree (granting) the village of **Koḷakṇṇṇai** to the **Mahājamas** of **Chintāmaṇi** as exchange (and)

(*whereas*) the **Chōḷa** (*king*) invited the **Jiyar** and questioned whether a *sonyāsa* (like him), who should have compassion on all living beings, could thus do harm to the **Brāhṁṇas**, and (*who*) on the (**Jiyar** replying) that he had done the deed, since the same God who had (the authority) to give such an order causing suffering to **Brāhṁṇas** had Himself stated in the **Bhagavad-Gītā** (thus), "Anything done for the sake of good (or in devotion to my cause) though sinful, is ordained as proper (in the interest) of dharma" was pleased (with the answer) and said that, if this was the motive, the deed though sinful was as valuable as fine gold and granted the village (**Chintāmaṇi**) to God **Raṅganātha**, (and)

(lines 8-9) (*whereas*) a long time after (this grant) the village came under the *paṇḍāravāḍai* (tenure) for a short while and then was left uncultivated,

(*whereas*) our loving disciples, **Hail! Prosperity!** **Mahāmapajālēvara Sōmakulaṭṭaka-Rāmarāja** and **Saṁśīva-Mahārāya** were pleased to grant to me on *śubhāśṛya* (tenure) this village (of the extent of) *naḷṇai* (land) 7½ (*vēli*) and 2 *mā*, *paḷṇai* (land) 7½ (*vēli*), (i.e. in all) 14 (*vēli*) and 2 *mā* (yielding an income of) 148 *poṇ*, inclusive of settlement, fields, mounds, buildings, building-sites, river-(inundated) areas, inland-(occupied) areas, *niḷḷāṇḍu-eruppu* and all rights over the incomes of the village, as well as over treasure-trove, waters, etc.,

(lines 10-13) I, (**Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār alias Śrīśailapārṇa-Tātāchārya**) do hereby grant this renovated village in the same way as was endowed formerly by **Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar**, to the God (*Perumāl*) as interest-bearing endowment for the daily offering of four dishes (of food) out of the produce of the village for the merit of both the **Rāya** and the **Rāja**; (and do hereby stipulate that) of the four dishes of food, one-fourth share is to be given to **Avukku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** and his descendants as long as the sun and moon endure, the rest of the offered food being distributed among the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*.

in attestation (of the above deed), this is the signature of the temple accountant **Śrīrāṅgamā-rāyaṇarpiyāṇ**.

(Imprecatory verse)

(line 14) May **Avukku Tātāyaṅgār** and his descendants enjoy this!

written for medial *u* in lines 3, 8-9, 11-15, 22-23, 26, 35-36), but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of about the same age. The form of medial *u* in *du* in line 11 is different from the one usually found here. As usual, *ḍ* has been indicated by the sign for *ṣ*. *N* has two different forms; see *nindā* in line 3 and *manas* in line 4. Final *u* occurs in line 15 and final *i* in line 19. *Tu* for final *r* occurs in lines 3 and 18 and *naḥ*³ for final *a* in line 28. Initial *a* has been employed in line 22 while the sign for *avagraha* is found thrice in lines 32 and 37. Medial *ṛi* has different forms. Its sign in *brīḥi* and *śaḍ-dṛiśṭi* (line 4) and *hrīdaya* (line 6) is not the same as in *brīḥā* (line 7). Note also the sign of the same vowel in *bhṛīṭaḥ* (lines 6 and 9). The symbols for 200 and 80 are employed in writing the date in line 37.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The introductory portion of the inscription (lines 1-25 containing fifteen stanzas) is in verse with the only exception of a small prose passage in line 3. These verses are also found in the Bāṅpur plate, although there are a few omissions in the two Gañjām plates. It is interesting to note that the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found at the end of charters are conspicuous by their absence in the record under notice. In point of orthography, the present inscription closely resembles the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates. There are some errors such as *śe* for *śe* and *ṭi* for *ṭi* (line 1), *vi* for *bhā* (line 7), *ṣṭha* for *ṣṭa* (line 14), *ṣṛi* for *ṣṛi* (line 16), *vi* for *vī* (line 17), *ṭi* for *ṭi* (line 23), *ni* for *nī* (line 34), *ni* for *nī* (line 37), etc. In some cases, *anusvara* has been written for final *m* (see lines 4 and 19). In line 9, it substitutes final *a*.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 280 of an unspecified era. The symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and we know from Nepalese and Bengali manuscripts that, while *lū* indicates the figure 100, *lū* signifies 200.² But the difficulty in regard to the date of the present record is that, in the Gañjām plate (A), as rightly pointed out by Kielhorn,⁴ "the symbol for 100 is something between *lū* and *lū* just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmaghāṭi plate (of Raghavañja) is *lū*." The case is the same with the first symbol in the date of the Bāṅpur plate. Now the problem is while the first symbol in the dates of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates have to be read as 100 and while the second symbol indicating 80 is the same in those records as well as in the present charter, the first symbol in the date of the record under discussion is clearly to be read as 200. It can hardly be normal to read the date of one record of a person as 180 and that of another record of the same person as 280, as one is not expected to date one's different records in two different eras with epochs separated exactly by one century. The first symbol in the date of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates as well as of the present record thus seems to have the same value, either 100 or 200. There seems, however, to be strong evidence in favour of the reading 100 instead of 200. It has to be remembered that all the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family used the same era in dating their documents and that there is no doubt about the reading of many of the dates. The Dhauḥ inscription* of Śāntikara I is undoubtedly dated in the year 93. The date of the Hindol plate* of his son Śubhākara III is also clearly 103. This king was succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī I, the date of whose Bhimnagarīgarh plate* is probably the year 120. The first symbol in the dates of the records of Śubhākara III and Tribhuvanamahādevī I is a quite clear *lū*. Now, as will be clear

¹ In this case, the symbol may have also been intended to be a part of the mark of interpolation that follows.

² Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (translation), *Ind. A.S.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 77.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 153. Bhattacharya seems to be wrong in interpreting the symbol as 200 (cf. *Ind. No.* 14137).

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 294.

* *JSORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 77. The recently discovered Torapāṭi plate of Śubhākara II, cousin and predecessor of Śubhākara III, is dated in the year 100. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff. This plate has been registered as C. P. No. 19 of the *A. R. I. S.* for 1950-51.

* *Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 121. The second symbol in the date of this record looks like *śaḥ* which would ordinarily be interpreted as 80 (cf. Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXXIII). But dates in the later records of the family and the possible confusion between the *śa* and *ṭa* symbols suggest 20 in this case.

from the following discussion on the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas, Śubhākara III who ruled in the year 103 and probably died before the year 120 was the great-great-grandfather of the issuer of the record under discussion; that is to say, only three generations intervened between Śubhākara III and the issuer of the present charter. As is usual, we may count three quarters of a century for these three generations. This will show that we have to read 180 as the year of the issue of the present charter and certainly not 280, because in that case more than one century and a half for the three intervening generations would be preposterously abnormal. Thus the symbol 𑀲 in the date of our record actually stands for 180 and this mistake may be due to the confusion between the medial signs for 𑀲 and 𑀭 in the present record as well as in others, to which attention has already been invited above. It has been suggested that the Buddhist dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas was accorded a feudatory position in Orissa by Harsha Śīlāditya during his Kōṅgōda expedition about 643 A.C. and that the Bhauma-Karas used the Harsha era of 606 A.C. The present record would thus be dated in the year 180 of the Harsha era corresponding to 786 A.C. Attention may be drawn to the mention of a solar eclipse as the occasion of the grant in line 36 of the charter. There were actually two solar eclipses in the year 786 A. C., one on Monday, the 3rd April, and the other on Wednesday, the 27th September.¹ But as will be seen from further discussions on the Bhauma-Kara chronology below, the above date of the charter under discussion is not free from doubt. It has also to be admitted that the palaeography of the record seems to suggest a much later date.

The charter begins with a verse containing the description of the city of Guhāyara-pāṭaka, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following. This verse as well as most of those which describe the Bhauma-Kara genealogy is also found in some inscriptions of other members of the family.² The city, otherwise known as Guhādeva-pāṭaka, was the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious *skandhāvāra* of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word *skandhāvāra* originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital'.³ Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king named Unmatṭasīmha. From other inscriptions of this family, which is called Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in later epigraphs, we know that its progenitor was a *paramāpāsaka* (i.e., Buddhist) named Kāṣṭhānaka or Lakṣmīnaka.⁴ His son and successor was a *paramatāthāgata* (i.e., devout worshipper of the Tāthāgata or Buddha), Mahārāja Śivakara I, also called Unmatṭasīmha (or 'Kesarin') and Bhārassha. This king is said to have married, according to the Rākṣasa form of wedding, the lady Jayāvalī who was the daughter of a ruler of Rāḍha in the valley of the river Ajay in the Burdwan region of South-West Bengal. Verse 3 of our record speaks of the illustrious king Gayāḍa and others who were born in the family of Unmatṭasīmha. Other records of the family represent king Gayāḍa I as the grandson of Unmatṭasīmha. We know that Śivakara I-Unmatṭasīmha-Bhārassha was succeeded by his son, the *paramasugata* (devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) Śubhākara I, who is called Mahārāja in his own Nulpur plate,⁵ but is endowed with full imperial titles in the record of his successor. He is represented as the lord of the Utkala country, as the subduer of the Kālīṅga people and as a grantor of land in Uttara-Tōsalī. He married Mādhavaḍḍī who gave birth to Mahārājāśūlīśvara Śivakara II and Śāntikara I. King Śāntikara I was also known as Gayāḍa I and Lalitabhāra (or 'hāra') I and was probably the founder of Gayāḍapura mentioned

¹ L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 174-75.

² See, e.g., the Taltail plate of Dharmamahādēvī, which has all the verses with slight changes in a few of them (*JHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20).

³ *Sanskrits of the Śāhārasaṁskṛta*, p. 47.

⁴ Some scholars are inclined to take Kāṣṭhānaka and Lakṣmīnaka as two different members of the family.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1 ff. The date of this record written in one symbol is uncertain, but may be the year 78.

Śubhākara I seems to have been the first imperial ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.

in a later record of the family. We have referred above to his Dhauī inscription dated in the year 93 and to his queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who is described as a *paramānāṣṭri* and as the daughter of a Nāga chief of the southern country, named Rājānalla. Verse 4 of our record mentions a king named Lōgabhāra as born in the family of Śāntikara I. It is known, however, from other records that Lōgabhāra (or Lavana) was actually the grandson of Śāntikara I. The son of Śāntikara I, surnamed Gayāḍa and Lalitabhāra (or 'bhāra), was Subhākara III otherwise called Kusumabhāra (or 'bhāra) and Śimhadhvaja (or 'kēti).¹ This king is known to have granted lands in both northern and southern Tōsalī in the year 103.² The grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī was made at the request of his feudatory, Pulindarāja (either indicating a personal name or less probably signifying 'the king of the Pulindas') in favour of the god Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) enshrined in the Pulindāvara temple. The land granted in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī was actually situated in the Kōṅgōdamandala *śiṣhaya*. This king was probably succeeded first by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I *alias* Sindagaurī I and then by his young son Śāntikara II.³ Tribhuvanamahādēvi is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in the same way as an ancient queen named Gōvāminī had done.⁴ As noticed above, a date in Tribhuvanamahādēvi's reign probably falls in the year 120. Śāntikara II, who succeeded his grandmother, was also known as Lōgabhāra (or Lavana) I and Gayāḍa II. We know that Śāntikara II *alias* Lavanabhāra *alias* Gayāḍa married Hīramahādēvi, daughter of Śimhamāna, and begot on her two sons, viz., Subhākara IV (surnamed Kusumabhāra or 'bhāra II) and Śivakara III (surnamed Lalitabhāra or 'bhāra II) both of whom became kings and are mentioned in our record in verses 5 and 6. By this time the Bhauma-Karas were no longer adherents of the Buddhist religion. Mahārājādhirāja Subhākara IV (Kusumabhāra II) is called a *paramanāṣṭri* in his Talcher plate⁵ of the year 145. His younger brother and successor Śivakara III is known from his records dated in the year 149.⁶ The sons of Śivakara III (Lalitabhāra II) were kings Śāntikara III (surnamed Lavanabhāra or Lōga II) and Subhākara V, both of whom are mentioned in our record in verses 7 and 8. Śāntikara III married Dharmamahādēvi, while Subhākara V had two queens, viz., Gaurī and Vakulamahādēvi. Both of these kings apparently died without leaving any male issue and, after the death of Subhākara V, the throne passed to his queen Gaurī who is mentioned in our record in verse 9. Queen Gaurī was succeeded by her daughter, the *paramamahādēvi* *Paramabhaṭṭārīkā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvarī* Daṇḍimahādēvi who issued the charter under discussion in the year 180. One of the two Gaḥjām plates was issued by the same queen in the same year, but the Rāppur plate was issued by her in the year 187. We know that this queen was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādēvi who was the daughter of a Bhaṇja king.⁷ The throne next passed to Dharmamahādēvi, queen of Daṇḍimahādēvi's paternal uncle Śāntikara III (Lavanabhāra II). We offer below the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas in a tabular form for easy reference.

¹ We have now the Terupūḍi plate of Subhākara II, son of Śivakara II, who ruled between Śāntikara I and his son Subhākara III in the year 100.

² *JPRS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 77 ff.; B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 14 ff., 22, and line 25 of plate F.

³ According to the recently discovered Baṇḍi plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II *alias* Sindagaurī II, Gōvāminī (i.e., Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) ascended the throne because her son Subhākara III had died without leaving a son. This fact suggests that Śāntikara II was adopted as son by the chief queen of Subhākara III some time after the death of her husband. The Baṇḍi plates have been registered as U. P. Nos. 20-21 of the A. R. I. E. for 1930-31.

⁴ The Baṇḍi plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II suggest that Tribhuvanamahādēvi I called herself Gōvāminī II.

⁵ B. Misra, op. cit., Plate II, line 42. Misra reads the date as 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Plate I, line 30, and Plate J (reverse), line 6. The figure read here as 9 has a rather peculiar form.

⁷ The Baṇḍi plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II, dated in the year 108, say that her husband, Subhākara IV, and the latter's younger brother and successor, Śivakara III, both died without leaving sons, and therefore she herself succeeded the throne. This shows that this queen and her supporters did not recognize Śāntikara III and Subhākara V as sons of Śivakara III. It seems that there was a struggle for the throne after the death of Śivakara III between his sons and the queen of his elder brother and that queen Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was ultimately overthrown in favour of Śāntikara III.

⁸ *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20.

GENEALOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS



Before entering into the details of the grant made by means of the present charter, it is necessary to refer to an important point in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings. The dates of the Bhauma-Kara records would suggest that the family ruled for about two centuries.

¹ The recently discovered Baul plates of the queen say that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatunga, who belonged to the race of the moon and was the lord of Kōśala (apparently South Kōśala), from queen Nṛtīmahādēvi, daughter of Yādavīśīhi. The grants were made at the request of Śāntikha (wife of Mahāmāyadevīśīhi) of the Maṅgalakalāśa, who was born in the Viśāta family and was married into the Vṛgadi family, for the merit of the deceased father of the lady, in favour of the Nāmaśvara temple (named after the dead man). The gift land was situated in the Tāmākhanaḍa village within the Daṇḍabhukti mandala (about the present Danton in the Midnapur District of West Bengal). The temple in question, which was a Śaiva institution, seems to have been situated in the same area which was probably being ruled by the husband of Śāntikha.

Elsewhere¹ it was suggested that Śivakara I-Uṇmaṭṭasiṃha-Bharasaha, the second ruler of the family, was probably installed by Harsha during his Kōṅgōda expedition about 643 A. C. as his feudatory in Orissa. This date for Śivakara I Uṇmaṭṭasiṃha was taken to be supported by the Gañjām inscription² which may suggest that Uṇmaṭṭakēsariṇi ("siṃha), stationed at Virajās, conquered parts of Kōṅgōdamapaṇḍala from Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvētaka with the help of his feudatory Rāṣaka Viśavarāṇava sometime after the Gaṅga year which may possibly be read as 120 falling in 616-18 A. C.³ Virajās is no doubt the same as Viraja or Virajā, identified with modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. One of the Parlakimedi plates⁴ of Gaṅga Jayavarman was taken to be a copy of a genuine record of the sixth or seventh century, to which period the original records of the Gaṅga king are palaeographically assigned.⁵ Now the Parlakimedi record referred to above is dated in the year 100 of the Gaṅga era, which falls in 596-98 A.C. Thus the reign of Śivakara I Uṇmaṭṭasiṃha was assigned to a date about the second quarter of the seventh century, the end of the dynasty to the early years of the ninth century and the rule of queen Daṇḍimahādēvī to the close of the eighth century. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this chronology of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa especially in view of the late date suggested by the palaeography of their records.

In 793 A.C. the Chinese emperor Te-tsung received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by the king of Wu-sha (i.e., Ōdra, Orissa) in Southern India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion."⁶ This piece of evidence cannot be easily reconciled with the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas indicated above. The original of the name is supposed to be *śrī-Subhakaradēva Kēsari* (Siṃha) who is often identified with king Subhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. If this identification is to be accepted, we have to assign Daṇḍimahādēvī's reign to the middle of the tenth century and to suggest that the era used by the Bhauma-Karas started from the regnal reckoning of the founder of the dynasty. As however the names *Subhākara* and *Subhakara* are quite different in meaning, it is difficult to be definite on this point. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested to me that the king of Orissa mentioned in the Chinese record should be identified with Śivakara I Uṇmaṭṭasiṃha (or "kēsari), father of Subhākara I. It has to be admitted that this is the only known king of early-medieval Orissa who was a Buddhist and at the same time had a name with the word "lion" as one of its component parts. But the word *śrī* does not mean "pure" and *uṇmaṭṭa-siṃha* means a "furious lion," *uṇmaṭṭa* being a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *uṇmatta*, and none of these words can be traced in the Chinese translation of the Indian name. The chronology of the Bhauma-Karas based on the above identification therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. It may not be impossible that the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records belonged to a different dynasty of rulers, who flourished in the last decade of the eighth century but had nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It must be admitted that the identification is a mere conjecture and we shall have to wait for further evidence to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records.⁷

¹ Cf. *Journ. Ind. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

² *IIIQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

³ See *JKHS*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21; Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 268-69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64. Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes to me: "A more literal translation of the king's name and title would be 'the auspicious lion pure-doing-lion king.' The literal Sanskrit restoration looks more sensible: *śrī-Deva-Subhakaravijaya-raja*. The name was evidently understood in Chinese as *Subhākara*."

⁷ For new evidence regarding the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era about 824-25 A.C., see our article entitled "Two Grants from Daspalla" to be published in this journal.

- 2 अमितानि मूर्द्धन ॥१॥ विस्तरे पंचपंचाशन्मिता निम्नभित्तौ गजाः [१^{*}] दशोपर्युदये संति
द्वाविंशतिमिताः भित्तौ ॥२॥ निम्नाद्या(नी)
- 3 [प]ञ्चमुक्त्रिंशद्भू^२ तत्र कमं वदे । भूम्यूर्ध्वमाष्टगजकं पीठं(ठ)मेकोर्ध्वगुणकः ॥३॥ येन-
सात्रयमानं त्वासाद्विंशदशसद्व-
4 ज(जाः) ॥४॥ तिस्रकप्रथमप्रथ जयोदशगजविधि ॥४॥ चत्वारः संगिकार्यस्य स्वर^३ एकस्वरं
प्रति । सोपाननवकं त्वेवं षट्त्रिं-
5 शे(श)त्प्रमितिः स्फुटा ॥५॥ सोपानानामित्युदये पंचविंशद्गजैर्मितिः । सप्तपंचाशदित्येवं गजाः
सर्वाश्चत्विषती ॥६॥ अथ
6 दुरिज^४कोष्ठानां कोष्ठे प्रासादविनिष्पत्ते । देव्यै गजास्तु पंचाशन्निर्गमे पंचविंशतिः^५ [१^{*}] ७॥
सत्पंचसप्ततिर्वृत्ते त्रिंशदेवोदये
7 गजाः । गर्भकोष्ठं संव(ब)तायां पंचसप्ततिका गजाः ॥८॥ साद्वसप्ताशकत्रिंशन्निर्गमे
वृत्तकूपके । शतं साद्विंशदशकं य-
8 जानां च तथोदये ॥९॥ पंचविंशद्गजाः कोष्ठं तृतीयं पूर्वकोष्ठवत् । पंचचत्वारिंशद-
पञ्चतमानं गजा नृवः [१^{*}] १०[१^{*}] भू-
9 ती सेतोस्तु पाश्चात्पश्चान्ने प्रोक्तास्ति संव(ब)ता । गजसप्तशतीमाना विस्तरे निम्नभूतले
॥११॥ गजा षष्टादशकोर्ध्वं(द्व^६) पंचवन्-
10 दये तथा । षष्टाविंशतिसंख्यास्तु सर्वा सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥१२॥ षट्त्रिंशदुच्चनिमिति-
शोभमाना सोपानमाला महतो हि सेतोः । वि-
11 भाति कोष्ठत्रितयं तदेतद्भूपालपालसंव(ब)तकारि नूनं ॥१३॥ यमौवचा(धी) तत्र महास्मृती-
तामुपस्मृता(ती)नां विदधत्सुखं । वेद-
12 अथ वाच करोति वासं कलिप्नुतां म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भुवं विमुच्य ॥१४॥ राजमर्दि(रदि)-
शयस्ति स्वानं तु चतुरस्रकं । सेतो तत्रायवैणारवो
13 वैदस्तिष्ट(ष्ट)ति पञ्चवान् ॥१५॥ जलहृदमथ तत्र शोभतेत्रारहृकं । तत्राजमर्दि(रदि)-
स्मिन्नुभे वाप्या जलायकं ॥१६॥
14 आस्ते नवचतुष्कोयुद्धमंथं त्वत्र सुंदरं । जलर्दशमि(ग)वाजाश्वतमतिचित्रकरं नृपां ॥१७॥
महासेतो संगिकार्यवयं त्रिजय-

* Meaning 'layer'.

* Meaning 'motion'; Hindustani *barj*.* *Decorative* is engraved above the line.

* This sign of ascription is not required.

- 15 ते परं । पुक्तं भवत्तुष्कीनी राजमंडप(१)पुम्भकं ॥१८॥ तवार्द्धस्वतीकानां दर्शनाच्चित्रकारकं ।
यद्वत्तुष्कीविलसितमेकं वा
- 16 भाति मंडपं ॥१९॥ पश्चाद्भागं महासितौमंडपव्रित्तं तथा । तन्नामंडपमेकं हि महा-
सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥२०॥ निवसेतुप्रभा-
- 17 ये तु वक्ष्यामि क्षितिपाल ते । ईर्ष्यं गजानां द्वात्रिंशदपं शतचतुष्टयं ॥२१॥ विस्तारे
पंचदश वै निम्नभूमी गजास्तथा । पंचोद्धुम्वद-
- 18 ये चैवं वंशाधो भद्रसेतुके ॥२२॥ चतुद्वत्वारिंशदपं गजानां ईर्ष्यतः शत । विस्तारे
द्वादश गजास्ततः पंचैव मस्तके ॥२३॥ त्रयोदशोद-
- 19 ये सः सुभद्रं चतुरस्रकं । कोष्ठकं विंशतिगजा मूर्द्ध्नाविति संस्थितिः ॥२४॥ कांक-
रोलाग्रामसेतौ ईर्ष्यं निम्नपरतले । पंचाशच्छुक् पंच-
- 20 शती गजानां मूर्द्ध्ना सप्त वै ॥२५॥ शतानि षट्पंचाशच्च पंचविंशच्च विस्तारे ।
निम्नभूमी सप्त गजा मस्तके तुदये तथा ॥
- 21 ॥२६॥ निम्नभूमी सप्तदश गजा उपरि वा भुवः । गजा षष्टविंशदेव कोष्ठ(६)कव्रित्तं
त्विह ॥२७॥ सभामंडपविश्वाम्भको-
- 22 ष्टोऽष्टाविंशतिगजाः । विस्तारे निर्गमे माने चतुर्दश तवोरपं ॥२८॥ साद्वंष्टविंश-
देवाय सुभद्रं मध्यकोष्ठके । ष[द्वि]-
- 23 शद्विस्तरे पंचदशा(श) निर्गमने गजाः ॥२९॥ उदयेष्टविंशदेव तृतीये पूर्वदिशिस्थिते ।
कोष्ठोऽष्टाविंशतिगाने विस्तारे निर्गमे]
- 24 गजाः ॥३०॥* द्वादशोदये सप्तविंशदेव मूढो भूतो । पंचद्वत्वारिंशदपं गजानां शतक
ततः ॥३१॥* ३०(३१) ॥३२॥ पाश्चात्परमाने सेतोस्तु गजानां तु [स]-
- 25 ह्यकं । ईर्ष्यं विस्तारतः पंचदश निम्नक्षिती गजाः ॥३३(३२)॥ दशमूर्द्ध्नापदये त्वद्व
द्वाविंशतिमिता गजाः ॥३४॥ अत्रोदयस्तु(स्तु) भवित-
- 26 *षष्टविंशद्गजावपि ॥३२(३३)॥ अयोध्यारेणुकाशं वज्रजेभ्यो म्नेष्ट(चड्)भीतिः । भारवाग-
स्याध्यात्महर्षस्त्रिरामी कोष्ठकव्य ॥
- 27 ३३(३४)॥ भूतो जीर्णशतिलयमागतं स्थापितं हि तत् । भार्गवस्य स्थापितस्तस्य दर्शनं
जायते सदा ॥३४(३५)॥ रामसेतौ यथा भाति [श्री*]-

* This is written in smaller character below the line

* The intended reading is *saundh*

* *Soudhi* is not observed here *unobscured*.

- 39 ईर्ष्यविस्तारयोः समाः । द्वादशैवोदये स्वेतच्छत्रुरसं सुखदक(कं) ॥४७(४१)॥ सुभद्वे सारहृद्
सारहृत्तदीचिती । मध्यकोष्ठे द्वादशैव वै[र्ष्य]निर्मम[यो]-
- 40 मजाः ॥४८(४२)॥ उदये सप्तदश वा मर्द्धचंद्राकृति त्विदं यद्गोलावर्द्धचंद्रप्रान्तिदुः[सं]
द्वि[या] गले ॥४९(४३)॥ अष्टावकोष्ठ(ष्ट) कमलवृत्तिजाह्नवम-
- 41 न तु । ईर्ष्यविस्तारयोस्त्रिंशद्गजा नव त[त्रो]दय(ये) ॥५०(४४)॥ अवात्त्व(त्रोन्व)लोप-
लसत्समंभवं सेतुमंडनं [१*] इष्टाष्टपुत्रिकासुष्टकीडावृष्टिमनोहरं ॥५१(४५)
- 42 [एता?] राज[स*]मुदं(दं) हि रत्ता(त्ता)करमिहाङ्गि । स्थित्वाष्ट पट्टराज्ञीस्ताः पश्यन्
कि र[म]ति हरिः ॥५२(४६)॥ अत्र सेतोरग्रभागे राजते मंडपप्रथं ॥(१)
- 43 [इ]ति राजसमुद्रस्य बीरदोक्त(क्ति)मया स्थितिः ॥५३(४७)॥ इत(ति) श्रीराजप्रशस्ती
भट्टरी(र)भषोडशिरक्षिते^१ ऐ(ए)कादशः सर्गः[२] ॥११॥
- 44 आलाटिपात्त्वसेत्त्वग्रभागे सन्मंडपप्रथं^२ ॥ जग

Slab XIII ; Canto XII

[Metres : vv. 1-17, 19-23, 29-31, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 18, 32, 33, 39, 41 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ;
vv. 24, 25, 28 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 26, 27, 35, 36 *Upajāti* ; vv. 34, 40 *Seagdhurā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओटा^१ त्वेकात्र मंडपे सार्द्धद्विशतसंमिताः । यत्रा दश च
विस्तारे सार्द्धकमुगजोदया ॥१॥ ओटा द्विती-
- 2 या विस्तारे ईर्ष्ये पूर्वसमोदये । सार्द्धद्विगजमानास्ति स्रु(त्)तीयो(यो)टा तु ईर्ष्यतः ॥२॥
गजत्रिशतमानास्ति विस्तरेत्र यत्रा दश । उदये
- 3 सगजद्विंश मंडपत्रयमत्र हि ॥३॥ ओटात्र^२ममिव भाति दावद्वगजसुविस्तरं । तावद्वग-
मगणं बीरे(रेः) पूर्णं वितनूते ध्रुवं ॥४॥ मोर्चना-
- 4 ग्रामसौम्यधस्ति तटाकतलंघुगिरिः । भुंगेस्य मंडपो दृष्ट्वा पश्चिमैर्धमपतेः^३ ॥५॥
वद्व्यं(स्तं)भो मंडपोस्तत्र गोष्ठौ पत्थक-

^१ This syllable has apparently not at all been engraved, but the space for it is left blank on the stone.

^२ Being followed by a conjunct consonant, this syllable is long, while metrically a short one is required in its stead. Therefore better read *yaśāstatra namodaya*.

^३ This reading is extremely doubtful.

^४ Read : *virachitāpām*.

^५ See notes 5 and 6 on p. 43 above.

^६ *Ōṣ* is a Rājasthānī word meaning 'a deer'.

^७ There is a cancelled sign of superscript *r* over *tra*.

^८ The form *arṇadāś*, being an adjective of *manḍapaś*, ought to be *arṇadāś*. The following word is *Appati* meaning perhaps 'Varṇa' and not 'ocean'. We may read *paśchimā-rṇadāś-appatiś*.

- 5 लेखकाः । कुर्वन्ति मंडपास्तत्रेत्येकविंशतिमंडपाः ॥६॥ ग्रामास्तत्राग्रेत्रायाताः सिवाली च
भिगावदो । भापो लुहापो वा-
- 6 सोल गुडलीत्यग्निना इमे ॥७॥ मोचेंना च पसौदच बोडी छपरलेडिका । तासोल
एषां ग्रामाणां सीमा मंडोवर-
- 7 स्य च ॥८॥ तडावेप्रागता नद्यो नोमती तालनामयुक् । केतवास्थनदी सिधौ गंगाद्या
विविशुर्ववा ॥९॥ कां-
- 8 करोती लोहानाख्या सिवालीनां जलाशयः । निपानवापीकूपाश्च त्रिश(विंश)त्संख्या इहागता-
[२] ॥१०॥ सर्वेते-
- 9 तुमितिवैष्णो चतुर्विंशति(ष्ट)शतानि च । प्रघोरशास्त्राणि तथा गजानामपरं वदे ॥११॥
श्रीराजसिंहनृप-
- 10 तेरये गजघरः कृता । गालायोपेन वैष्णोष्ट सहस्राणि गजावलेः ॥१२॥ विश्वकर्मोक्तवानेवं
तडा-
- 11 गानां तु संख्या । कर्तव्या यदुसहस्रोद्युगजमानावधिः परा ॥१३॥ तावत्संख्यामितं कोपि
तडापं कृत-
- 12 वाग्रवा । स्वया सप्तसहस्रोद्युगजसंख्यो(बो) जलाशयः ॥१४॥ सेतुं कृत्वा विरचितो
धर्मसेतुर्धरापते । श्रीरा-
- 13 मसेतुप्रतिमः कीर्त्तसेतुः प्रजाति ते ॥१५॥ कोष्ठानि द्वावशाश्रितद्वुष्टया नृणां कर्म भवेत् ।
पाठस्य द्वादशशर्ह-
- 14 यद्युक्तभागवतस्य सत् ॥१६॥ एकविंशतिसंख्यानि मंडपानि तदोक्षणात् । एकविंशतिनुःशाना-
मनाको भवितां
- 15 भवेत् ॥१७॥ चत्वारिंशदवाष्टयुक् समभग्नसेतो महामंडपास्तेषावो व(व)हुमूल्यवत्प्ररक्षितः
सहास्रमुष्टास्ततः । पाषा-
- 16 णैः समुपाभरं विरचिताः केचित्तु तेषु स्थितः स्वाहां कार्यकृते दिशन्विजयते श्रीराजसिंहो
नृपः ॥१८॥ वस्त्रकाष्ठोदम-
- 17 मुष्टाष्टचत्वारिंशन्मितेषु हि । मंडपव्यवशिष्टो द्वौ शिलाकल्पितमंडपौ ॥१९॥ तदुशनकराणां
स्थापनवान्य-
- 18 मखं श्रवं । इति राजसमुद्रस्य प्राक्ता सर्वा स्थितिर्मया ॥२०॥ श्रीराजोदयसिंहैः
स्थानेस्मिन्कृतवान्पूरा । से-

- 19 तु व(व)ङ् महायन्त्रं(त्वं) निःक(त्तिष्क)त्वं नदभूद्विह ॥२१॥ ततो जलाशयं चक्रे श्रीमानुदय-
सागरं । तत्राकरोत्सेतुव(वं)घं सर्व(व)घं घ-
- 20 मपद्धतेः ॥२२॥ अस्मिन्मण्डले राजसिंहो रणो(द्रो) राजराजवत् । घनध्वजं धितन्वानः सेतुं
घञ्चे तद्वद्भुजं ॥२३॥
- 21 सेतौस्तु कर्ता रघुवंशकेतु रामश्च राणोदयसिंहदेवः । श्रीराजसिंहो मृपतिस्तर्ध्वमण्यो न
भूतो भविता न
- 22 नास्ति ॥२४॥ पूर्वं शते सप्तदशे सुषर्णे विंशन्मिमे भाड¹ इहागता द्राक् । वेताल-
सुत्तानलवाय तातना-
- 23 म्मी नदी तालगभीरनीरा ॥२५॥ संप्लावितं नीरभरं पुरं द्राक् तथा गुहान्व(व्य)ज
विनाशितानि । चकार व(वं)घं नृ-
- 24 पतिस्तदस्या व्यापेन युक्तं भुवि नीचगैयं ॥२६॥ तथात्र वर्षं त्विष² आगता द्राक्³
निशीथकानेभिर्नये तडागे
- 25 श्रीगोमतीधन्यनदीजलं वा व(व)भूव हस्ताष्टकमात्रमुत्सवं ॥२७॥ तद्वर्जितं राजनूपेन(ण) मया
स्यर्द्धाकरिषं भुवि
- 26 कर्द्धमाना । श्रीमंगया साङ्गमहो तुलावं⁴ संप्राप्तहृत्वी(व्यी) म्यपस्ततडागे ॥२८॥ शते सप्त-
दशेतेते विंशदाल्पान्धमा-
- 27 घके । पुर्णिमाया(मां) हिरण्यस्य पत्तपंचशतैः कृतां ॥२९॥ ददौ सुवर्णपुत्रिवीं महादान-
विधानतः । श्रीरा-
- 28 शराजसिंहालयः पृथ्वीनाथो महामनाः ॥३०॥ अष्टाविंशतितंक्ष्यानि क्यमृद्राजनेरिह । सहस्रा-
- 29 नि कितन्गानि महारानस्य भूपतेः ॥३१॥ दत्तायां कनकशितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एव(वा) गृहे कर्द्धं सि(मि)भू-
- 30 मदेभ्य भिक्षुकाणो दिग्भतिनामष्टकं । ह्रिष्यो व(व)तुचयश्च विष्णगरुडं नागस्रजो वचसं
भूतोघो म-
- 31 घवान(यन्त)मेवमहितौ दूरं प्रयाति दूतं ॥३२॥ दत्तायां कनकशितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एव⁵ गृहे श्रीराजामचिरा-

¹ Bhāḍa appears to be the local term for 'flood'; Hindi *bāḍ* from Sanskrit *bāḍ* to 'overflow'. The word is here used in the feminine gender as it is in Hindi.

² *Paṭa* is *Śrīra*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 32 अस्मिन् सकल(सं) कुलं प्रवष्टं ध्रुवं । बह्वैः जीतनवं समोभवमिनाम्नालिप्यज चाप्यते¹श्च-
इन्द्रोष्णमभव रजोऽजम-
- 33 नितान्धेद्राक्षि दुर्मिक्षां ॥३३॥ दत्तायां हेमपुण्यां प्रभ(भु)वर भवताराद्रिजंभ्यस्तु तव कार्यं
कुर्वत्यगत्रं निक्षि-
- 34 तमुज्जृते तद्गुहं राजासिह । गोविन्दो दुग्धदोषा पशुपतिरपि वा रक्षकः सत्पशूनां
जीवो वा(वा)सप्रपाठी रिपुम-
- 35 मविजये धम्मस्यः संमुखोन्तु ॥३४॥ पूर्वं शते सप्तदशोऽह एकत्रिंशन्मिते भाषणप्रान्तपक्षे ।
मुपचमी
- 36 दिव्यदिने तडागे जहाजसंज्ञा विदधुः सुनोकाः ॥३५॥ साहोरसवृज्वरगुरनित्याः सत्पुष्पारा
वध-
- 37 मस्य भव्ये । सत्स्व[र]हितोमे जलपी तु सितं द्रष्टु(ष्टु) सुहार्देन समागतस्य ॥३६॥ शते
सप्तदशोतीत एक-
- 38 त्रिंशन्मितेऽहके । स्वजन्मदिवसे हेमपलपंचशतेः कृतं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रै(कं) महाव(श)नं
विभिनादास्व श-
- 39 कञ्च । भुवने राजसिंहोस्ति विश्वचक्रै(स्ति) तदयः ॥३८॥ इते हाटकविश्वचक्र
उचितं विप्रैर्म्य ए-
- 40 वा गृहे² उच्चै(रां)ति तवभेका निशि रवि पृत्वा विपुं वा दिने । तडागो दिनमहि
रात्रिरधुना कर्माणि कुर्युः कुतो
- 41 विद्या धर्मकुला त्वया कथमय स्थाप्योज धर्मः प्रभोः ॥३९॥ सोवर्णे विश्वचक्रे क्षितिपर
भवतो इत्त एवां
- 42 द्विजेभ्या(भ्यो) गेहेऽवेकत्र दानं विदधति विष्(व)वास्तस्त्रिता बाह्यानि वेदामां त-
त्स्थितानि स्फुटमिभवदो यं-
- 43 तयो राहुरिदुः सूर्यो वा जीम आहुः सुरगज इति वा सोमनंदी विचित्र ॥४०॥ इते
हाटकविश्वचक्र उचितं विप्रै-
- 44 म्य एवां गृहे वारिद्र्यं सन् सर्वेष्व विगतं धीराजवीर त्वया । पल्लवोः किल
कल्पपुष्पधनवी चिंतामणिः

¹ As regards the meaning of *Apanti*, see above p. 44, note 8.

² That is *Bhimsenapati*.

³ *Sundhi* is not observed here.

- 45 कामगीर्णः स्वर्णमणिः क्षतिश्च निषयो रत्नाकरो[र्व] ततः ॥४१॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्ति-
काव्ये द्वाविंशः रा(स)मैः ॥

Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, 8-13, 15-21, 24, 26, 31-35, 37, 38 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5, 14 *Upendrocajṛā* ; vv. 7, 25 *Indravajṛā* ; v. 22 *Vamīsthavilā* ; vv. 23, 30, 36, 39 *Upajāti* of *Vamīsthavilā* and *Indravamī* ; vv. 27-29, 40-42 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 शोणशेषाय नमः ॥ एवं प्रतिष्ठाविधिपोग्यरूपे कृते तडाने क्रियमाणकार्ये । उत्साहपूर्थो
नृपरा[ज*]सिंहो निर्मलवर्ण
- 2 ने(त्रे)पितृवाम्नेभ्यः ॥१॥ पुर्णादरं कुर्म[न*]लोचरेभ्यः स्वर्णोत्सृजेभ्य उतापरेभ्यः । यद्यो
पचायोग्यमहो महात्मान्¹
- 3 रथास्तथा मारयिष्यंयुक्तान् ॥२॥ शिवोपधानाः ।² शिविकावलीस्ताः संप्रेषयामास त³
मुहूर्तिनीच । विश्वासयोग्यान्मनु-
- 4 जान्निजादीन्विशयवेत्तानयनाय तेषाम् ॥३॥ कुलकम् ।⁴ यद्यो विशालेषु महामुह्यु राणाभिने-
कार्यकरनरैस्तैः । पट्टाव(व)रा-
- 5 णा च पट्टावजो(जा)ना⁵ सुवर्णमुद्रोत्तमवोत्तमा च ॥४॥ यत्कुतानां विलसत्कुतानां प्रयत्न-
नीतामुलरत्नकानाम् । मनो-
- 6 [न]मुक्तावलिपुष्परागप्रवालगाढमत्तहोरकानां(णां) ॥५॥ गोमेदचूर्णकनीलकानां कण्ड्यस्य हृन्म-
था(श्च) महामु-
- 7 हः । सुवर्णमुद्रा रजता[वज]मुद्रा गिरिगुहश्चित्रमुपावसंघः ॥६॥⁶ कस्तुरिकागस्तवयो
गुरुणा कर्पूरपूरश्च गणोऽगुरु-
- 8 णा । काश्मीरजानां निकरः सुगन्धध्वजस्य तप्यो वि[वि*]धः प्रव(व)धः ॥७॥⁷ संस्था-
पितः स्वाशितपुष्पकोतैरुपर्युपरैव धनप्रभूतैः
- 9 ॥(१) ॥८॥⁸ पान्यादिहृद्वाः शिवि(वि)राणि जालाः कृताः पुनस्तैर्विविधा विशालाः ॥८॥ कुलकं
॥ अयमुप्य वस्तुप्रसरस्य लोकः पू-

¹ After this occurs the sign of *anugraha* six times repeated, possibly only to fill up the blank space and other-
wise meaningless.

² *Danda* is unnecessary.

³ This letter was wrongly engraved and is scored off.

⁴ This *danda* appears above the line.

⁵ The word *pat-avajā* perhaps means 'lent'.

⁶ The three *anugraha* signs are superfluous.

- 10 अं कदाप्यानघनं न दुष्टं । पुष्यतया तेन वितर्कं एष प्रकल्पितः कर्कशातकि(र्कि)कीर्षः
॥६॥ रघोः सकाशात्किल की-
- 11 तत्तन्मात्रं प्रदानुमत्या मुदवक्षिणां तां । इष्यं तुनव्यं व(व)हु वाचितं तन्निर्माजितं सद्यनि
भूमता न ॥१०॥ लख(व्यं) विजेतुं
- 12 धनं प्रतस्थे त[त]ः स जीघ्रं धनस्तदेव । रात्री धनं भूरि रघोर्गुहोषे संस्थापयामास
महाभयाद्यः ॥१२(११)॥ सुगं । तथा रघोद-
- 13 समर्पणस्य श्रीराजसिंहस्य वसु प्रदातुं । कृतप्रतिपत्तस्य गृहे कुबेरः संस्थापयामास धनं तु
युक्तं ॥१३(१२)॥ गोधूमगोवाश्चणको(की)-
- 14 घशलाः सतंतु(दु)लानां वृषपर्वताश्च । क्षमाभूतो मुद्गमणस्य तुंगा गोधूमपिष्टस्य विशिष्ट-
शोलाः ॥१४(१३)॥ धृतस्य तंतस्य तु वापि-
- 15 कास्तु महाशयो वा मुदमेडलस्य । अर्जुनवंडस्य महामहीश्रा धराधराः प्रोज्व(ज्व)लशर्क-
राणाम् ॥१५(१४)॥ धृतौघपश्वाग्रमहागि-
- 16 रौद्राः शिलोज्जवा मौक्तिकमोदकानां ।^१ दुग्धोल्लसन्मोदकमूषराश्च कलाजलेर्दोदकतुंगसंधाः
॥१६(१५)॥ कृता मुदा कार्य-
- 17 करैर्नरेडाक्(म्) जयति चंते नृप राजा(ज)सिंह ।^२ पाषाणशैलान्व(न्व)हृषोडयस्त(स्ते) देशे
धृतं दुष्टमिहाद्य विज्रम् ॥१७(१६)॥ रसे^३रमी-
- 18 मिः पटशेखरंश्च रत्नेस्तुरंगैः करिनिधय गोभिः । धृतस्य दानाय धृतप्रवाहे राजस्तथायं
नगरः समृद्धः ॥१८(१७)॥ अ-
- 19 इवा जनेः स्वामजितः स्वगत्या प्रचंडधे[त]डगनाः सुगुंडाः । रथास्तथा वन्द्यध्वेः स(स)-
नायाः संस्थापिता दानकृते नृ-
- 20 पत्य ॥१९(१८)॥ हेला[व]केणापि^३ राजा महती महामदा विंशतिसंख्ययास्ताः । आनीम
राशे विनिवेदितास्तान् नृ-
- 21 हीतवान्तपतवस जितौघाः ॥२०(१९)॥ तथागरेणापि गजद्वयं सदानोत्तमीशेन गृहीतमेतत् ।
जलाशयोत्सर्गवि-
- 22 वो मय(वा) ते देया विचार्यति यथाः स युक्तम् ॥२१(२०)॥ निर्वज्रितास्ते नरनाथसंधाः
समागताः सर्वकुटुंबयुक्ताः । अद्वे-

^१ This shape appears above the line.

^२ Between *mi* and *ra* appears a cancelled *in*.

^३ The intended word is perhaps *śālistambā*.

- 23 स्तम्भं(ं) करिर्भगं(ं)वां रवेः पुरे(रे) दुर्गम एव मार्गः ॥२२(२२)॥ तपे(पे)व सर्वे
भन्वा विजातयः प्रचंडविष्टाः क्षत य-
- 24 द्वितोत्तमाः । कर्बोद्वराणां(ं) नि(ब*)हास्तु चारणाः पुर्बदिनोर्ध्वदृष्टाः समाज्युः
॥२३(२२)॥ पुरं तदा मत्स्यंमयं च गोमयं
- 25 स्वतोमयं वापि हृषावनीमयं । करेणुपूर्णं करिसदृशमयं दृष्टं महाद्वय(हृदयं)मयं जन-
पजैः ॥२४(२३)॥ अश्वस्य पका(कवर)क्ष्माग-
- 26 स्य भूयः समस्तभोज्यस्य समापतेभ्यः । सनंतसंश्लेष्य इहादरेण कृत(तं) प्रदानं प्रमुखा
समार्ग ॥२५(२४)॥ स्वायः पर(स्वोपैः) परे(वर्षि)
- 27 निम(नं)त्रणार्थमश्ववि हस्त्यादि विभूषणा[दि] । प्रत्नाद्यमानोत्तमयो गृहीत्वा योग्यं परावृत्त्य
वदौ तदव्यत् ॥२६(२५)॥ एवं य(य)ह-
- 28 श्वेव दिन(ने)षु लोकेर्निवेष्टमाते हि निमंत्रण(ण)स्य । वस्तुप्रज(ज) योग्यमहो गृहीत्वा
अन्तस्परदृष्ट्य वदौ वदाम्यः ॥२७(२६)॥ अ-
- 29 ते सप्तवधे पूर्णे वर्षे द्वात्रि(त्रि)शद्वर्षे । मायमुक्तद्वितीयामां ॥२८(२७)॥ राजसिंहस्य भूपतेः
॥१२७॥* परमारकुलोत्पन्ना श्रीरामरस-
- 30 ये वयुः ॥१॥ राजसिंहनुपाज्ञातो वाप्या उत्सर्गमातनोत् ॥३६(२८)॥ इहवारीघट्टमध्ये तन्ना
रजतमुद्रिकाः । चतुर्विंशतिसं-
- 31 श्यायुक्ताह्वप्रमिता इह ॥४०(२९)॥ ततस्तु नेती परणीवरीसमो जलाशयोत्सर्गकृते तुलाकृते
हेम्नस्तथा ह्यत-
- 32 कसप्तसागरत्यागाय वै त्रीणि पुनःपान्यमं ॥४१(३०)॥ कर्तुं समाज्ञामयद्व ररणा थोराज
सिंहो मुचमुचधारान् । कृतानि मृन्दी(दा)-
- 33 नि सर्वेव तत्र वेदो चतुर्हस्तमिता कृता वा ॥४२(३१)॥ सु(मं)हयः वा(वी)इशहस्तमानः*
इ(ई)द्वुक्तुल्लयामितकायसिद्ध(कार्यसिद्ध) । वदाम्यहं तत्रवर्त्त-
- 34 उ(लं)दपुङ्ग(स्त) क्षित्री प्रसिद्धं नृपतेः कुमान्तः ॥४३(३२)॥ अस्मात्पु(स्तु) दृष्टंयं
चतुःपुमर्धप्राप्तिस्तु योग्ये समये नराणां । पशोस्तु वै योइशतत्कलेवृष-
- 35 भं प्रनीयंति कृताः प्रकारः ॥४४(३३)॥ स्तंवाः कृताः यो(वी)इशसंमितास्ते दावानि किं
योइश वा महति । कृतानि कर्तुं च कृताः प्रतिपालेवा(ला) हि दि-

* This design is engraved below the line.

* Soudhi is not observed here.

* This design and three nagsaka signs are unnecessary.

- 36 मिम(मि)सिपु भूमिभर्षा ॥४२(३४)॥ इतराणि अत्वारि कृतानि तेषां संदर्शनान्मुक्तिवपुष्टयं
स्यात् । एतादृशे मन्त्रराज एव कृतः सुपुत्रोपि च [वृ]-
- 37 कषारैः ॥४३(३५)॥ तुलानिधानस्य च सप्तसागरदानस्य वा मण्डपयुग्ममूर्तम् । तुलाकमो-
द्भासितमेवमद्भुतं श्रीराजसिंहेन कृतं
- 38 मनोहर(रं) [॥*] ४०^१(३६) [॥*] एवं जयं भंडितमंडपानां त्वया कृतं हेतुरयं
महोद । तापत्रयं दर्शनतोऽस्य नृणां हर्तुं त्रिनेत्रप्रियतां त(च) तस्य ॥४८(३७)॥
- 39 गते शते सप्तदशे सुखं इतिश्रावण्ये तपसीति राजा । पांडो इदम्यां च शतौ
गहा(गृही)तो जलाशयोत्सर्गविधेर्मुहूर्तः ॥
- 40 ॥४६(३८)॥ आदौ तु मार्च(र्षे) सितपंचमीतिथौ महीमहोदये पुरीषता सह । जलाशयो-
त्सर्गकृतोऽधिवसन(स) तद्वि-
- 41 जां सडर(र)ण(ण) कृतं मुदा ॥४०(३९)॥ होतारी आपको इतराणांवेकां भुक्तिं प्रति
षट् चतुर्विंशतिः संख्या ऋत्विजामिति क-
- 42 सिता ॥४१(४०)॥ एको ब्रह्मा तवाचार्यः षड्विंशतिरतोऽजिताः । तयो मत्तयपुराणोक्ता-
स्तत्रप्रोक्तफलप्रदाः* ॥४२(४१)॥
- 43 च[तु]र्विंशतितत्त्वा(त्ता)नां पुंसः स्याद्भजा(ज्जा)नमात्मनः । तडशडरणं वीरः षड्विंशतिसद्विजो
॥४२॥*॥ इति त्रयोदशः [सर्गः]

Slab XV ; Canto XIV

(Metres : vv. 1, 5, 13-16, 20-23, 25, 27-29, 31-37, 39, 40 Upajñi ; v. 2 Vamasthavila ; vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 26, 38 Upajñi of Vamasthavila and Indravahā ; vv. 4, 7 Indravajrā ; vv. 10, 30 Upendravajrā ; vv. 11, 12, 24 Anushpūh ; v. 18 Upajñi of Vamasthavila, Indravajrā and Indravahā ; v. 19 Indravahā.)

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥*] श्रीवट्टरत्ना परमारवंश्योद्भू(द्)दभानानिबन्धवपुत्राय^१ । राजा
सदापुंवरिनामभाजा कृता मुदा क-
- 2 अतुलाकृते शक् ॥१॥ अत्वारि रात्राविह मंडपं कनेरसंभुंरंरभिर्मांडितं अवात् । नृणां
गहाश्चयंमहोन्नततोऽधिवसन(स)नं

* The figure 47 is written above the line.

^१ Sandhi is not observed here.

^२ First was written tryā, then the superfluous vowel mark scored off.

- 3 तत्र कृतं विधानतः ॥२॥ गरीय(ब)डासाध्वपुरोहितेन च पुत्रप्रयुक्तेन तु हेमकृष्णयोः ।
कर्तुं तुलामंडपयामकं कृतं पुरोरा^१च-
- 4 साकारि ततोधिवास्तनम् ॥३॥ राणासिन्धो^२धमरेषसुनोर्जीमस्य राजस्तु वधूः पवित्रा ।
तोडास्थितेभूपतिरायसिंहमाता
- 5 तुलां कृष्णमयीं विधातुम् ॥४॥ अज्ञापयामास तदेव सृष्टं रानेश्लोकैर्निधि मंडपं सत्
समस्तवस्तुस्फुरितं कृतं वा-
- 6 धिवास्तनं तत्र तयोक्तरीत्या ॥५॥ चोहानवंशोत्तमवेदलापुरस्थितैर्बलूराजवरस्य सत्सुतः । स
रामचंद्रः किल तस्य चात्मजः स
- 7 केतसरीसिंह इति द्वितीयकः ॥६॥ राजो द्वितीयः कृत एष राणाश्रीराजसिंहेन
नंवरिष्यः । कर्तुं तुलां कृष्णमयीं
- 8 विचारं भावाकरोढं स बलंसिंहः ॥७॥ उवाच राजोऽयं महान्महामतिः राजो भवाने[व
हु]तोसि(स्ति) भूभुजा । तुलां करोत्येव
- 9 तदा तुलाकृते स केसरीसिंह इहोद्यतोभक्त ॥८॥ स केसरीसिंहमहामना मुदा निधाय
वस्तुप्रसरं तविस्तरं । सकुंडस-
- 10 ग्मंडलवेदिमंडपं कृत्वाकरोद्वापविवास्तनं ततः ॥९॥ मुमंडपं चारणबार्हटोना[साके]तरीसिंह इतीह
सेतोः ।^३ तदेतनोब्रुवन्तुलां वि-
- 11 धातुं तदातिके लाव(वि)रवाटिकायाः ॥१०॥ माघेन शुक्लतप्तम्यां राजसिंहनृपप्रिया ।
रठोऽरूपसिंहस्य पुत्री जोषपुरी व्यधात् ॥
- 12 ॥११॥ त्रिंशत्सह[स्र]रजतपूडातुष्टां प्रतिष्ठितां । वापिकां राजनगरे राजसिंहनृपाज्ञया ॥१२॥
ततो नवम्यां नवद्वुमीलां नानाविधानां
- 13 नवकाहलानां । विचित्रवावि(वि)जवरवजानां सुरजिताः सर्वजना निनादः ॥१३॥ ततो
महामंडपमध्य ऊर्ध्व(द्व)स्तंभेषु वेद्या विद्यते पितानं [।^४]
- 14 नृपो महासत्व(स्व)मयः सुयुक्त रजोनिवृत्तं तविहार्णमु(प)र्णम् ॥१४॥ पट्टाव(ब)राणां रजिताः
पताका विचित्ररूपाः शुभमंडपस्य ।^५ सर्वासु
- 15 वि[ब]वर्द्धे[म]हो नृपेण जगज्जयस्येति कृतस्य नूनं ॥१५॥ सुगंधिभिर्माल्यगर्भैः^६ प्रसूनैः सत्पस्त-
वै(वै)र्बदनमासिकाभिः । माघेऽप्य-

^१ This danda is engraved above the line.

^२ This ra is redundant. Read *parādhava*.

^३ Sandhi is not observed here.

^४ This so is superfluous. Read *Kṣatrasikha*.

^५ The sign of flourish is engraved above the line.

- 16 [डा]वत्तमंष्टपेव् वं(व)संत एव प्रविभाति चि(चि)त्र ॥१६॥ प्रकल्पितं तत्र च रंगवलिभिः
सत्यद्यगर्भं भूतसप्तमंड-
- 17 तं । सषोडशारं शुभवृत्तमद्भुतं च[क] कतुर्वक्त्रविराजितं पुनः^१ ॥१७॥ समंततो वा
चतुरलमद्भुतं सद्भा-
- 18 चं मंडलमंत्रकारणं । श्रीपद्मनाभस्य मुखाय सप्तद्वीपप्रभोः(भोः) षोडशसत्प्रमाणकैः ॥१८॥
जेयस्य भूपेन सु-
- 19 वृत्तलब्धये चक्रभियं [वा] चतुरास्यसुष्टये । वीरेण सृष्टं(ष्टा) चतुरलवेदिका सडनकलीनि[भ]-
रत्नपूतये ॥१९॥
- 20 राजाधिराजः स्वपुरीहितेन युक्तः समेतो गृह्णा यथेष्टः । यथा वशिष्टे(ष्टे)न च रामचंडो
विराजते मंडपमध्यवेशे
- 21 ॥२०॥ सहोदराद्यस्तनयैश्च(श्च) धीर्बर्नानाभितोशरपि दुर्गनाथैः [१^२] निमंत्रणादातनरेतसंयं
वि(विं)शोमि(भि)तो देवगणैर्यथेष्टः ॥२१॥[१^३]
- 22 महीमहेंद्रो नृपराजसिंहो धर्मकमूर्तिध(धं)रणीयवेष्टाः [१^४] कृतकभक्तः प्रथमे दिनेष्ट कृतोप-
यातो निचमी तबन्ध्या ॥२२॥
- 23 देहस्य शुद्धिं प्रविधाय प्रायश्चित्तं च कृत्वातिविशु[द्ध^२]चित्तः । धृतिस्मृतिप्रेरितकनेवृदे
अद्यामयो वा(वा)ह्यमालदानः ॥२३॥
- 24 श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवान्प्रायश्चित्तं यदा तदा । प्रायश्चित्तं शुद्धमस्यातिशुद्धमभवत्[त्^३] पुनः
॥२४॥ ततो नृपः स्वस्तिशुश्रूषणं च पुरो-
- 25 धस(ता) विप्रवरैः समेतः [१^४] स्वस्तिप्रव वं कृतवान्धरिः(याः) पूजां च पृथ्वीश्वर-
भाषदायि^४ ॥२५॥ मणेशपूजां पृथिवीश्वरस्तु(स्तु)रुग्मणेशता-
- 26 प्राप्तमहानुत्तमप्रदा । धीमोक्षदेव्या अपि गोत्रवृद्धिर्वा गोवि(वि)दपूजां बहुगोपनप्रदा ॥२६॥
कृत्वा कृतार्थं वित्तसत्पु-
- 27 मर्थं स्व मन्यमानः क्षितिपेव् धनं । रामो वशिष्ठस्य यथाश्रमेयं चकार पूजां वरणं
तथैव ॥२७॥ मरीच(च)दासारुपपुरो-
- 28 हितस्य कृत्वा तु पु[र्व] वरणं परेषां । निजाधितानां(ता)मलितद्विजानां सधन्विजां वा
वरणं शुचीनां ॥२८॥ मुदाकरीडत्र तु

^१ For details of procedure, see Hemadri's *Chaturvargachintamani*, *Dharmakhanda*, *adhyaaya* 13 (*padapad-44* *pratiksha*).

^२ Read *bhava-dhritim*.

- 29 यीठदानं स्वराज्यपीठावलभावकारि । ब्राह्मणमपाधिकधावनार्थं श्रीविप्रवर्धतेः पदधावनं वा
[11^{*}] कलापकं ॥२६॥¹ प्ररोच-
- 30 नाकुञ्जगतो हि धर्मं सुरोज्जनाभिस्तिलकं द्विजानां । श्रियोऽन्नतत्वाय सदाशता(ते)र्वा प्रसून-
पूतामपि स(सु)नुवात्री ॥३०॥[1^{*}] कृत्वाकं-
- 31 भावं मधुपर्कदानं कुसुमसूत्रं वृत्तधर्मसूत्रं । आकाशकोत्तिस्त्रितये स्थनल्पं स(सं)कल्पना(नी)र¹
प्रदवी द्विजेभ्यः ॥३१॥ अन्ध-
- 32 तांकारकमर्घदानं कृत्वा दवी वा द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः । सुवशिषाः संगरकर्मधर्मस्यायेषु वा
दक्षिणभावदात्रीः ॥३२॥
- 33 गरीबदासाख्यपुरोहितस्य पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य सहायनाया । वासःसमूहं शुभवास्तनावं ताभ्यां दवी
भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥३३॥ मुक्ता-
- 34 मणिभ्राजितकुण्डले च श्रीमंडलाप्यं मणिमुद्रिकाश्च । स्वका(की)यमुद्राचलताय जंबूद्वीपेक्षितं
स्वोक्तदक(का)गडादर्थं ॥३४॥ प्राप्तुं सरत्ना-
- 35 श्कटकांगदाश्च यत्तोषयीतानि सुवर्णवति । जलाशयोत्सर्गमुपतसिद्धा(द्धा) दवी नरेंद्रोन्नतराज-
सिंहः[] ॥३५॥ युष्मं ॥ नानाविद्याभ्याहर-
- 36 णानि नूनं स्वस्य क्षितीशभरणत्वसिद्धेः । जलाशयोत्सर्गविधिप्रसिद्धेः जलाश्र(च्छ)पात्र(वा)-
णि सुवर्णवति ॥३६॥ श्रीभीम[कर्ण]धिकदानजात-
- 37 पुण्याप्तये भोजनपात्रपंक्ति । निवेद्य पुण्यं तमभूतमस्तत्पुत्रप्रपुत्रं स्वपुरोहितं सः ॥३७॥
युष्मं । ततो परेभ्यश्च सुवर्णभूषण-
- 38 संघामुवर्णस्त्रितये तदाशये इदम्भट्टीयो मणिमुद्रिकाणान्स्थित्यं मणीनां च तदीयम(मं)द्विरे
॥३८॥ मुरुपकप्योत्तमपात्र-
- 39 वंक्तिं कयातिपुत्र्यं च तदाशये[] [1^{*}] वासःसमूहानतिनूतनाश्च मनस्तु तेषां सुखवाससु²दर्थं
॥३९॥ एवं स सर्वार्थनमत्र कृ-
- 40 त्वा नानानुपर्वितपादप[य]ः । सुभाग्यभावं कृतकार्यं सर्वं स्व मन्दमानोज विभाति योरः
॥४०॥ कुलकं ॥ इति श्रीचतुर्विंशतर्गोः[] १४[11^{*}]

Slab XVI : Canto XV

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37 Upajāti ; vv. 5, 6, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32-34, 36, 38, 39 Upajāti of Vamīasthaviḷa and Indravamīḷa ; vv. 8, 31, 35 Vamīasthaviḷa, v. 12 Indravamīḷa.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ततः स वादिप्रविधि(चि)त्रनावं गुरंगवेगोच्चतुर[11^{*}]संग । उ(उ)-
सुंगमार्तगघटासमेतं नानाजनस्तोम-³

¹ The figure 29 should precede the word *śaṅkhaśa*.

² *Śaṅkhaśa* is the same as *śaṅkhaśa*, 'illusion of water' with which a gift is made.

³ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

- २ सनाकुलं च ॥१॥ अलपताकावलिशोभिताश्च संस्थाप्य विप्रान्स्फुरदुत्थितश्च । अलंकृतानस्य
गतावलीनां स्वयंप्रदेशे-
- ३ वु मुचंयुरेयु ॥२॥ ताल्लो(तान्लो)कपालानिच भूरिभूषास्तयप्रवश्यं वशावतितीशः । यष्टेतरा-
स्ताप्रविधाय सर्वाऽऽ^१निचि-
- ४ अवाविचयराशरा(रा)श्च ॥३॥ अलंकृतोभाप्रभुतोतिभस्या मारीविचित्राभरणाश्च तस्याः ^२
अलाहूतिप्रोद्धतयन्मर्माः इ-
- ५ त्वा पुरस्ताज्जिता(त)दिव्यरेभाः ॥४॥ श्रीरं पुरस्कृत्य पुरोहितं जलयात्रां विचित्रां कृतवान-
रेडवरः । युधिष्ठिरस्यापि च रा-
- ६ जमुयके शो'शोभा न चंताता'दुशरोतिरीरिता ॥५॥ कुनकं [॥^३] प्रोक्तं जनैर्लोकवृत्तोप-
मृष्टतो जलार्जमर्षोपपरोस्ति तं बवे । वाना-
- ७ पतछ(च्छ)अगस्तुहाटकषहं प्रसन्नाह्वनीकरिष्यति ॥६॥ तयात्र कृत्वा वरुणस्य पूजां विधान-
पूर्वं सकलांगयुक्तं ^४॥(१) आना-
- ८ इय नीरं कलशेषु कृत्वा नारीः पुरः सत्कलशः कलोकतोः ॥७॥ महामहोत्साहमयः
स्फुरज्जयो जलहयः स्पष्टनयः सविस्मयः [१] द्वि-
- ९ जायतीमहितमंडने शुभेऽभक्त्य(स्त्र)विष्ये(श्चे)तिविशिष्टतुष्टिमान् ॥८॥ संस्थाप्य वेद्यां कलशान्
[प्र(ज)]लाडयान्वस्त्रावृतान्दिशु कतुमि-
- १० तातु । म[स्ये] जग[द्वरे]यमुजो मल्लेस्मिन्धिराजते भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥९॥ अतुर्वु कोपेयु
मुमंडपस्याकरोमृषः स्मानितदेव-
- ११ पुत्राम् । सवास्तुपूजां शुभवस्तुपूर्णां वेदीं स वेदीस्त्वितदेवतानां ॥१०॥ नवग्रहांस्तानधि-
देवताश्च स[स्था]पयन्प्रत्यधिदेवताश्च । न-
- १२ नष्टहं सावहमेध शत्रु[धि]यः प्रिमोऽश्वानां प्रकरिष्यतीशः ॥११॥ स[स्था]पयन्सत्कलशं च रौडं
अइं प्रसन्नं क्षितिपोक-
- १३ रोडाक् । रौडं भयं शत्रुकृतं न देशे स्यादस्य भद्रं भवतामुपेजे ॥१२॥ ततो महा-
मंडपमध्यदेशे विप्रैः समेती विलसत्यु-

^१ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

^२ This *danja* is engraved above the line.

^३ This is superfluous. Read *śāha*.

^४ This is superfluous. Read *ak-sāśādrīa*.

^५ These *danjas* are engraved above the line.

- 14 रोधाः । धराध्वो जागरणं विठन्वेदोक्तकार्यं(वे) कृतवान्मस्तं ॥१३॥ ततो निशा
प्रविधाय नित्यं स्नानादि राधान-
- 15 गिराजसिंहः । जातः प्रविष्टः शुभमंडपे ॥ सहोदरादीन्च तथा कुमारान् ॥१४॥ पत्नीः
समस्ताश्च पितृव्यजायाः स्नु-
- 16 व(षा)श्च वंशोद्भवसर्वपुत्रीः । पुरोधसां धन्यधर्मपाणां वधूः समाहूय नृवोपज(वे)श्च ॥१५॥
सुकर्मणीस्याङ्गुतदशनार्थं(वे)
- 17 श्रीपट्टरामीसहितो हितावधः । कृत्वा मुदा श्रीवदनस्य पूजां समस्तदेवातुल्यपूजनं च
॥१६॥ रत्नाकरं कर्तुमिह द्वितीयं
- 18 तडागमेनं नवरत्नराजं । निक्षिप्तवान्मध्य इहास्य ग्राम्यं मत्स्यं पुनः कच्छ(च्छ)पमच्छ(च्छ)मेव
॥१७॥ श्रेयस्करं वा मकरं ततोत्र नि-
- 19 वि(द्व)मं स्थापितमेव माये । त(ते)नात्र सर्वे निधयो जवेन समागमिष्यन्ति ततो जलस्य
॥१८॥ नूनं समृद्धिर्भविता सदास्मि-
- 20 स्वमुद्रकपत्रमयास्य जायि । मयास्य ॥ राजसमुद्रनामोत्पत्तौ तु हेतुः कथितोऽयमेवा(व)
॥१९॥ क्षिप्तानि रत्नान्यपरे समु-
- 21 ३ तया तडागेन नृपेन जातं । रत्ना[करस्य]^१ त्वय चाटवान्निक्षिद्धिं कुत स्य(स्या)-
दिति पुण्यपूतिः ॥२०॥ २० [॥२०॥ गोः पूजनं वसवुजो विधानपूजं(वे) नृपातः क-
- 22 तवान्कृतीरः । हिंक्ष्णती गौ प्रसमीक्ष्य भूपः पुरोहितं प्रत्यवदत्किमेतत् ॥२१॥ धूमं
प्रवेष्ट्यवदत्पुरोहिता(तो) वेदोक्तमेतत्
- 23 अ[कु]नं पतः प्रभो ।^२ गीतारणार्थममृतनोत्पुनः सत्वि(त्विं)स्रहायो व[र]नीपुरंदर
॥२२॥ तदागम्ये कृतवान्सुखेन गीतार-
- 24 वार(रं)मसहो महोदः [१*] गोशब्दमात्रस्य तु ये मदर्थस्तज्जामतुल्यार्चककर्मलक्ष्यं ॥२३॥
मु(व)ये तदर्थोऽनुधि नावतीत्यतामा-
- 25 यमुद्रे शरस्यतार्थं [१*] यथा च साम्राज्यं सुवामवाप्तं करस्यवशेन रिपुशयाय ॥२४॥
विष्णु स्फुराकोत्सिंहकृते जनासीने-
- 26 जातितोवाय विभ्राप्तये च । समस्तभूराज्यकृते नृपस्य ।^३ तडागनीरस्य तु पुणेतार्थं ॥२५॥
लक्ष्येष्टलाभाय च बुष्टिस्तुष्टये

^१ This aa is written above the line.

^२ The portion within the square brackets is written below the line, two arrow-heads marking the place for insertion.

^३ This danda is engraved above the line.

^४ This danda is unnecessary.

[illegible]

- 27 श्रीराजसिंहकवचमहीपतेः सदा । ऋत्विगर्भैरेवकास्तकलापत्ये कृतं हि गोतारणकर्म समेवं
॥२६॥ गोतारणादुत्त-
- 28 रमय कर्त्तुं तडागमुत्पद्य तु नाम तव्यं ।¹ प्रदत्तं कृतौत्य(त्वं) कृतवान्महीन्द्रः पुरोहितं
प्रत्यय राजसिंहः ॥२७॥ तवावदस्य-
- 29 न पुरोहितोयं यदत्कवच्यं त्वरिसिंहनामा । तद्वीर्यमेवं यवतत्पुरोधा प्राप्ता कृता भूमि
भूजाय भूयः ॥२८॥ नामास्य शाय्यं
- 30 त्विति तत्पुरोधता नामोक्तमेकं त्विति राजसागरः [१^०] नामापरं राजसमुद्र इत्यतो
नृपस्तडागस्य तु जग्न ताम्रं च ॥२९॥ इत्यु-
- 31 त्तवानेव हि राजसागरः(र)स्तदुत्तरं राजसमुद्र इत्यपि । नामास्य चर्भं दिनप(पं)नकोत्तरं
दिव्ये मुहूर्तं त्विति भूमिनायकः ॥३०॥ न-
- 32 होस्तत्रं इष्टुमिमं पुरंदरः समानतो ह्यत्र त्विनि(दिव)तं युधेः । यतस्तद्वेत्तरवारिद्वजः
प्रवर्धति स्मोदुक्कणं शनैः शनैः ॥३१॥^२
- 33 ततो महामंडपमध्य उत्तमा होमक्रियायामभवत्परायणाः । श्रीवे[३^०]पाठेषु जनेषु तत्पराः
क्रियासु सर्वानु तथै-
- 34 जम्बुद्विजः । ३१(३२)॥ तवेव(व) कुंडेषु नवस्वयाम्भयः ।³ श्रीगार्हपत्याहवनीयसंनिभाः ।
प्रजज्वत्तुस्तत्र जितानमंडलं धूमे-
- 35 न धूर्ध्रं सकलं तदाभवत् ॥३२(३३)॥ धूमावलीभिर्गणे तदाभवत्तदाविता[ता^४]न्यपराणि
भूपते[^५] । रजःसुरको(सा)हतवे जग-
- 36 रूता कृतानि किं धूसरवर्णवातसा ॥३३(३४)॥ महावितानैश्च धूमभातया कृतं तु
मानिन्यमिदं तदाभवत् [१^०] अने-
- 37 कमातिन्यहर् हि मंडपस्थितस्य लोकप्रसरस्य पश्यतः ॥३४(३५)॥ अनेतच्चूमानिन्यवत-
संस्थितज्योतीषि बह्वैः
- 38 धूमगंधवाहकान् सुगंधवाहाध्वप कल्पयत्यहो संकल्पनीराणि सदा(दे)ष्टुत्तवे ॥३५(३६)॥ ततः
क(ह)तार्थः(ः) समरे समर्थः
- 39 स्मापयवतुःसंल्पपुमर्चकांक्षी । मनो रवे राजसमुद्रमद्रप्रशिक्षार्थं सकलार्थंतिथ्यै(द्वयै) ॥३६(३७)
वस्य(स्या) शितौ पूर्वमहोभव-

¹ This *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.³ This *anda* is wrong; it ought to be *akh* *akharo*.

- 40 विश्वा गिम्नोव्रतस्य पदकंठका जनेः [१^{*}] नाम्नं च संमार्जनस्य लिखितं भाग्यं
नृपस्तम्भपतेः समागमे ॥३७(३८)॥ अरण्यवः^१
- 41 स्या(त्स्या)मतिरञ्जयोनवन् यस्य सितौ वीरनुभावया पुरा । ओदाविकजानकते जनेजंवात्(२)
युतोदता दाक्(डाक्) स-
- 42 यमनरञ्जवः[१^{*}] ॥३८(३९)॥ इतिवीराजश(स)मुद्रस्य भट(ट्ट)रन(ण)क्षोरकृत्ये(कृतेः) राजम[१^{*}]स्तेः
पञ्चवशनं सगं[१^{*}] संपूर्ण(र्णो) लीयता(लिखितो ?) राजसमुद्र

Slab XVII ; Canto XVI

[Metres : v. 1 Vasantatilakā, vv. 2, 9, 24 Dṛuṃvilambita ; v. 3 Upagiti ; vv. 4, 30 Udgiti ; vv. 5, 34, 37, 40 Upajāti of Vamśasthuvila and Indravamśa ; vv. 6, 7, 39 Vamśasthuvila ; vv. 8, 11, 12, 15, 27-29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38 Upajāti ; v. 10 Giti ; v. 13 Upāndravajrā ; v. 14 Anuśtubh ; vv. 16-21, 23, 25, 26 Anupachchhandasika ; v. 22 Varitāṇya ; v. 31 Arjā.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥] पूर्णे तु योवशकते कृमकारिवर्षे द्वावि(विंशतिप्रम(मि)तिके किल
माधवे वा १^१ पक्षे सिते^२ उदयसिंहनृप[स्तु]-
- 2 तौपांमन्व्येऽकरोदुदयसागरमुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा) ॥१॥ उदयसागरनामजलाशयोत्तमपा(प)रिहृ(व)मण(र्ण)
रमणोत्पुतः [१^{*}] उद-
- 3 वसिंहनृपः शिबिकास्थितः समतनोवि(वि)ति मूत्रनिवेशनो(र्ण) ॥२॥ जस्यंतसिंहदावत इति
जल्पितवाद्य-
- 4 ओः पाद्वे ॥(१) एवं कार्यं म[१^{*}]ता^३ धमवा(वा)श्वारोह्यं कृवा(त्वा) ॥३॥ कार्या-
प्तदक्षिणार्धे द्विजान सोऽवस्ततो देवः [१^{*}] भूत्वे-
- 5 ति पक्षयुगलं तुष्टनी(र्णी) स्थितवाग्महाशयो भूयः ॥४॥ ततो नृपः सामगवेदपादि-
निर्युक्तः(वतः) पुरःस्थापितकृत्स्विगा-
- 6 विकः [१^{*}] मानाप्रतीहारकरस्वयष्टिकाऽऽ^४रवीधदूरस्थितसर्वमानुषः ॥५॥ विजिघ्र्यादिप्रमहारवभवाः
पुरःति(स्वि)तम्रो-
- 7 अतइतिपंक्तिः । विराजिवाजिवजराजिताग्रकः शिवांशुकभीतिविक्वा(का)पुरःतरः ॥६॥ पुरः-
स्वपूर्णाअतकुंभसत्फलौ

^१ This angraka sign is superfluous.

^२ Read panchakulak.

^३ This Rāpa is engraved above the line.

^४ Sandhi is not observed here.

^५ First *gā* was written which was later corrected into *gā*.

^६ Angraka signs are superfluous.

- 8 महामहोत्साहमयो महोत्सवः [१^{*}] समस्तजीवा(भ्राता)वसनीधलस्वकीशुका(च)लद्विधिविधानमुं(द)रः
॥७॥ वेदोवि-
- 9 तं राजसमृद्धराजत्सु(पु)त्रसंवेष्टनकर्म कर्तुं । स्वपाणिसंस्थापितनष्टमध्यसत्कुनोद्यवत्तुपंक्तिः
॥८॥ सु-
- 10 अपरिक्लमणाय महोभुजो धरणिमूर्ध्नि मुचेलकतुलिकाः । अत्र भूताः स्वजनेन पदा स्पर्शन्त
सुकुमारपदोऽत्यजद-
- 11 झूल ॥९॥ वसतोमानद्युगलं पदयोर्ध्व्यापि भूमजा त्य[क्त] । सुकुमारपदेनापि च
धर्माङ्कतपटति प्रकल्पयता ॥१०॥ अथा-
- 12 दधारी मुदुलाधिपद्यो विपावुकः संप्रति पादचारी । भवान्भग(न्मूर्ध्नि) म(भा)ति महाप्रभावी
राजाधिराजः प्रभुराजसिंहः ॥११॥ प्रवलि-
- 13 पां दक्षिणतो वितन्वन् दक्षिणो दक्षिणमार्गनामो । प्राची दिशा दक्षिणदिक्प्रतीची
सौम्यागतामृन्व(न्व)द्विजिगाभिः ॥१२॥
- 14 विजाविकाग्न्यन्धर्नश्च धान्यैरतोषपत्तकंजनास्तथैव । सवस्वमेधोसमरा[ज^{*}]मुपाधिकं फलं प्राप्नुमि(मि)ह
प्रवृत्तः ॥१३॥ पुनर् । तडा-
- 15 तं वेष्टयधाना^१ अखंडनवत्तुभिः । नवकांडधरामध्ये कीर्तिं स्थापितवाञ्छितं ॥१४॥ शुक्लांबरं
चंद्रमिम जितो[शं] राज्यः
- 16 मुतारा इव तारहाराः सिंचंत एव(वे)त्युचितं हि गौर्यैः सहोरमुक्ताभरणातिरम्याः ॥१५॥
इममुत्सवमङ्कृतं महोभो दधि[र] दा(ड)ष्ट-
- 17 मुपागतो मुवाज [१^{*}] जलवास्तु पुरःतरास्तदीया इति कर्षति जलानि हर्षपूर्णाः[^{*}] ॥१६॥
प्रथमं [ह]दि दंत्यप्रोभितानां प्रमदानां प्रम[दा]-
- 18 ति[भू^{*}]षिठानां [१^{*}] तथ वयंनरीरपूरितानां सकलांमेवप्रकमुसीतल[त्वं] ॥१७॥ जल-
धारावज(लि)पु स्थिताः स्त्रियः कुलकंपा[स्तु] तडा-
- 19 कसकटस्थाः [१^{*}] हस्तजांबूनदकांतकांतयः^२ अणदा उत्सवदर्शनागतः किं ॥१८॥ वनिता
अग्निमेधलोचनास्ताश्चकि-
- 20 वा उत्सववज[शं]नागतः [किं] । जलधारावलिमार्गगा मनो मे गुरकन्या इति दक्षिण
धन्यधन्याः ॥१९॥ तनुलग्नाष्टपटानिदृष्ट-

^१ Sandhi is not observed here.

^२ Here a superfluous danda is engraved above the line.

- 21 देहवदनानां घटसंनिभस्तनीनां । घनधाराल्लिपूरितांगकानामिव कीतुहलदं जसंगनानां ॥२०॥
पदचक्रमणेषु सो-
- 22 क[मं तं] परि[सिंह] स सहोदरं समीक्ष्य । सुकुमारतरं सुलिप्रचित्तः शिविकारोह-
णमादिशन्महोद(र): ॥२१॥ पदचक्रमणेषु]
- 23 सोष्ठमां निजराज्ञी परमारवंशजा । महती तनवेक्ष्य मुग्धमां शिविकारोहणमादिशत्प्रभुः
॥२२॥ अथ राजसमुद्रमंडले[स्मि]-
- 24 स्वरितः सूत्रमुवेष्टनं बितन्वन् । निजभूवलये सुधर्मयुक्तेः सततं रक्षति राजसिंहराणां
॥२३॥ अथ परिक्रमणेषु समा[हृता ?]
- 25 विविधपुष्पाब्ज(वि)राजितमालिकाः । सपदि राजसमुद्रचरेपिता वदन्नेवमुदे कदम्बाभृता ॥२४॥
वसनघंषिविधान-
- 26 शोभिताभिर्धुवतीभिः परिवेष्टितो नरे(रें)द्रः । भुवि वानाविधदिव्यमु(सु)दे(द्र)रीभिः परितो
लेष्टत(वेष्टत) [द्रं]द्रा(द्र) एव नूनं ॥२५॥ वसनघं-
- 27 वि[वि*]धानभूषिताभिर्वन्तिताभिर्न(न्)पमाधृतं समीक्ष्य [१*] जनता विवि(वक्ति) हि रासमंडले
भीहरीरा(रेवं) कृतवान्वुव(ऋवुवं) विहृ(रं) ॥२६॥ जनुदं-
- 28 शोड्शस्तितोक्त्वाभिप्राणिस्तुरत(त्)स्तिविचंडनाय । जनुवंशकोटानितस्तडागो जलेन पूर्ण(र्णो)-
भवदा(दे)व तूर्णं ॥२७॥ प्रद-
- 29 शिवायां शिविराणि पंच श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवानिहेति । हेतुस्तु पंच(चं)द्रिपत्तान्वितारान्धु(त्तं)
प्रवृत्तोपमहो सुवृत्त[ः*] ॥२८॥
- 30 ईषत्कलाधारचरो चरेडो महाकलप्रार्तिपूतो हि जातः । धृत्वा समस्ता[न्*] निदमाम्यमौग्व
त(ते)नास्य पुण्यं [प]नपातनाह्वत् ॥२९॥
- 31 कमलवुरिजस्य पादवे(र्वे) तटाकतोये जयोदया(यां) । एको गजा(जो) नि[न*]ग्नो भट्टिति
प्रकटोभवद्गुणीर(रे)पि ॥३०॥ यत्तद्वृत्तणेनायं^३ उ-
- 32 पापनाय(र्वे) चरेडपुन्य(व्य)स्य । रातोस्य प्रे[ति]त इति विशोवविद्रुस्तदा प्रोक्तं ॥३१॥
ग्रामः(ग्रामाग्र)वार्तेर्धृतपत्रवदानेः पक्वात्र(प्र)दाने-
- 33 वंसनप्रदानैः । डव्यप्रदानैर्धृप चागतास्तावतोभवत्ता(लो)यवृत्तो मा(म)नुष्यान् ॥३२॥ एव
कलाधारचरो चरे(रें)द्रः कटके द्विनानामन-

* Hindi 'varj' 'bastrim'.

* Soudhi is not observed here.

possibly means one enjoying a free holding. *Pustakapāla* was the record-keeper.¹ The word *śūpalāśa* is difficult to explain.

The village is said to have been granted together with the *uddāna* (=space above the ground called *tala*), with subjects such as the weavers, *gokūta* (milkmen, called *Gāra* in Oriyā) and *kampika* (vintners) and with *gubmābas* (outposts) at the *kāṭṭa* (village or hamlet), *ghāṭṭa* (harbour) and *naditarasthāna* (ferry). Another interesting passage says that the grant was made a *lakkhaṇī-pratīkṣatagā bhūmichchhīdra-pidhāna-nyāyāna*. The expression a *lakkhaṇī-pratīkṣatagā* seems to mean that the grant would never in future have to be the subject of another document. That is to say that the village could not be regranted to any other family and that its ownership could not be transferred by the donee to some other family. In inscriptions we usually find the expression *bhūmichchhīdra-nyāya*. This *nyāya* was based on the custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.² The word *chhīdra* in this case no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of *chhīdra-pidhāna* or 'covering a hole' seems to have developed out of a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the *nyāya*.³ The idea in *bhūmī-chchhīdra-pidhāna-nyāya* was probably that the loss of lands owing to various causes was thought to be compensated for by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā (i.e., Tōsalā) and Yamagartā-maṇḍala has already been dismissed. Gahāvatapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, was probably modern Jāipur or a locality in its suburbs. Tamura viśaya, Paśchimā (Paśchima) khaṇḍa, Śāntirāgrāma and Kōmyōśaṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. The headquarters of Tamura may, however, be located at modern Tamur (21°18' N. 85°14' E.) in the former Pal-Lahara State.⁴ In regard to the name of the *khaṇḍa*, it may be pointed out that one of the Gaṇjām plates of Daplimahādēv records the grant of a village in the Pūrva khaṇḍa of the Varadākhaṇḍa viśaya in the Kōṅgōda maṇḍala. This seems to suggest that the Pūrva and Paśchimā khaṇḍas were merely the eastern and western divisions of a viśaya. Dharmapāṭṭi, the native village of the donee, cannot be identified; but Takāri, where his family originally lived, is known from numerous other records as a great seat of learned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Turkāri, Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Takāra, Tukāri and Takārikā.⁵ Sometimes⁶ it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadīpa division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division. In one record⁷ the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvastī. There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvastī. Some scholars favour its identification with Setnābhet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Begra District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Takāri is located in Oudh.⁸

¹ See Jolly, *Hindu Law and Customs* (trans. by D. K. Ghosh), pp. 196-97. Note that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first.

² It is to be noted that the *Varjapant* explains *bhūmichchhīdra* as 'uncultivable land'. The expression is used in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya exactly in the same sense. See Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāstra-dvayā*, p. 33, note.

³ See Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. III, pp. 348, 353; Vol. IX, p. 107; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118; Vol. XVI, pp. 204, 208.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 280 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 298; Vol. LX, pp. 44 ff.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 570, note.

TEXT¹

[Metres :—Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śāradālikriyā*; verses 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 6 *Mālinī*; verses 10-12 *Anuśṭubh*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² ||[*] Svasti vyasta³-jal-ābhra-vibhrama-dharaiḥ⁴ svē(āvē)t-ātapatr-ṣṭkarair-asvīya-
ṣṭuṭi(ti)-chāmaraish-cha hasita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 +ḥdayaiḥ ||(|) uddāmasir-mamara(dā)-saurabhais-cha kariṇām-ākṣipta-saptacheḥhad-āmō-
daiḥ sannihitā[m*] sad-aiva karad-āra-
- 3 mibha-ariyaṁ vi(bi)bhṛataḥ ||[1*] Śrī-Gū(Gu)bhāvarapāṭaka-nivāsi⁵-vijaya-skandhāvārāta-
(rāt) || Sarva-śāśa-paripūraṇ-ābhi(dhi)-
- 4 ka-ruchir-yas-tāpam-astan-nayam-ānanda[ū*] kṛtavān-janasya manasi prāpte-pratish-
thān(shtharā) chitash(ram) || (|) sad-dṛṣṭi-pratirōdhi yēna
- 5 cha tamō nirmūlam-nirmūlitam śrīmān-indur-iv-āvanipatir-abbhūd-Upmatṭasatṛiha(b-ā)-
hṛayaḥ || {2*} Tad-vanāśāt-ābhavann-anindita-guṇ[ā]
- 6 muktāmayāḥ santatāḥ⁶ sad-vṛttā[h*] sukha-śītalāḥ kṣitibhṛitāḥ śrīmud-Gayāḍ-ādayaḥ
[| *] yāu=altvā⁷ hṛidaya-pra-
- 7 tāpa-damanē dēv-āṅganābhīḥ svayaṁ karṇ-ālāpa⁸-sukha-sthiti-praṇayinō hār-āvi(bhi)-
rūmāḥ kṛtāḥ ||[3*] Tad-van-
- 8 śā-bharad-ārjita[h*] prati⁹-vū(bu)dha-prita(ti)ḥ pratit-ōdayō dēva[h*] kṣm-vadhū-mū(mu)-
kṣ-ānū(nu)-taraṇiḥ śrī-Lōṇabhārō
- 9 nripaḥ || (|) yasy-ākramya guru-pratāpa-āikhinah pṛithvibhṛitāḥ prōddhatāch(tān) dūraḥ
sarva-dig-antarēśhū(śhu) tarasā svai-
- 10 ram prasasa(rah) karāḥ || [4*] Tasy-ātmajaḥ praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-śhūdā-niryā(ryā)-
jā-rōpita-padaś-charit-ārtha-nāmā [| *]
- 11 vistāri-sū(sau)rabha-gū(gu)ṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āśa-tannād¹⁰-abhūt-Kuśū(su)mabhāra itī kṣi-
tāḥ || [5*] Abhṛi-
- 12 [ta] Lalitabhāraḥ kṣmām-bharan¹¹ bhūri-tējā ta(s-ta)d-anū(nu) tad-anū(nu)janmā
vyūḍha-bhōg-indra-śīlāḥ [|] anayad-amalimā-
- 13 naḥ pa(ya)d-yatāḥ-pūn-ū(m-u)chahair-āpi ripū(pa)-ramṣi(ma)plāṁ-sājan-ōm-śaram-
sāru || [6*] Tasmān-nripē divam-upēyū(yu)ahi tat-tanū[ā]h[h*]
- 14 kṣā-āvanēr-ajani Sāntikara(r-ā)bhudhānaḥ || (|) yēn-ōddhṛitēshv-ākṣila-śā(du)rmada-
kantha(nṭa)kṣabū(śhu) rēmā yathā-sū(su)kham-apā-

¹ From the original plate and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The syllable *svi* here looks like *śvi*.

⁴ The Gañjam plate A has *karāḥ*. The top *śāśa* of *dāś* in the present inscription was inadvertently missed.

⁵ The word *anandakṣita* found in numerous other records is better suited in this context, although the grants of the Rāma-Kara usually have *nivāsi*.

⁶ The Gañjam plate A reads *śāśatā* which Kielhorn corrected to *śāśatā*.

⁷ The Bāpur plate reads *śā* *śāśatā* while both the Gañjam plates have *śā* *śāśatā* *śāśatā*. On the whole the reading of the Gañjam plates is preferable.

⁸ The Bāpur and Gañjam plates read *śāśatā* which is the reading intended.

⁹ The Bāpur and Gañjam plates have the correct reading *śāśatā* in place of *śāśatā*.

¹⁰ The Gañjam plates have *śāśatā* in place of *śāśatā*.

¹¹ Read *śāśatā*.

- 15 sta-bhīyā jātōna || [7*] Tasya prasasta¹-charit-ārjita-bhūti-kīrttir²-viśva[n]jūbarā-vihbū-
(bhū)re-sbhūā-ukū(nu)jase-tatō-pi | śrēyōbhur-ēkapada-
- 16 m-ity-ankhulūh ēpi(ān)t-ātū yāh ar-Śū(Śu)bhākara iti prathitō yath-ārtham || [8*] Tasya
trivishṭapa-jushah paramōśva-
- 17 [ra*]jya dāt(vi) sumasta-janatā-nata-pādapadmā || (|) si[ti*]hāsanam śaśi-kar-āmala-kīrtti-
Gauri Gaur-eva gaurava-padam
- 18 chiram-adhyardhata(hat) || [9*] Tatō Daṇḍimahādēvi sutō tasyā-mahīyā || (|) mahim-
ahita-sāmarthyā³ chira-kālam-apā-
- 19 layat || [10*] Aviclmhīm-āyati-prātsau⁴ ramō Kā(Ka)ra- mahīhrītāch(tām) [| *] chihna-
bhūtā patāk-āva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshaga(m*) || [11*] Lāvany-āmrīta-

Reverse

- 20 nishyanta-mandamā dādhatī vapa(pu)h [| *] yā rājach-ochafudra*]-lākh-ēva vilasat-kīrtti-
chandirivā(kā) || [12*] Tasyāh pratāpa-nata-durmada-datra-bhūpa-nē-
- 21 tra(tr-ā)mvu(mbu)-dhatte-narayāvaka-mayjanām⁵ || (|) pād-āmvu(mbu)je-dya(dyap)tir-
amantaram-anvārā(ru)hijī⁶ mahījra-lagna-kura(ru)vinde-dai-ā(1-3)ru-
- 22 [bhā*]jā || [12*] Udyāneshū(āhu) śilimukhā(kh-ā)vall-ravō hā[rā*]shū(āhu) mōkta(muktā)-
mhitir-dōhā-sāga-rachis-tuhāra-kirag⁷ chu(vi)j[īnē*]phū(āhu) ad-vāhata || (|)
- 23 Rāhan āksha(ksha)kara-graham(hah) kū(ko)-mayishu trā-ōdayah kēvalam kāntā-kuntala-
sanna(na)tan kūtī(ī)latā yasyāh prabhū(bhu) || [13*] bhūvi || [14*] Rany-āis-
- 24 k-3t-ukita-nayan-ānula-pyūsha-vartitū śv-śakta-kshītipati-sabhā-padmīnī-rājahanō ||
kūtha(18)y-ānna-glagita-ukri-
- 25 t-ālamva(mba)um⁸-avaraga-yashir-yā nishāha-pragayī-cumanō-Nandan-ōdyāna-lakshat[h*]
|| [15*] Paramamāhōśvari mūtī-pitī-pād-ā-
- 26 andhyātī paramabhatīrīkā mahārājādhipīja-paramāśvari śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi kā(ku)-
śalini ||⁹ Dakshīpa-
- 27 Tōsalāyān vartimūha-bharishya-mahāśamanta-rājastha¹⁰-rājaputra-kumārāmōty-aupa-
rika-vishayapati-tadā-
- 28 yuktaka-dīpajapālīka-śūnōntarīkān-anyān-āpi rāja-prasādīnō-chāpa-vallabha-jāliyanah-
(yān) ||¹¹ Tannura-visha-
- 29 yam(ya)-Pachha(śchi)makhaṇḍa-mahāmāhattara-vri(bi)hadhlōgi-pustakapāla-kūṭakōlas-
ādy-adhikaragah yath-ārtham mā-

¹ The Bāgpur and Gajjām plates read *prahasta*.

² The Bāgpur plate has *hīr*.

³ Kiehnorn read *ahimāhī* may be in the Gajjām plates.

⁴ The Gajjām plates read *prātsau*. Kiehnorn suggested *prātsau sūnā-āra*. This verse and the following stanzas are wanting in the Gajjām plate B.

⁵ The next half of the verse and the following verses are also absent in the Gajjām plate A.

⁶ The Bāgpur plate has the correct reading *māpjanāpi*.

⁷ The Bāgpur plate reads *dyatir-ātachitā-mānāpī*.

⁸ Nu is incised below the line.

⁹ The *śūpā* are superfluous.

¹⁰ In place of *rājastha*, the Bāgpur and Gajjām plates have *mahārāja-rājaput-antarāgya*. *Rājastha* literally means 'belonging to the king'; but the meaning does not appear to suit the context.

¹¹ The *dīpā* are superfluous. The *śārgya* sign may be a part of the mark of punctuation.

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 30 nayati vṣ(bṣ)dhayati samājjāpayati cha viditam=astu bhavata(tā)m=śtat-khaṇḍa-pratira-
(ba)ddha-santi¹
- 31 Sāntiragrāmam² Kōmyōsaṅga-samētal³ s-ōddiśaḥ sa-tantuvāya-gōkūṭa-sam⁴ja(pḍi)k-
ūdi-prakṛitika[h*] sa-khō-
- 32 ja-ghaṭṭa-nadīnatasthā-ādi-gulmakal⁵ sarva-piḍa-varjitō=lekhami-pravēsatayā bha(bhū)-
micchhidra-piḍhāna-nyāyā-
- 33 r-ā-chaṇḍr-āra-kahit⁶-samakūṭa mātā-pitrōr-āmanah sarva-astvā(ttvā)nān=cha paṇy-
ābhi-viḍḍhayaḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrāy-Āngirasa-
- 34 Vā(Bā)rasapatya-Bhāradvāja-pravarīya Vājasenīya-charapāya mādhyaṇīna-ākh-āḥyayinē
Takāri-vin(m)rgata-Dharmma-
- 35 pāṭi-cāstarya-Bhū(Bha)ṭṭa-Mākyadēvāya Jāladēva-sutāya Pā(Pu)rushottanadēva-naptō
salila-dhārī-pū(pu)rahaṇa-kas-ōla-
- 36 kēsa-sūrya-grahman(m)pā-vēlāyā[m*] Yamarga(ga)ttā(rttā)maṇḍal-āḥipati-pamnamā-
bēvara-sakalamahāpā(pu)rushagunavad-Rāga-śribhārid-Apsarōdēv-āḥyārtha-
- 37 nayā=emābhis-tāmasāsaniḥpity-ākshaya-nidhi⁷-dharmēn-ākaratvēna pradattas-tad-ōhā-
=mad-datti dda(r-ddha)ma-gauravād-bhavadbhil⁸ pacipālani(nī)yā | Samvat 200⁹
80 [||*]

No. 11—KEYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates deposited in the archives of the Rājā of Kālahasti in the Chittoor District, Madras State, was discovered by the late Śrī Vāpuri Prakāśakara Śastry who has edited the inscription on them in Telugu in the *Journal of Śrī Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.⁴ In view of the importance of the epigraph which deserves fuller study, I edit it here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.⁵

The set consists of five plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring had been cut, apparently by the previous editor, when the plates were received for examination. The writing is engraved on one side of the first plate and both sides of the next two plates. The remaining two plates contain no writing. This is rather unusual; and this unusual feature may possibly be explained on the assumption that the framers of the document had originally kept these plates ready with the idea that the writing would extend over them, and that their expectation did not materialise. In the alternative, it may be surmised that the two spare plates are a later addition. It has, however, to be noted that traces of a few letters incised in late characters, forming two lines, can be detected on one of these spare sheets. Though the rims of the inscribed plates are not raised, the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 25 lines of writing and these are distributed evenly on the five surfaces engraved.

⁴ The engraver began to incise the name of the village, but, as some mistakes crept in, gave it up, leaving considerable blank space at the end of line 30. He then engraved it at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ Read 'grāmam'.

⁶ The usual expression is ākṣaya-srī.

⁷ The actual value of the symbol, as noted above, seems to be 100.

⁸ Vol. VIII, pp. 82-96 and Vol. IX, pp. 25-30.

⁹ I am indebted to the above authority for having kindly secured the original documents for my examination and study from the Director, Śrī Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. It is registered as No. 39 of Government Epigraphist's C. P. collection for 1949-50.

these was the ruling king who issued the charter from his headquarters Kāñchīpura. Its object is to record the gift of a village named *Rēyāru* as a *brahmadeya*, to a Brāhmana named Kumāramapadaśarma who was well-versed in two Vēdas and constantly engaged in studies, by the king for the augmentation of his life, strength, victory and fortune. The donor is described as devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhattāraka. He is also called *Paramabhūganta*, *Paramasāhāvara* and *Paramabrahmanya*.¹

Judging from the genealogical account given above and palaeographical considerations indicated before, it is easy to identify the above-mentioned three kings with Mahēndravarma II, Paramēśvaravarman I and Narasiṃhavarman II respectively, of the Siṃhaviśyū line.

Our epigraph happens to be the only dated record of Narasiṃhavarman II so far discovered. The date as cited herein is the twelfth year of the increasingly victorious reign of the king, *Vaiśākha, full-moon, lunar eclipse*. These details, however, fall short for verification. For want of necessary data, the reign-period of this king also, like those of other rulers of this family, cannot be fixed with precision. Hence we are left to make what appears to be the most reasonable assumption on the strength of circumstantial evidence. The broad limits of Narasiṃhavarman II's reign are indicated by two inscriptions as follows. From the Gadval plates² of the Western Chōlukya king Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.C., which mention Narasiṃhavarman II's father Paramēśvaravarman I, we can postulate that the former succeeded his father some time after that date. Since Vikramāditya I who ruled from 585 to 680 A.C.,³ had among his contemporaries, also Mahēndravarma II and Narasiṃhavarman I,⁴ the father and grandfather of Paramēśvaravarman I, we are justified normally in believing that Paramēśvaravarman I was quite young by this time, i.e., 674 A.C., and that he occupied the Pallava throne at least for a decade or two after this date. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, has placed the first year of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman II, the son and successor of Narasiṃhavarman II, in 728-29 A.C. with the help of a stone inscription recently discovered by him at Uchāla, near Kurnool.⁵ This is the outer limit. We may also observe that the Pallava ruler who exchanged embassies with the Chinese emperor in 720 A.C. has been identified with Narasiṃhavarman II.⁶ With these facts in view, we may examine the phenomenon of lunar eclipse which invests the above cited date with some definiteness. According to the *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, by Robert Sewall, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.C., which fall within the approximate reign-period of Narasiṃhavarman II. Of these the first two yield 690 or 691 A.C. as the first year of his reign. These perhaps would be too early, though there is no absurdity about them. Considering the long-range peaceful activities of this ruler, 720 A.C. which makes 709 A.U. his first year, may appear to be rather unsuitable. So we might pitch upon 711 A.C. as the date of our charter. This would show that his reign commenced in 700 A.C.⁷

Of more than passing interest is the description, in our epigraph, of Paramēśvaravarman I as the performer of *Āvataśṛḍha* and many other *kratus*, i.e., Vedic sacrifices. This leads us to an enquiry into the claim. Let us see how far it is justified. The Kūraṃ grant of Paramēśvaravarman I himself contains no reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice, and the other

¹ We may as well connect these three epithets with Bappa-bhattāraka. The joint association of the first two terms with the same person here is noteworthy.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

³ *Bon. Ges.*, Vol. I, part II, genealogical statement facing p. 330.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, p. 201.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 16 and 116-17.

⁷ It is interesting to note that Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao places his initial year circa 700 A.C. by approximation. *J. I. H.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201.

records of this king are also silent about it. Furthermore, it is seen that with the exception of the present charter and the Śivanvāyal inscription¹ of Simhavarman, no records of the Pallava rulers of the Simhavishnu line, including Nandivarman II and his successors, attribute the performance of horse sacrifice to any of them. If this great achievement were a fact, the ruler himself or his descendants would have legitimately taken credit for it and certainly mentioned the same in their records. We may note in this connection the performance of horse sacrifice by Pulakāśin I of the Western Chālukya family, which is often alluded to in their records.² So the truth appears to be like this. In the Hirahadagalli plates,³ Śivaskandavarman is stated to have celebrated the horse sacrifice. Here we are at the source. The later descendants of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their *prastuti* in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family. The claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse sacrifices performed. Thus we find that in the Chendalūr plates⁴ of Kumāravishnu II, Uruvupalli grant and other charters, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices. In view of these finds we are justified in making the following observation. The drafter of the Rēyūru grant, who, as shown before, was influenced by the texts of the copper plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and foisted it on the father of the ruling king, his patron, for his glorification. It would be on similar lines that we shall have to account for the characteristic attribute, 'performer of ten horse sacrifices,' ascribed to the Pallava king Simhavarman,⁵ as noticed for the first time in the Śivanvāyal inscription.

The royal order announcing the gift was addressed to the inhabitants of Rēyūru; and it was enjoined on pain of corporal punishment upon all the ministers along with their subordinate officials (*karavayuktāḥ*), all the officers of the state (*sarvaniyōgakāḥ*) and the courtiers (*vājacallabhāḥ*), that they should collect no dues whatsoever from the village, particularly while on tour (*ekachurantaḥ*). The exponent of the order was Išvara, the chief of Nandakurra, and son of Sōmāditya, who equalled Rājāditya in valour.⁶

The donor Kumāramajalārman was a resident of Kuravaṛi and he is referred to as a *Sōmapājīn*. He came from a learned family. Both his father Kumāraśarman and grandfather Kūlaśarman were proficient in two Vēdas. The latter is said to have known the essence of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. He belonged to the Rāthitara gōtra and was a student of Āpastambha sūtra. We may note here the occurrence of the expression *śōdāpīrāga* qualifying all the three members of the family. Evidently it is an abbreviation of *śōdai-vēda-pīrāga* and may be taken to be equivalent of *śōdāin*, i.e., *śōdai-vādin*.

Lastly we may consider the geographical information contained in the epigraph. The gift village Rēyūru is stated to have been situated in the Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhṭra. The prefix *mēl* in this expression is Tamil, meaning 'west.' This territorial name occurs for the first time in the present record, though Muṇḍarāśhṭra is already familiar to us through other inscriptions. Judging from its connotation, Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhṭra must have been situated to the west of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 62.

² Ibid., pp. 8, 39, 117, 128, etc.

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 235. In the Chendalūr record the adjective *śōdai* meaning 'many' qualifies the expression *śōdāpīrāga*. So also in the Vijayattī grant. In some charters, e.g., the Uruvupalli grant, this word is omitted.

⁵ The identity of this Simhavarman is problematic. Even assuming him to be Narasimhavarman I, the claim of his having performed ten horse sacrifices appears to be a conventional boast for reasons adduced above. But the claim as it is put forth is unique in the records of the Pallava house.

⁶ This Rājāditya may have been the grandfather of Išvara. I am inclined to treat the expression *Nandakurra-prinṭam* as a *Karandakurra* compound made up of *Nandakurra-śrīpa* and *Išvari*.

and adjacent to Mūṇḍarāṣṭra.¹ Mūṇḍarāṣṭra roughly comprised the major part of Kōvūru taluk and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore District, Madras State.² It would, therefore, be reasonable to surmise that Mūl-Mūṇḍarāṣṭra might have comprised mainly the area of the Ātmakūr taluk of the district, since this taluk is situated to the west of the Kōvūru taluk. This surmise is justified by the existence, in the Ātmakūr taluk, of a village named Rāvūru which may aptly be identified with the Rōyūru of the inscription.³ I am unable to identify the locality called Aśdhārāpura which was to the south of Rōyūru and presumably in its vicinity. Apparently the name has been Sanskritised and there are no means at our disposal to find out its indigenous appellation.

It is interesting to recall in this context that a village bearing the identical name Rōyūru is mentioned as the object of gift in a copper-plate record⁴ of the Eastern Chālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana II, dated 661 A.C. This Rōyūru was situated in the area of Karmarāṣṭra which comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and the southern parts of the Guntur District, extending roughly over the Ongole and Bapatla taluks.⁵ Two alternative views are possible under the circumstances. Firstly, Rōyūru of the Eastern Chālukya record might be different from its namesake of the present charter. Secondly, they might be identical. Since scarcely any village answering the name is traceable in the northern taluks of the Nellore District and the southern taluks of the Guntur District, I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. But in this case we shall have to explain the discrepancy in the geographical position of the same village in the two records which are removed by a period of about fifty years only. Here we might note it primarily that Karmarāṣṭra formed part of the Pallava dominion and that it figures often in the records of the rulers of the line.⁶ Subsequently, this tract, as indicated by the Koppāram plates,⁷ appears to have been subjugated by Pulakāṣin II and passed on to the sway of the Eastern Chālukyas,⁸ some time before 630 A.C. We are, therefore, not facing an anomaly if we surmise that a part of this Karmarāṣṭra, particularly the southern or the south-western part, was reconquered either by Narasimhavarmān II or his father Paramēśvaravarmān I, particularly taking into consideration the ineffective regime of Viṣṇuvardhana II's successor, Mahāyuvārāja.⁹ This newly conquered tract might have been constituted into a separate territorial unit and named Mūl-Mūṇḍarāṣṭra.

Nandakurra wherefrom the ājñāpti lāvāra hailed may be Nandavaram in the Udayagiri taluk of the Nellore District, which has yielded some inscriptions.¹⁰ Kuravāri where the dāmas resided must be the same as Kuravaśiri occurring in the Tanjantōṭṭam plates of the Pallava king

¹ Another instance of a similar nature denoting the western extension of an original territorial unit is Mūl-Pāṅka, nādu; see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.

² Compare above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301, and also see V. Ranganātha's *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Nellore, Nos. 505, 532, etc., containing references to Mūṇḍarāṣṭra which is a later term for Mūṇḍarāṣṭra.

³ This identification has been put forth by the late V. Prabhākara Śastry; *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, p. 250; *A. R. as S. I. Epigraphy* for 1916, part II, para. 3, p. 113.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 234; Vol. XV, pp. 261 and 262.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-58.

⁸ N. Venkatasubramanyam: *Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p. 40.

⁹ It must be admitted that no specific evidence is at our disposal at present to show that territorial expansion was accomplished by these Pallava rulers. But the fact that they were brave and indulged in aggressive warfare is proved by the historical events and the titles borne by them, such as *Rasajaya*, *Rasatra*, *Dāmasajaya*, *Aṭṭapachaya*, etc., which might not be altogether insignificant; *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 144-45; Vol. XII, pp. 10-11. Compare *Eastern Chālukyas* (op. cit.), p. 62.

¹⁰ *Topographical List*, etc. (op. cit.), Nellore, Nos. 724-29.

Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, which was also the home of more than one donee of the record.¹ The same place seems to have been alluded to as Kr̥vācī in the Satalūra plates of Guṇaga Vijaya-ditya,² after about a century and a half. One of the donees in this charter, who belonged to this place, was Nārāyaṇadārman of the Rāthitara *ghāta*. It would appear from this that this place was the resort of learned Brāhmanas for generations. It may possibly be identified with Kr̥vācī in the Sattērapalla taluk of the Guntur District.³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [i*] Śrīmat⁵ jītam[th] Bhagavatām⁶ [i*] Kāñchīpur-ādihishā(ahishā)nān-Pallavānām(m)
- Bhūradvāja-
- 2 sugōtra(trā)hām eva-vīryy-ādihigata-rājyaaya⁷ abhyarchehita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya
- 3 prajāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍukasya Madhyama-Lōkapālasya Lōkapālānām-pali⁸(ōcha)-
- 4 mayya⁹ paramabrahmā(hma)nyasya Mahārājasya (ri-Mahēndravikramavarmanaya) putrah¹⁰
- bahu-
- 5 samara-vijaya-labdhya-yatah-prakāśasya vidhi-vihita-sarva-martyyādasya sthiti-sthāsyā¹¹

Second Plate; First Side

- 6 amit-āmanā yathāvad-āhṛit-Āryamēlha-ādī-anēka-kṛatu-yājīna-satya-vratasya dharmā-
- 7 tmanā mahimapi¹² Mahēndrasya Paramēśvaravarmanaya¹³ putrah¹⁴ Bhagavad-bhakti-mad-
- bhāra-samarpi-
- 8 ta-sarva[h*]¹⁵ prajā-samrah¹⁶jana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya¹⁷-vratā(ta)-dikshita[h*]¹⁸ Ka-
- 9 lyaga-dōh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharana-mitya-sannaddhō¹⁹ anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-janita-
- vikra-
- 10 ma-vaendhā-tal-ai[h*]-ni[ka]-vira(r)²⁰ rājaraṭhi(jarati)-guga-sarva-sandōha-vijigishu[h*]²¹ para-
- mabha(bhā)gavata[h*]²² po-

¹ A. J. L., Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

² *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 113, lines 66-67.

³ There are other possibilities also, e.g., Kr̥vācī in the Kōvūr and Kandukur taluks of the Nellore District.

⁴ From the original plates and impressions.

⁵ The consonant i may be read as ri also. This word should be read either as *śrī-mat* or *śrī-matā*, preferably the former. In the former case it qualifies *Bhagavata* and in the latter *Pallavānām*.

⁶ Read *Bhagavata*. The abbreviated invocation *jīmat* *Bhagavata* is met with in the Uruvapalli and other records.

⁷ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁸ This letter is peculiar and looks like *h*. The engraver seems to have misread the wrong form of the intended *ch* as *h*.

⁹ In the Uruvapalli and Tikira grants the expression reads *Lōkapālānām paśchamasya Lōkapālasya*, whereas it is *Lōkapālānām paśchamasya* only in the Vijaya(ṭi) grant. The expressions *Madhyama-lōkapāla* and *Lōkapālānām paśchamasya* obviously refer to god Varuṇa.

¹⁰ The reading intended is perhaps *mahim-ōpanata*.

¹¹ For clarity of sense it is better to separate this compound expression.

¹² This ananāsa is placed wrongly on the *dharm* ya.

¹³ The word is *raṭhi* in the Uruvapalli grant.

¹⁴ *Sandhi* is not properly observed here.

¹⁵ This and the following two expressions may also be taken as qualifying *Bhagavata* *śaṅkṛata*, in which case we need not separate them.

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 11 ramamāhēśvara[h*] paramabrahmaṣya(gyō) Bappa-bha[?]āraka-pāda-bhakti[h*] śri-Narasim-
havarma-
12 ṇaḥ(varimā) Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhtrē¹ Asidhūrepurasy-ōttarē]² Rēyūru-nāma-grāmanam(maṣya)
grāmēyakā-
13 u-ittham-ā]nāpayati [| *] syām grāma[h*] Kuravaśri-vaṣṭha(vāṣṭa)vyasya Rāthitara-
sagōtrasya³
14 Āpastambha(ha)-sūtr-ādhyāyinaḥ⁴ dvēda-pāragasya Vēda-Vēdāmg⁵-Ētuhāsa-Purāṇa-tatva-
(itva)-vi-
15 da[h*] Kāśāśarmmaṣya(ṇaḥ) pautrīya dvi(dvā)da-pāragasya Kumāśarmmaṣa[h*]
pautrīya dvēda-pāragāya

Third Plate ; First Side

- 16 nitya-svādhyāya-niratāya Sōmayājīnē Kumāramajāśarmmaṣa⁶ aśmāka[m*] āyur-
17 bala-vijaya⁷-niśvaryy-ābhividdhaya⁸ brahmadēhi(yi)krīty-śamābhūc-iddatta[h*] pravaśid-
dhamāna-vijaya-
18 rājya-aśhvatsarē dvādaśa-varaḥ⁹ Vaiśākha-pauruṣamāsyē(syām) sōma-grahaṇa-
nimittē datta śva(itah | śva)-
19 m-avagamyō(mya)¹⁰ imā(ma)[m-s*]mātyā[h*] sarvvāḥ(rvvē) karaṇa-yuktā[h*] sarvva-
myōgākāḥ¹¹ rāja-vallabhāś-cha sañcharantāḥ(nitah)
20 sarvva-kara-parihā(rihā)rah(ran) pariharantu [| *] Imām-ājñām-atīkramōt-sa pāpāś-śārīra-
dandam-arhati [| *] ¹²Sōmaditya-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 21 aśta[h*] śrīmān-Nandakurra-nrip-Śavarah [| *] ājñāptiś-śāsanaśy-āya Rājāditya-prathā-
(tā)pavān [||1||*] Yatrā(Yad=atra)
22 bha¹³ śhataḥ¹⁴ śhūkaḥ(kāḥ) [| *] Brahma-svam(m) ¹⁵visham ghōraḥ(ran) na visham viham-
achyatō [| *] viham-śhākina(nan) hanti brahma-
23 svam(m) putra-pautri(tra)kam [||3||*] Svadattām(m) paradattām vā ¹⁶yō harētī(ta) vasu-
dharām [| *] śhushpi¹⁷-va-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.² The danda is superfluous.³ This ashiṭra is placed wrongly on the following aśhara y.⁴ There is some confusion here. If the aśhara mgt is treated as a case of sandhi, then the following initial should be deleted.⁵ This and the following verses are in the Anuṣṭup metre.⁶ The form of this letter is queer. It is neither bā nor ma. It is clear that the engraver wanted to make a bā.⁷ Read śhamati.⁸ Insert ā before this word to make the pāda metrically correct.⁹ The subscript 7 of this aśhara looks like the subscript dh or n. Compare, for instance, aśha in line 23 and in the following line.

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ii, a.

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ii, b.

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iii, a.

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 24 ಸ್ವತಃಪ್ರಿಯಾಸ್ತುಕಞ್ಜಃ ಸ್ವತಃಪ್ರಿಯಾಸ್ತುಕಞ್ಜಃ ಸ್ವತಃಪ್ರಿಯಾಸ್ತುಕಞ್ಜಃ ಸ್ವತಃಪ್ರಿಯಾಸ್ತುಕಞ್ಜಃ
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Seal



(From a photograph)

- 24 *śāha-sahasrāṇi* |¹ *viśṣa-(ahā)yaś(yān)* |² *jāyatī* *krimī* { || 3 || * } *Bahubhīr-vvasudhā*
dattā |³ *bahubhī-*
 25 *ś-ch-ānupālita(tā)* | *yasya* *yasya* *yathā*⁴ *bhūmi(h)* |⁵ *tasya* *tasya* *iathā*⁶ *phalam* || 4 || *

No. 12—BILAI GARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRATAPAMALLA ; YEAR 969

(1 Plate)

L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH, AND P. B. DESAI, QOYAMUND

The credit of the discovery of this copper plate document, the existence of which was known as early as 1940, goes to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosala Historical Society. It was in the possession of Dewan Harilal Singh, Zamindar of Bilai Garh¹ in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Through the kindness of Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, it was obtained on loan from the owner and sent to the then Government Epigraphist for India, for examination, in November 1942. Subsequently, at the advice of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who accorded his kind permission and other facilities, Mr. Desai, a member of his office, was also provided with an opportunity of studying the epigraph. Thus as a result of joint co-operation the inscription is edited here for the first time.

It is a set of two copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The plates measure roughly from 10 to 10½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth. A hole with a diameter of about half an inch is bored towards the centre of the top of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and a margin of about an inch is left out towards the left. The size of the letters on the first plate is bigger than that on the second, the average being roughly ½ and ¼ of an inch respectively. As a result of this the first plate has accommodated 16 lines and the second 22 lines. The seal is circular measuring about 2½ inches in diameter. It is partly damaged and obliterated towards the left. Its upper portion contains crudely carved figures of a seated goddess, viz., Lakshmi, in the middle and two elephants with jars in their upturned trunks on either side. In the lower portion is incised the figure of a dagger placed across pointing towards the right. In the intervening space is engraved in Nāgari characters the partly damaged legend *Śrī (Śrī) Pratāpamalladeva*. In respect of this seal and many other points which will be discussed presently, the present plates bear close resemblance with the Pāṇḍrābandh plates of the same king, already published in this journal.*

¹ The *śāha* is superfluous.

² The subscript *f* of this *śāha* looks like the subscript *dh* or *ṣ*. Compare, for instance, *ndhā* in line 23 and *reva* in the following line.

³ The words *yadā* and *iddā* are more commonly read for *yathā* and *itthā* of this verse.

⁴ This punctuation in the original is made up of a spiral followed by a wavy line.

⁵ This is the first set of Bilai Garh plates. According to the official sources, the plates were originally unearthed while ploughing his field by one Bāmnāth, son of Gōpi Kāra, a resident of the village Paont, about 3 miles from Bilai Garh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilai Garh, who passed them on to his master. The information gathered by Mr. Pandeya reveals that two more sets of copper plates were discovered in the village Paont in September 1940. One of these, which fell into the hands of a *śiddhā*, was subsequently recovered by the said Zamindar. This set was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1945. This is styled the second set of Bilai Garh plates for the convenience of description. It belongs to Prithivideva II and is dated 890 of the Chāli era. The second set from Bilai Garh is being published in this journal. These plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

* Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

and calculating with 247-48 A.C. as the starting point of the era, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in 1218 A.C., corresponding to July 9, Monday. This appears to be the date of the record. We may, however, note that the lunar eclipse took place also on the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha in 1219 A.C., corresponding to June 29, Saturday. The present charter is dated four years later than the Pāṇḍrābandh epigraph, thus extending the muga period of Pratiṭhāpamalla up to 1218 A.C.

Before we proceed to other details, it seems necessary to examine a few facts connected with the history of these Kalachuris, not adequately noticed by scholars. One is the place allotted to Prithivīdeva III in the genealogical account of the family. In his *Dynastic History of Northern India* Dr. H. C. Ray postulates that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Prithivīdeva III. The only basis for this assumption is the Ratanpur inscription.² In this record three generations of kings are mentioned, viz., Jājalladēva, his son who might be Ratnadēva who defeated Chōdagaṅga, and his son Prithivīdeva. The characteristic achievement of vanquishing Chōdagaṅga is attributed in all the records of the family to Ratnadēva II, father of Prithivīdeva II. From this it becomes explicit that Prithivīdeva of the Ratanpur record is identical with Prithivīdeva II and that no grounds exist for the assumption of a Prithivīdeva III. The subsequent history of the family as known from other epigraphs,³ reveals that Prithivīdeva II was followed by his younger son Jājalladēva II. After a short while the rulership passed on to Jājalladēva II's elder brother Jagaddēva. The latter was in turn succeeded by Ratnadēva III and grandson Pratāpamalla. Thus we are justified in discountenancing the existence of Prithivīdeva III.

Dr. Ray tries to support the above view of his by saying that the date of the Ratanpur inscription agrees with the ascription of the epigraph to Prithvīdēva III. This argument is fallacious; for, the date which is taken to be Vikrama Samvat 1247, as read by its editor, the late Dr. Kielhorn, is itself doubtful and his observations* on the same reveal that the record might have been originally dated in the Chōḍī era, the first digit of which was 9. As a good number of inscriptions of Prithvīdēva II with dates ranging from the Chōḍī year 900 to 915, has been discovered,* there should be no difficulty in assigning the Ratanpur epigraph to his reign. Another consideration that has obviously persuaded Dr. Ray to assign the Ratanpur record to Prithvīdēva III, is the chronological position of its composer. This was Dēvagana¹, son of Ratnasinha and grandson of Mānī. Now it might be that this name Ratnasinha was the composer of the Malhar inscription¹ of Jājalladēva II dated 919 of the Chōḍī era. Ascription of the Ratanpur inscription to Prithvīdēva II would lead to the result that whereas Dēvagana, the son, drafted the record of the king who was the father, Ratnasinha, his father, composed the charter of the king who was the son. This superficial anomaly can be explained away by pointing out that there exists a difference of only four years between the

¹ Vol. II (1926), pp. 813-14. The same view appears to have been held by other scholars also, though not without dissidence; compare Bhattacharya's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 421 and the genealogical statement on p. 303. It must, however, be noted that in his article on the 'History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kossia,' Mr. Anandamurti Ghosh has shown that Prithivīdeva of the Ratnapur inscription was Prithivīdeva II, and not Prithivīdeva III, *Largo Paśāñjali*, pp. 274-75.

* *Ateneo*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff.

¹ Ibid., p. 40; Vol. XXI, p. 702, etc.

* *Plant.*, Vol. I, p. 46, n. 41.

* *Reinholdskan*, *Linn.*, Nov. 1834, 1870, etc.

* We may incidentally note the title *Rajavamsaka* of Devagana's son, Jagdishnath, above, Vol. I, p. 51. This is influenced by Kannada. A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that a good many titles of similar origin from Karnataka were adopted and exhibited by distinguished persons in other parts of India.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 29-ff.

last known dates of Prithvirāja II and his son Jājalladēva II, viz., K. 915 and 919, and that there would be no absurdity in surmising that both Dēvagana and his father Ratnasīnha lived up to an advanced age and composed the two records removed by a brief interval of time.

In his recent study of the inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris or the Kalachuris of Karpātaka, rather inappropriately described as the Kalachurys of Kalyāṇi by the late Dr. Fleet, Mr. Desai has been able to detect a large number of affinities¹ that go to establish closer ties among the southern and the northern branches of the Kalachuri stock. An inscription from Harasūr attributes lunar descent to the Kalachuris of Karpātaka and this claim is supported by further epigraphical evidence.² Among the northern Kalachuris, those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur trace their descent from the moon.³ In glaring contrast with this comes the statement⁴ in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which commence with an invocation to the sun god who is represented as the originator of the family. It is interesting to note that solar descent is also mentioned in some inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris.⁵ Some of their records⁶ open with an invocation to the sun god on the analogy of the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It has to be observed further that the Śaivite traditions of the northern families, particularly those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur, such as intensive devotion to the god Śiva and adoption of his vehicle Nandi as their royal emblem,⁷ were preserved intact in the southern family as well.⁸ An inscription from Chadachaga⁹ in the Bijapur District, dated 1057 A.C., introduces Bijjala I, the grandfather of Jōgama, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sāmśvara I, and as bearing the significant title *Dahala-bhāṇḡa* (ornament of the Dahala country).

The donor Haridāsa belonged to a learned and respectable family. His father was Divōdāsa, son of Bhṛigu-Paṇḍita. These belonged to the Sāmukṣita *gōtra*, having the *prastaras* Sāmukṣita, Āṅgiraśa and Vāchaspatya. After the statement of the gift in verse 19, a renowned teacher of Śaivite persuasion, named Imāśiva, is eulogised in the next verse. The position held by this divine in the transaction is not made clear. It is likely that he was the royal preceptor and spiritual guide and introduced here at the behest of the king. Verse 30 contains a description of Pratirāja of the Gaṇḍa lineage, who wrote the record on the copper plates with clear letters out of natural devotion for the Brāhmanas. This Pratirāja is identical with the scribe of the Pōṇḍrābandh plates wherein he is characterised as the light of the Record Office. The gift village Sīralā may possibly be indentified with Siroli in the Janjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.

¹ Fleet has alluded to only two links, viz., the title *Kālāchuraparivardhātman* and reference to the Dahala country in a Harhar inscription; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 409.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25, n. 2; *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, p. 107.

⁴ It is shown that there is no real contradiction in the divergent claims of lunar and solar descents by the two groups of the same family and that they can be easily reconciled; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, n. 2.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448. Compare the allusion to the solar lineage of Bijjala (I) in a Sūkhara inscription; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 178.

⁶ Two inscriptions, one from Mutligi and another from Igaḷḍivar in the Bijapur District; Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 104 of 1930-30 and No. 11 of 1930-31.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, p. 305; Vol. VII, p. 85; Vol. XII, p. 205; *Dynamic Hist. of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 742.

⁸ The theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala II is now thoroughly explained and it is shown on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence that all the members of the Southern Kalachuri family were staunchly Śaivite in their persuasion. This and other topics briefly referred to above and in the article 'Harasūr Inscription of King Sōma' (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 23 ff.), have been elaborately discussed in his lectures on the Southern Kalachuris delivered by Mr. Desai in February 1961 at the Kannada Research Institute, Dharmwar. These lectures are published in the *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 102 ff.

⁹ B. K. coll., No. 17 of 1937-38.

TEXT

[Metres: Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-29 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 5, 14 *Upajāti*; vv. 3, 12 *Sragdhārā*; vv. 4, 6, 30 *Vasantatīkā*; v. 8 *Mālinī*; vv. 10, 17 *Śikharīṇī*; vv. 13, 18, 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्¹ [॥²] ॐ इ(व)ह्यगे नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं
परमकारणं³(णम्) । भावचाह्व(हं) परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्(द्र)ह्यगे
नमः ॥ १ ॥
- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरमंब(व)स्य ज्योतिः स पूषा⁴ पु(रु)षः पुराणः । अथास्य⁵ पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्-
-
- 3 वि कर्त्तुं(त्तं)वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्माच्छ्र(च्छ)क्रातिकीर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हेह्या
ने(नै)कसा(शः) को जाताः⁶ प्रत्य-
- 4 र्थं(वि)पृथ्वीपतिकरिह्र[यो] मामांशे कल्पवृक्षाः । तद्वसा(स्या)स्त्वे(स्वे)-
दिदेसे(शे) कलचुरिरिति च स्या(स्या)तिमीयुलं⁷(लं)रे-
- 5 द्राः(द्रा) या(जा)तः कोकलदेवो नृपतिरिरिकुलश्चाभुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥
अष्टादशा(शा)रिक्किरुभ⁸-
- 6 विभग्न(ङ्ग)सिन्धवाः(हा) पुत्रा व(व)भूवुरतिसौ(जौ)यंपरास्व(स्व) तस्य ।
तत्राग्नजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आसीतास्वै(स्वै) च मंड-
- 7 लपती(ती)न्म चकार व(व)धून् ॥४॥ तेषां(पा)मनूज⁹स्तु कलिगराजः
प्रतापवज्जिह्वा(पिता)स्त्रिराजः । या(जा)तान्व-
- 8 ये दुष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाभोरुहपावर्णेन्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोज्ज्वलि रत्न(ल)-
राजो विश्वो(स्वो)पका-

¹ From the original plates and inked impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ There appears to be an insertion on this letter; but this and a few other dots elsewhere have to be ignored, as they are apparently due to the defect in the metal.

⁴ This *ru* is not properly engraved; it may be compared with other *ru*s in the inscription, e.g., lines 9 and 11.

⁵ There is a scored-out sign for radical *i* before the letter *ya*.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous. By inserting this punctuation mark, the scribe possibly means that the first quarter of the verse ended with the word *jāhā*. This is wrong, as it ends with *ka*.

⁷ This is clearly *lu*; compare *lu* of *Kāśikā* in l. 5. The intended *śabara* was perhaps *ra* which is however wrong for *ra*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 4, n. 2.

⁸ The word *śabara* is followed by the two scored-out syllables *ra* and *ka*.

⁹ The form *anūja* is wrongly used for *anūja* for the sake of metre.

- 9 रकरणाज्जितपु¹ष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हुगुगनिम्मितविक्रमेण² नीतं अस-
(यश)स्त्रि[भु]वने विनिहत्य त(श)-
- 10 वृत् ॥६॥ [पु]ष्योदेवोभवत्तस्मात्(पु)पः सा(शा)ईलविक्रमः । तस्यदर्पण-
संक्रान्तनम[द्रु]पालमंडलः ॥७॥
- 11 अथ रुचिररुचिस्त्री(श्री)रास(श)मः³ सत्कलानामनुपहितकलकोजपैमृतिः सुवृत्तः ।
सकलगु-
- 12 णसमूर्हाः*] [श्री]मतस्तस्य मूनुविधुरिव मुकृतानां धाम जाग्रत्तदेवः ॥८॥ रत्त-
(त्त)देवो[ऽ*]भवत्तस्मादभूतो-
- 13 पमविक्रमः । ज(य)स्वो(श्चो)डगङ्गगोकर्णां युधि चक्रे पराडमुखौ ॥९॥
ततो[ऽ*]भूदासीमस(क्षि)तिवज्रयवि-
- 14 क्त(क्रान्त)महिमा हिमानीवत्का⁴तैयं(स्तंजं)गदपि असो(यशो)भिद्वंद्वलयन(न्) ।
रणे क्रुद्धा(ड)देवि(पि)डिपदलनदीशा-
- 15 हरिसमः सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः ॥ [१०] ॥ प्रचंडाखंडभूपाल-
- 16 युष(ड)कंडूति[सं](खं)वनः । जगद्देवोभवत्तस्मात्(पु)पः [सा(शा)ई]लविक्रमः
॥ ११ ॥ तत्पुत्रस्त्रि(दिव)वकीर्तिः सकलकलचुरि-

Second Plate

- 17 द्माभुजां भूव(प)णस्त्रीः(श्री) [स्त्री(श्री)]मानुत्फुल्लत(म)ल्लीनिकरनिभ-
जसो(यशो)रासि(शि)मिव्याप्तविस्वः(श्वः) । आसीदासीमभू-
- 18 मी⁵वलयपरिवृडप्रौढदोःका(का)इलीप्रानिद्र(डू)तासे(शे)षवैरिक्षितपतिति(नि)वहा(हो)
[भूपती रत्नराजः] ॥१२॥
- 19 पुत्रस्तस्य यसोद्वि(शोब्धि)लोललहरीनिर्दूतदिग्मंडलो मूर्त्या निज्जितमन्मथ[⁶]
समभवत् स्त्री(श्री)मत्प्रतापो नृपः । भूपा-

* This letter is not clear on the impression. The plate is slightly damaged at this spot.

* This *donde* is superfluous.

* Better read *dirupah* for *dirupah*.

* The formation of the letter *lā* is not normal.

* The word *lāma* generally ends in short *i*. The long *i* is necessitated here evidently for the sake of metre.

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 20 साल्लं(णं) वसो(शो) षण्णे मुनिरसो इमापालचूडामणिर्दीप्ते व[दि]जने
द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्ताव(म)णिः ॥१३॥
- 21 मत्या महत्या महतीं महोसः(शः) प्रतापमल्लो जगडे(दे)कमलः [1]
पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(व)लेन वा(वा)लोपि व(व)लि-
- 22 द्वितीयः ॥१४॥ प्रवरैः सांकृताङ्गिरस[वाच]स्पत्यसंज्ञकैः [1*] संयुते सांकृतगोत्रे
पंडितो भृगुसा(सं)ज्ञकः ॥१५॥ व(व)-
- 23 भूव सु(श्रु)तिसंपन्नः 1 पुराणस्मृतिसा(शा)स्त्रवित् [1*] आचारमार्गनिरतः
प्रियवाक् साधुस(सं)मतः ॥१६॥* समुद्धूतस्तस्मा-
- 24 ऋक्षवर्धर इव भीरुजलधः(धेः) दिवोदासः पुत्रः श(स)कलगुणविज्ञाननिपुणः [1*]
सदामात्यो(न्यो) विप्रेः ज(प्रजै)नतयनका-
- 25 भं(नं)दजनकः स्फुरकी(त्की)तिलो(र्लो)के सकलनरपैः पूज्यचरणः ॥१६(१७)॥
तत्पुत्रो हरिदास उत्तममतिर्मान्यः सदा-
- 26 प्ल(म)घणी[:*] सन्मार्गं(र्मं)करतो विवेकवसतिः वि(तिर्बि)प्रेषु चूडामणिः
[1*] सा(शा)स्त्रार्थसु(श्रु)तिघर्मनित्यनिरतो घर्म्मै(र्मै)कदु(दु)धिः(दिः)
सदा
- 27 लोकानां प्रियदर्शनो निश्चिंतवीः प्राप्तः³ प्रतिष्टो(ष्टो)दयः ॥१७(१८)॥ तस्मै
प्रतापदेवेत(न) राजा संकल्पपूर्व(र्व)कः [1*] प्रदत्तः
- 28 सिरलाग्राम प्रा(आ)षाढी(ढी)सोमपर्वणि ॥१८(१९)॥ शैवाचार्यसि-
(शि)रोमणिः कलियुगे दानैकचिन्तामणिः मा(णिर्म)णिके(क्ये)स्व(स्व)रपाद-
- 29 प[च]मधुपः प्राज्ञो विवेकारणिः [1*] अज्ञानांधन्त(त)भोविनाशतरणिः नू(णिर्नू)नं
गुणानां खनिः 1 हन्त(न्ते)ज्ञानशिवो विवेक-
- 30 वसतिवि(वि)दत्स(त्सु) चूडामणिः ॥१९(२०)॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च⁴
गजास्व(स्व)वरवाहनं(नम्) [1*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गै[:*]
पुरंदर ॥२०(२१)॥

¹ This *daḍḍa* is superfluous.

² This *va* is redundant. Read *va-ekāntadharma* etc.

³ The *viṣṇu* after *prāpta* is redundant. Read *prāpta-pratishṭhā-bhagavān*.

- 31 व(व)हुमिन्व(व्व)सुधा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः । यस्व यस्य यदा
भूमिं त(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२१(२२)॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति
[] यस्तु(स्व)भू-
- 32 मीं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उता(भौ) द्वौ पुण्यकर्म्मार्णौ नियतो(तं) इव(स्व)मै-
गामितौ ॥२२(२३)॥ पू(यै)(व्व)दत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यन्ना(त्ना)द्रक्ष पुरंदर-
(र ।) म(ही)(ही)
- 33 महीभृतां सेष्टः(षेष्ट) दाना[च्छे]पो हि पालनम(म्) ॥२३(२४)॥ स्वदत्ता
परदत्ता^२ वा यो(यो) हरे[द्र](त व)सु(सु)धरां(राम्) [।*] स विष्टा(ष्टा)यां
कृमिर्भूत्वा पितु-
- 34 निः सह मज्जति ॥[*]२४(२५)॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण बाजपेयस(श)[ते]न च ।
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सू(शु)ध्यति ॥२५(२६)॥ यष्टि-
- 35 ययंसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भू(भू)मिदः । अगृह्णाता(ता) वानुमन्ता च तान्वेव
मरके वसेत(त्) ॥२६(२७)॥ [द्र]ष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव यत्किञ्चित ध(विद)-
- 36 संसंचितं^३(तम्) । अढींगुलेन सीमाया(या) हरणेन प्रणश्य(श्य)ति ॥२७(२८)॥
यथाणु^४(सु) पतितं स(श)क [ते]लवि(वि)द्वि(वि)सर्पति । प(ए)वं
भूमिकृतं दानं स-
- 37 स्य(स्ये) सस्य(स्ये) । प्ररोहति ॥२८(२९)॥ स्वच्छास(श)यः परहिताशंपरः कुलि-
(ली)नो गौडान्वयोचितगुणैर्विदितो यथार्थम् । तावत्^५ द्विजा-
- 38 तिचरणेषु निसर्गमकृत्वा व्यक्ताक्षरैर्लिखितवान(न्) प(अ)तिराजस(सं)शः
॥२९(३०)॥ संवत् १६११ [।*]

^१ This group is engraved above the line.

^२ This *da* is a correction from *daa*.

^३ These four letters and the *da* as well as the latter *da* at the end of the foregoing line appear in the margin. Apparently they were first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who later discovered the omission and made it good.

^४ Or perhaps the original has correctly *ya*, the upward stroke of the medial *a* merging into the left hand downward stroke of *a*.

^५ This is obviously meant to be *da* *da*, being the incorrect form often met with in inscriptions.

No. 13—SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, Ootacamund, and K. B. TRIPATHI, Cuttack

Amongst the tracts where the NIA dialects are spoken, Orissa offers a unique opportunity to the students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. Numerous are the epigraphic records left by the rulers of Orissa who flourished before the Muhammadan conquest of the country about the middle of the sixteenth century. Distinct traces of the influence of the Oriya language and orthography are noticed in such early inscriptions as the Madras Museum plates¹ of the time of Nararendradhavalā,² which are written in quasi-Sanskrit and are assignable to the tenth century A.C., while epigraphs written in the Oriya language are found in fairly large numbers since the fourteenth century. Although Orissan inscriptions of the age of the imperial Gāṅgas, whether their language is Sanskrit or Oriya, were usually written in the Gāṅgiya (the so-called proto-Bengali) script, which is the mother of the Oriya alphabet, we have, from the fourteenth century, epigraphs showing fairly developed characteristics of the Oriya script. Unfortunately medieval Orissan records, written in the Oriya language and alphabet, have been very rarely published with facsimiles and accurate transcripts. In the editor's preface to the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, 1925, H. Krishna Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, observes, "Of these last (i.e., the Oriya records transcribed in the volume, Nos. 1006, 1119, 1152 and 1161), the texts given have to be considered as tentative since there are no published inscriptions in this language and script to afford comparison and since scholars capable of handling them are also few." Of course, some early Oriya inscriptions were published by M. M. Chakravarti without facsimiles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part I, 1893, pp. 50 ff.; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 149 ff. Another Oriya inscription from Bhubaneswar was published with Plate in the same journal in 1924 (pp. 41 ff.) by G. Sircar; but the characters of this record are early Bengali. The Balasore copper axe-head inscription of the Śūryavardhā monarch Parushottama (circa 1470-96 A.C.) published by Beames in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1872, p. 235, and by E. A. Gait in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 363, is the only early inscription written in the Oriya language and alphabet, of which both a facsimile and an accurate transcript are available to the students of Oriya palaeography and linguistics. Krishna Sastri's remarks about the paucity of satisfactorily edited early Oriya inscriptions remain substantially true even today. The transcripts of the large number of Oriya records since published without facsimiles in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, 1928, are by no means remarkable for their accuracy. No apology is therefore needed for editing in the following pages an interesting inscription of the fourteenth century, which is written in the Oriya language and alphabet and is one of the earliest of such records so far discovered.

The village of **Siddheswar** lies in the vicinity of Jajpur (ancient Virajā-tīrtha) on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District of Orissa. The name of the locality is derived from that of the deity Siddheshvara (Śiva in the Līṅga form) whose temple is the only attraction in the area. There is a stone *epiśa-stambha* standing in the courtyard of the said temple, although the figure of the bull is missing. The pillar bears an inscription, the preservation of which is unfortunately not quite satisfactory. The record is engraved around a section of the pillar, which is tapering upwards. It occupies a space about 54 inches at the top and 63 inches at the bottom in length and 7 inches at the left end and 6 inches at the right in breadth. The writing is

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.

² [In deference to the authors' wishes, macron over *a* and *e* is not used at all in this article, as in Oriya, these vowels, say the authors, are often short.—Ed.]

divided into two parts by a vertical line, the space occupied by the portions at the left and right being respectively $37'' \times 7''$ and $17'' \times 6''$. There are five lines of inscription in both the parts, the first line of the smaller portion at the right being a continuation of the last line of the bigger part at the left. Individual aksharas are between $\frac{1}{2}''$ and $1''$ in height. Of the two parts of the inscription, the preservation of the bigger one, which is more important, is fortunately not quite unsatisfactory; but a piece of stone has broken away from the middle of the second part together with a number of letters from all the five lines of writing. The first line of this part, with the exception of three aksharas at the beginning, is broken away, while the gap caused by the break in the other lines of writing is between $4''$ and $8''$ in length. This has rendered the decipherment and interpretation of the latter part of the record extremely difficult.

The inscription is written in **early Oriya characters** which may be compared with those employed in the Balasore copper-plate inscription of a later date, referred to above. Of initial vowels, the inscription under review employs *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Of these, *i* is of the Gaudīya type, while *a* (pronounced in Oriya and some other East Indian dialects as *o* in English *pot* and often confused with *e*) and *ā* are of the modern Oriya type. The medial *ā*-stroke is short and joined to the top curve of the consonants. The medial signs of *i* and *u* are sometimes not easily distinguishable. *K* is without its vertical stroke as in the modern Karagī variety of the Oriya alphabet.¹ The same is the case sometimes with *e* which is invariably pronounced as *h* in Oriya and other East Indian dialects. *T* and *t* are of the Bengali type, while *s* closely resembles the Telugu form of the letter. In some cases, there is little difference between *g* and *ḡ* and, in a few cases, *m* also has a similar shape. *R* has more than one form. Sometimes it resembles *cā*; but often its tail, which developed out of the protuberance of the lower slanting line of Gaudīya *r*, is joined with its top curve (put at the right side in a few cases; cf. *vāre* in line 1) as in modern Oriya. The form of the akshara *ra* is interesting. *H* resembles the same letter as found in other Orissan epigraphs including the Bhubaneswar inscription (in early Bengali characters) referred to above. The akshara *h* in *arāhi* (line 1) has, however, a cursive form noticed in some records including the said Bhubaneswar inscription. In modern Oriya, dental *l* is distinguished from retroflex *ḷ* (derived from the sign of *ḷ* in Gaudīya) by a diacritical mark. It is possible that this distinguishing diacritical mark has been used in our inscription in a few cases (cf. *ḷ* in *mudula* in line 3); but the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the epigraph renders it difficult to be definite on this point. The numerals 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8 have been used in the inscription. The figure for 1 shows its Telugu form, while 2, 3, etc., are of the Bengali type. A peculiar Oriya method has been followed in *pa 50 sa* in line 4 to indicate *pañchāśa 50*.

The language of the inscription is Oriya. An interesting orthographical feature is the almost universal use of the dental sibilant in accordance with the peculiarity of Oriya pronunciation. Noteworthy are also the expressions *narasimha* for Sanskrit *narasimha*, *vāre-vāre* for *vijaya-vāre*, *samant* for *samant* (*samantāntar*), *kṛṣṇa* for *kṛṣṇa*, *chaturdāśa* for *chaturdāś*, *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāśaka* for *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāśaka*, *māhāsāmpati* for *mahāsāmpati*, *sandhivāra* for *sandhivāra* (*sandhivāra*), *kāṣṭha-kṛṣṇa* for *kāṣṭha-kṛṣṇa*, *veharāsa* for *vyatāhara*, *vāre* for *vāre*, *paridāraṇa* for *paridāraṇa*, *jīvata* for *jīvata*, *asa* for *āyasa*, *siddhāra* for *siddhāra*, etc. Similar expressions are also noticed in numerous other early Oriya inscriptions.

The date of the record is given in line 1 as *samant* 19 *vāre* *Kāṣṭha-kṛṣṇa* 14 *Chandra-vāre*, i.e., Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Kāṣṭha (solar Bhādrapada) in the Aṅka year 19 of king Narasimha. The mention of *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāśaka* Viśvanātha-mahāsāmpati as an officer of the king, as will be seen below, shows that he is none other than the imperial Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV who began to rule about 1378 A.C. The expression *vāre*, used in the date, is believed to be a corruption of Sanskrit *varādi*-Prakrit *varādi* meaning "in the year"

¹ See J.B.O.R., Vol. X, Plate XIII following p. 170.

and here refers to the peculiar Anka reckoning connected with the medieval rulers of Orissa. Omitting, according to rule, the years 1, 6 and 16, the 19th Anka year of Gaṅga Narasimha IV would indicate his 16th regnal year corresponding to circa 1394 A.C. The details of the date suggest Monday, the 27th July, 1394 A.C., to be the actual date of the document.

The inscription records the grant of part of a village called Bhainigrāma which was situated in the Rañga *viśaya* or district. The revenue-income (*jita*) of the land was 50 *māḍhas* probably of silver. The said district formed a part of Pūrvadik-Daṇḍapāṭa, i.e., the eastern administrative unit. The governor of this Daṇḍapāṭa (*daṇḍa-parīkṣā*) was Nandikeśvara-sādhavigrahika who was subordinate to a higher officer, Śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka (designation of the chief officer in charge of the records department) Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati. Viśvanātha was the *chaturdeś daṇḍa-parīkṣā*, i.e., the governor-general of four Daṇḍapāṭas in the east, west, north and south in a particular area of the Gaṅga kingdom. The same officer is no doubt mentioned as *Purī-trikarāṇa* Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati in the second set (VI A, line 24 ; VI B, lines 3-4, 12) of the two Puri plates of Narasimha IV.¹ A Siṃhachalam inscription of Śaka 1313 (1391 A.C.)² mentions Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati as the *Śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka* of Vārāṇasi-kataka, i.e., modern Cuttack, which was the capital of the later imperial Gaṅgas.

The grant is said to have been made with the consent of all the administrative officers including the *paśūta*, *mudula*, *kośtha-karṇa* and *bhāga-taka* of the Daṇḍapāṭa in question and was exempted from the payment of all taxes (*amḍāna*) including *chora*, *pāukā*, *pāikā*, *bheja*, *rodā* and *paridar-kāṇā*. The word *paśūta* is derived from Sanskrit *paśūta* which is used in the form *paśūta* or *paśū-tanā* in Gujarati in the sense of "land separated for the maintenance of the village-artisans or for religious and charitable purposes". The official designations *paśūta* or *parasta* and *mahā-paśūta* are also found in other Oriya inscriptions.³ *Mudula* is the same as modern Oriya *muduli* indicating a class of servants of the god Jagannātha conceived as an emperor.⁴ *Kośtha-karṇa* seems to indicate officials of the revenue department called *Kośtha-cyāpāra* in the Puri Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.⁵ The expression *bhāga-taka* may be the same as *bhāga-bhuj* found in the Kanak plate of Lokavigrha.⁶ Among the taxes mentioned in the list of exemptions, *chora* is apparently the same as *daṇḍoṣi-chora*, i.e., the watchman-tax, mentioned in a Jagannath temple inscription.⁷ *Pāukā* may be modern Oriya *pūsari* and may have been a tax on the money realised by the creditors from the debtors. *Pāikā* is apparently the same as *padāijāya* of other inscriptions⁸ and *pāikāli* of modern Oriya. It was probably a tax levied for the maintenance of the clubmen. *Bheja* means a periodical or occasional offering of money and *rodā* (the same as modern Oriya *rodā*) a similar offering of uncooked food. *Paridar-kāṇā*, as the name implies, was a supervision-tax, although its real nature is uncertain.

The purpose of the grant was apparently the long life (cf. *āma* . . . for Sanskrit *āyushkāmā*) the in line 6) of king Narasimha IV. Owing to the damaged condition of the second part of the record under review, the names of the donee and the donor are not easy to determine. But it is permissible

¹ JASS, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 151-152; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.

² SIJ, Vol. VI, No. 301.

³ See SIJ, Vol. VI, No. 94, lines 4 and 5; No. 1153, line 4; cf. the Oriya family-name *Paśūpata* or *Paśūta*.

⁴ According to the *Pūrvachandra-Bāṭhāloka*, the duty of the *Mudula* is to stamp a seal on the books of the deans of the Puri temple.

⁵ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 306.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329, 331.

⁷ JASS, 1893, Part I, p. 91. *Chori* as the name of a tax or duty occurs in the *Mahāli Padāp* (cf. Mahanta's *Prachīnapadāp-pady-adarśa*, p. 5, last line). On the realisation of *padāp* that was lent out, together with the stipulated interest in grain, the lender offers a quantity of *padāp* to the village deity. This offering is called *chori* in some parts of Orissa even today.

⁸ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 540-41. JBORS, Vol. XVII, p. 17.

to think that the grant was made in favour of the god Siddheśvara in whose temple the record is found. Line 8 of our inscription reads the name Siddhesvara (Siddheśvara) at the beginning and 'aku data (i.e., 'given to...') after a big gap. It seems therefore that the grant was made by a person named Siddheśvara. It is interesting to note in this connection that an officer of the Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV is actually known to have been *Pātra Siddheśvara-Jenā* mentioned in the Puri plates B (Plate VI A, line 23). The extant medial *e*-mark after *Siddhesvara* in line 8 of the inscription may suggest the title of nobility or family name *Jenā* (originally meaning "a prince"). Thus it is possible to think that *Pātra Siddheśvara-Jenā*, an officer of Gaṅga Narasimha IV, installed a Śiva-liṅga named after himself and granted part of a village in favour of the deity for the longevity of his master.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription, viz., the village of Bhaṅgrāma and the district of Rāṅga, the intended reading for which may be *Rāvaṅga*. The name of the district reminds us that of the *Rāvaṅga viśaya* mentioned in the Puri plates¹ of Bhānu II and the *Rāmaṅga viśaya* mentioned in the Alagum inscription² of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga. The village of Alagum about ten miles from Sakshigopal in the Puri District was situated in the *Rāmaṅga viśaya*. It is not impossible that *Rāvaṅga*, *Rāmaṅga* and *Raṅga* (or *Rāṅga*) are variant forms of the name of one and the same district.

TEXT³

Part I

- 1 [Vira]-śrī-Narasīṅgha[ś]va[ś]ka v[ī]e-rū[ī]e samantā 19 [ś]rī[ī]hi Kakuṣā-kishpa 14 Cha[n]dra-vāre
- 2 chatur-dige[ga]-daṇḍa-parikṣa śrī[ī]kra[va*]-pa[ś]āṇaka Vi[ś]va[ś]anātha-māhāsenāp[ī]ś[ī]kra daṇḍa-parikṣā [pu*][riva]-diga-daṇḍa-
- 3 pā[ś]a[va*]ru Nandikesvara-anantagrā[ś]kra v[ī]e[ś]haraṇe e-daṇḍapā[ś]ara p[ā]ś[ī]ś[ī]ta muduli koṭṭakrapa [bhā]ga-loka
- 4 samasta-veloṭṭaṇa-anumate Raṅga-v[ī]e[ś] Bhaṅgrāma-grāma jita mā[ś]ha pa 50 sakra [bhā]ga[ka] dāna
- 5 [ś]hore pū[ś]kā pū[ś]kā bh[ī]ṣā voṣā paridarsanā jīvata avadāna mīti-kara[ś]i Vira-śrī-[Na]-rasīṅghadeva-

Part II

- 6 ākra śa[ś]ka[mūrā]be}.....
- 7 ti pa}....., 11 pa 1
- 8 Ś[ī]dhe[ś]vara-[Jenā]}..... āk[u]ṣ data pa 2
- 9 mā[ś]ha du [2]}.....
- 10 droho [ka*]rāi }....., [ra]śi [ī]*

¹ There are numerous other cases of naming a deity after the person responsible for its installation. See above, 3 Vol. XXVIII, p. 182.

² *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 74.

³ Above, p. 42.

⁴ From impressions. The inscription was copied by Sircar in January 1950.

⁵ The name of the deity seems to have occupied the space before this dative suffix.

SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19
 Part I
 Left side



Right side



SCALE: ONE-THIRD

Part II



No. 14—SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA : SAKA 615

(I Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

These copperplates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1949 from Mr. N. W. Samudra, B.A., LL.B. of Akola, Madhya Pradesh, to whom the plates have since been returned. They were reported to have been discovered at Sangalooda (Sanglud), District Akola. The charter consists of three plates held together by a ring with a seal containing the legend *Śrī-Judihāsura* and an emblem which looks like a flying *garuḍa*. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side only, the second being written on both sides. The plates together with the ring weigh 60½ tolas. The record is registered as C. P. No. 59 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1949-50. A brief notice of the inscription has already been made by Prof. Mirashi.¹ I edit the record here with the kind permission accorded by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved in characters belonging to the southern class of alphabets. They bear close resemblance to those in which the Aṣṭanēri Plate of Tōjavarman² and the Ellōrā Plates of Dantidurga³ are written. In general appearance, style of engraving and palaeographical features, the script of our record falls in the same category as that of some Kalachuri, Chālukya and early Rāshtrakūṭa records of Mahārāshṭra and Gujaraṭ, viz., the Sarnayī Plates of Buddhārāja,⁴ the Ābhōṇa Plates of Saṅkaragana,⁵ the Nausāri Plates of Śrīyāsraya-Śilāditya,⁶ the Nirpaṇ Plates of Nāgavardhana,⁷ the Sañjān Plates of Buddhavarasa,⁸ the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya-Mahāgama,⁹ and the Antōli-Chhārōli Plates of Karka II : Śaka 679.¹⁰ Some common characteristics of this group of inscriptions are the following. The characters employed in them are round in execution and show a tendency to cursive writing especially in the engraving of the letters *a*, *ṣa*, *ḡ*, *r* and *l*. In the marking of medial *i* and *ū*, *ṛ* and *ṛi*, and in the invariable use of the looped *a* and the unlooped *i* they are all alike. The palaeography of our record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 7th century A. C.

The alphabet of the inscription calls for the following remarks. Instances of initial vowels, *ā* (line 6), *u* (lines 21 and 22) and *ṛ* (line 23) occur in it. *R*, initial, is exactly of the same form as that in the Ellōrā plates of Dantidurga.¹¹ In the marking of some medial vowels peculiarities are found. Thus, medial *i* is indicated by a vertical stroke within the loop marking the short *i*, e.g., *ai* in line 21. Medial *ū* is indicated by two separate strokes as in *ku* in line 2. But the same sign is marked in the two different ways even though attached to the same consonant : e.g. *pū* in lines 23 and 24. The *jīvaṃmālīya* which is exactly like *ma* is found in *kāṇṭak-kā* (line 8), *vaṭṭak-kā* (line 9), *kāṇṭak-kā* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dāya* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dāya* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dāya* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dāya* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dāya* (line 9) and *paṭṭak-kā* (line 11). The *daṇḍas* are marked for the full verse only and not for the halves.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 4, 7 and n.² Ibid., Vol. XXV, plate facing page 230.³ Ibid., plate facing page 29.⁴ Ibid., Vol. VI, plate facing page 290.⁵ Ibid., Vol. IX, plate facing page 296.⁶ Ibid., Vol. VIII, plate facing page 232.⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, plate facing page 124.⁸ Above, Vol. XIV, plates facing pp. 160-51.⁹ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, plates facing pp. 20-21.¹⁰ JBRS, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 106.¹¹ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 20, text-line 10.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Portions of the text are in verses of which there are only two, both in the *Sāṁdārikīṇḍa* metre. The rest of the inscription is in prose. The usual imprecatory verses are conspicuous by their absence but a passage in prose occurring towards the end (lines 26-28) contains the imprecation against violators of the charity.

The phraseology of the record deserves particular mention. The inscription opens with the usual *śasti* and the mention of the place of issue, viz., Padmanagara. In certain portions the phraseology of the record is exactly the same as that found in some early Kaṭachchuri records, viz., the Ābhūpa Plates of Saṅkaragana : K. year 347¹ and the Sareavṇi Plates of Buddhārāja : K. year 361.² For instance, the passage *ūṁṁṁ-āhita-takti-siddhi* describing Svāmīkarāja in our charter (line 7) is found in both the records cited above where it is applied to Kaṭachchuri Kṛṣṇarāja. Again the sentence *yai-cha rakhṛaya-vīśāha-lōhād-īṁ sakalair-vāhigāmāṁsair-īvarāḥ-cha gupāir-upātāh* (lines 11-12) eulogising Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura of the present charter is traceable in the above records also where again the same Kṛṣṇarāja is eulogised thereby.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the composer of our inscription drew inspiration from the earlier Kaṭachchuri models much in the same way as the writers of Gurjara grants in the time of Dadda Prāsāntarāja drew upon the same Kaṭachchuri records.³ Whether this fact by itself could be taken to indicate some political connection between the early members of the Rāshtrakūṭa family figuring in our grant and the Kaṭachchuris is more than what can be said at present.

The orthography of our inscription shows some noteworthy features. *N* is used for *ṇ* in *ṇṇa* (lines 1 and 24). The same consonant *n* takes the place of an *anuvāsa* in *padarīṇ-vigāhṇa* (line 4). A redundant *ś* occurs in *śaśhṛaya* (line 11). *V* is used for *ḍ* in *śamanuśhṛaya* (line 15). Mistakes like *bhūmichchidra* (line 23) for *bhūmichchidra*, *pañchadaśa-vārāhṇa* (line 29) for *pañchadaśa-vārāhṇa* and *paṇṇṇamāyāṁ* (line 30) for *paṇṇamāyāṁ* occur in the inscription. In some cases the consonant after the *vāḥ* is duplicated.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Nannarāja who bears the surname Yuddhāsura which is engraved on the seal of the plates. It is issued by him from Padmanagara. Nannarāja's genealogy is described as follows : in the Rāshtrakūṭa family was born Durgarāja whose son was Gōvīndarāja to whom was born Svāmīkarāja. The son of Svāmīkarāja was Nannarāja who was endowed with innumerable virtues and who was a *Parambrahmanya* and a *Parambhāgavata*.

The object of the charter is to register the gift made by Nannarāja of lands in the villages of *Umbārikā-grāma* and *Vajrapuraka-grāma*, to the *Brāhmaṇa* Haragana-divīdin, son of Bhūtagana-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Varmanika-chaturvīdin, in order to secure religious merit for himself and his parents. The donee is further described as a resident of Tagara, as belonging to *Vā* (or *Mā*)ruja *gōtra*, *Kanṇika* *pravara* and *Taṭṭirīya* *śhera* and as *Anāśrit-śanasattra-pradāya*.⁴ The boundaries of the land granted in Umbārikā are stated as follows : on the south it was bounded by the boundary of *Vaivadraka*, on the north by *Tati*- or *Tilāngichchhi-Bhaṭāraka* (temple), on the east by the boundary of *Nāgaya* and on the west by *Uchchh(chh)vāhalā*.

The gift is stated to have been made with libation of water on the day of *Kārtika-Pūrṇimā* and the date of the record quoted at the end mentions the same day in the Śaka year 615 which is expressed in words.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 297, text-lines 5-6.

² Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 297, text-lines 4-5 and 6-7.

³ Ibid., p. 296.

⁴ The compound *Anāśrit-śanasattra* may be understood as 'an *śanasattra* which was un-hindered' or, the *śanasattra* was named after a person who had the *śivada*, *Anāśrita*. See below.

The chief Nannarāja who issued the present charter from Padmanagara is already known to us from two other inscriptions both belonging to his reign and in which the same genealogy is prefaced to his name. These are the Multai Plates¹ and the Tiwarkhed Plates.² The former is dated Śaka Śaivrat 631, expressed in words, and it records the gift made by Nannarāja of the village of Jalankuhs situated to the west of Kīrībhivattāra, to the north of Pipparikā, to the east of Jalukā and to the south of Arjunagrāma. None of these villages has been located yet. The place from which the charter was issued is not specified. But the findspot of the record is known to be Multai in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh which lies about a hundred miles northeast of Akōla, the locality in which the Sangalooda Plates were found. The other inscription, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, discovered near Multai, records another grant by the same king Nannarāja, of some land in the village of Tivēśābhēta, i.e., modern Tiwarkhed, on the south bank of Anivē-viśā. The date of this record is given both in words and numerals as 553 of the Śaka era and the place of issue of the charter was Achalapura, i.e. Kilichpur, 50 miles north of Akōla.

Although the chiefs mentioned in the three charters are the same and the texts of the inscriptions up to the donative portion are identical except for slight variations here and there, and some omissions in one of them, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, some remarkable differences do exist in other respects between our inscription and the other two. In the first place the latter two are engraved in the angular northern characters while the present Sangalooda Plates are incised in the rounded southern characters. Again, there is great difference in the dates quoted in the three records although they purport to have been issued by the same king. In the Tiwarkhed Plates the Śaka year 553 is given as the date of that charter while our grant and the Multai Plates are dated in Śaka 616 and 631 respectively. Obviously the Tiwarkhed Plates must be understood to quote a wrong date, since in other respects also, besides the disparity of over sixty to eighty years in date between that and the others, this charter is faulty and contains large omissions in the textual portion which in the other two is complete and identically worded. These and other defects in the Tiwarkhed Plates, as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,³ cast some doubts on their genuineness.

The difference in the script of our record as compared with the other two is indeed noteworthy. That in the same region two different scripts were employed and that by the same king must be considered to hold some particular significance, the nature of which it is difficult to establish although similar instances are known.⁴ There are indications afforded by the present charter to

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff. and plates.

² *Above*, Vol. XI, pp. 175 ff. and plate.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

⁴ We have inscriptions of the Telugu Chōla chief Puyyakumāra coming from the same locality, some of which are engraved in the Telugu-Kannada script of the Chālukya variety and some others in the Pallava-Grantha characters, e.g., his Tippalūr inscription is in the Pallava-Grantha script (*above*, Vol. XXVII, p. 221 and plate) while his Rāmāśvaram Pillar inscription is in the Telugu-Kannada script of the Chālukya style (*above*, Vol. XXVII, p. 234 and plate). It is well known that this chief was a feudatory alternately of the Pallavas and the Chālukyas (*above*, Vol. XXVII, p. 231).

Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the enigma presented by some charters of the Balliśāhara king Mādhavarman; the characters of each of which are so dissimilar to those of the others, thus presenting a palaeographical 'incongruity'. While two of his charters, viz., the Ganjam Plates (*above*, Vol. VI, p. 144 and plate) and the Cuttack Museum Plates (*above*, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 and pl.) are in one style, his other two records, viz., the Buguda Plates (*above*, Vol. VII, p. 100 and pl.) and the Puri Plates (*above*, Vol. XXIII, p. 122 and pl.) are engraved in quite a different script and style. The late Mr. N. Q. Majumdar tried to give some explanation of the enigma presented by these charters (*above*, Vol. XXIV, p. 160).

The two records of Dantidurga, viz., the Ellōra Plates and the Sāmangal Plates may also be cited as other instances in point. The former which is in southern characters like some Chālukya records of Gajapati was issued by the chief whom he was still a feudatory of the W. Chālukyas (*above*, Vol. XXV, pp. 26-7) while the latter which are in northern characters were issued by him as an independent sovereign. Although the genuineness of the latter has been called in question yet one cannot set aside the inscription altogether and for our purpose we are concerned with the script of the record (*see above*, Vol. XXV, p. 26).

the effect that the issuer was not a paramount ruler but one enjoying only a small status. This becomes evident from the fact that no titles of independent rulership like *Mahārāja* much less those of supreme lordship like *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Paramahastāraka* are attached to the names of any one of these Rāshtrakūta chiefs from the time of the first member of the line, viz., Durgarāja. The recently discovered Nagardhan Plates of Svāmīrāja,¹ an earlier member of this line, also show that the issuer of that charter, Svāmīrāja likewise does not assume any titles of independent rulership but actually describes himself as *Bhattāraka-pādānuddhyātā* i.e., devoted to the feet of his lord (*Bhattāraka*). To whom then were Nannarāja and his ancestors of the present charter subordinate? Prof. Mirashi² expressed the view that they were at first vassals of the Kalachuris and later, of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who displaced the Kalachuris, and that Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan Plates was a Kalachuri vassal to start with. He also adopted the view, subject to revision, that Gōvinda, the adversary of Pulakēśin II mentioned in the Aihole inscription (634-5 A.C.), was to be identified with Gōvindarāja, the grandfather of Nannarāja and that the Chālukya emperor reduced these Rāshtrakūta chiefs to vassalage after his subjugation of Kalachuri Buddharāja and his acquisition of the Three Mahārāshtrakas. In my opinion these conclusions can for the most part be sustained as shown below.

It is not improbable that Gōvindarāja was a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in or before 634-5 A.C. For, the earliest date for his grandson Nannarāja provided by the present record from Sangalooda is Śaka 613, i.e., 693 A.C. and as the latest date afforded for him by the Multai record is Śaka 631, i.e., 709 A.C. it is not unlikely that he started his reign earlier and that he succeeded his father even before 693 A.C., say about 680 A.C. Assuming further that his father Svāmīrāja had the usual reign of 25 years, i.e., from 655 to 680 A.C., the date assignable on the same reckoning of 25 years' rule to Gōvindarāja would be 630-655 A.C. Thus he could have been a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in 634-5 A.C. Besides the reference to Gōvindarāja in the Aihole *prashasti* there is another piece of evidence suggesting some Chālukya association with this Rāshtrakūta family. Pulakēśin II is described as *Nāgavardhana-pādānuddhyātā* in one of the records of his collateral ruling in the Nasik District.³ This Nāgavardhana is believed to have been some preceptor of Pulakēśin II. Whether it was the name of his preceptor or favourite deity, what is worthy of note in this connection is that Nāgardhan or Nāgavardhana was the findspot of the grant of Svāmīrāja and this place might have been named after a deity or a person called Nāgavardhana to whom Pulakēśin II was devoted. If this surmise is proved correct by more substantial evidence, it may just be possible that Pulakēśin II, in the course of his campaign upto the Rēvā and the Vindhyas,⁴ passed through Nāgardhan, the capital of these Rāshtrakūta chiefs and subdued them in the time of Gōvindarāja, sometime before 634-5 A.C. Since then the family might be supposed to have continued to be Chālukya vassals upto the time of the present charter, the script of which as noticed already, bears such close resemblance to some Chālukya records of the period, particularly the Nannāri Plates of Yuvarāja Śrīśāraya-Śūāditya⁵, the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa,⁶ and the Añjaneri Plate of Tejavarman of the Hariśchandra family.⁷ Besides, there is yet one more indication in the present grant to connect these chiefs with the Chālukyas politically. The donee of the charter is called *Anieśrīte annavatra-pradāya*. It is well known

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Nirpan Plates of Nāgavardhana: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124. Few doubt the genuineness of the grant (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 358, n. 1). See, however, above, Vol. XXV, p. 228.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 10.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, plate facing pp. 30-1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV pp. 227, 228 & 229; plate.

- 34 [य]सताय [१^{*}] [य]द्वर्तुनीरोगतनुः बह्वर्भिविबी(व)र्जितो वाक्यमतः किमप्यत् ॥३३॥ तता(तो)
नरोद्रेण अतुवंशीदिने सुशर्मण(णा) नम^१तुता-
- 35 व्यकर्मणः । प्रकल्पित] [सु]वरप(सप्त)सागरदानस्य वादावधिवान्नं मुद्रा ॥३४॥ चित्रं
वितान(नं) चपला[:^{*}] पात(पता)काः सुपल्लवाचं(वचं)-
- 36 वनमालिकावच । सत्सर्वतोभद्रकरातकल्पो विनिर्मिता न(मं)दपयुग्ममध्यं ॥३५॥ कृत्वाचंन
मंडपयुग्ममध्यं भुवो हरेर्विजनपते-
- 37 वच वास्तोः । पुरोहितादेवैरणं नरैश्च अतिवगणस्याप्यकरोत्कमेण ॥३६॥ ततश्चतुर्विंश(सु)
च मंडपद्वये कोनेषु पीठेषु सप्तस्तवैव-
- 38 ताः । अभ्यर्च्य वास्तुप्रभूतीन्प्रहादिकान्वेषां च देवान्प्रविभाति भूपतिः ॥३७॥ ततो-
भवत्सं(मं)दपयुग्ममध्यं होमे परा अस्तिवज्र
- 39 वसमास्ते । श्रीवेदपाठेषु जपे(पे)षु सर्वकिमानु सक्ता नृपत(तेः) सुखाय ॥३८॥ ततः
शिवायः शिविका(का)तरस्थितः शिवप्रसादात्]
- 40 शिविरं प्रति प्रभुः । अकल्पये(यद्) ह्य(वादि ?)मं(ग)तिं गतक(क)मः स चाधर-
क्ष(क्ष)प्रभराविक(कं)भूतः ॥३९॥ अ(श्री)राजवीरः शिविरं प्रविश्य सुख(सं)
- 41 कलाधारविधिं प्रकल्प्य च । जलाशयोत्तमविधेरुपस्करं कर्तुं समजापयद(दे)व मानुषान् ॥४०॥

Slab XVIII ; Canto XVII

[Metres : vv. 1, 5-8, 11-14, 21-23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 38 Upajātī ; v. 2 Indravajrā ; v. 3 Upajātī
of Upēndravajrā, Indravajrā and Vamāsthambila ; vv. 4, 32 Drutavilambita ; vv. 9, 16, 17, 20, 24,
25 Upajātī of Vamāsthambila and Indravajrā ; vv. 10, 23 Indravajrā ; vv. 15, 18, 30, 31, 34,
Anuṣṭupb ; vv. 19, 41, 42 Sārdūlavikrīṣita ; v. 28 Prāthmī ; vv. 36, 39 Upēndravajrā ; v. 40
Māhīnī.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः^१ । सप्तवज्रसर्पौ निव्यते । धानंरुपूर्यः किल पूर्विसाया(या)
पूर्येदुवक्त्रो नृपराजसिंहः । राजीसमेतः सपुरो-
- 2 हितो वामवज्रव(वि)ष्टः शुभमंडपेस्मिन् ॥१॥ आश्रया विजोयो^२ अरिसिंहनाम्ना पुत्रेण युक्तो
जयसिंहनाम्ना । सद्भूमिसिंहे-
- 3 न सुतेन सक्तः पुत्रेण राजी गजसिंहनाम्ना ॥२॥ सुत(ते)न वा सूरजसिंहनाम्ना
तपेजसिंहनाभिचमूना च । सुतेन युक्त-

^१ Meaning 'gold'.

^२ Śaṅkṛī is not observed here.

- 4 वच म्हावहुरसिह्नेन राखम्पणैरुपेतः ॥३॥ अमरसिंहमुभानिधुपौत्रवानजम(व)सिंहमुकोसम-
पौत्रयुक् । प्रियम्-
- 5 ना(नो)हरसिंहसमन्वितः प्रविलसद्गुलसिंहविद्योन्नितः ॥४॥ सुतेन युक्तोपि मरायणादिवासेन
योयैः कुलठक्करंश्च । म्हा-
- 6 मुरोभोरणखोबरयादिकैश्च औपुवरन(म)किमुख्यैः ॥५॥ चिराजितो मंडपमण्यवैरो पूर्णाहुतिं
पूर्णमनाः प्रकल्प्य । जमाशया(मी)-
- 7 त्सर्गविधिं च तुर्यं स पूर्णमेवं कृतशान्तरैः ॥६॥ समस्तजीवावमितृप्तये चै वला-
शयोत्सर्गमयं विधाय । मत्वा जगन्जीवनमेत-
- 8 वस्य मुज(जी)वनं राखमणिर्बिभाति ॥७॥ यथा द्वितीयो हृपमेवकर्त्ता सत्तेतुजसा(र्ता)
भुवि राममहः । बुधिष्ठिरो वा कृतराजमुप-
- 9 त्सर्गं राखामणिरप(व) भाति ॥८॥ ततः सुवर्माद्भुतसप्तसागरद्वामोत्पन्नसन्मंडपमण्य उत्तमे ।
ओराजसिंहः परिवारसंयुतः प(प्र)-
- 10 विष्ट एवातिविशिष्टविष्टयुक् ॥९॥ शास्त्रैरितं कांचनसप(स्त)रा(त्ता)गरदानस्य [पूर्वा]हुति-
पूर्वकानि(नि) चै । कर्माणि कृत्वा किम निमंलो-
- 11 समस्तार्वा(स्वा)तः सुवर्माविषयन्यवैभवः ॥१०॥ सप्तैव कुंडानि च कांचनेन विनिर्मिता-
न्य(स्य)बु(बु)धिरूपकानि(नि) स(सं)स्थापितान्यद्यत एव ताः¹
- 12 नि सोपस्व(स्व)राणि कमता(ती) वराणि ॥११॥ व(व)ह्यप्रयुक्तं सप्तैव पु(पु)र्णं कुंडं
तमेकं सपयः सकृष्ण(वर्ण) [1*] परं धृताखं(धृताख्यं) समहेडमन्वत् तत्रापरं सु-
- 13 वंयुतं ग(गु)णय(द्वयं) ॥१२॥ वस्त्रातिषय(स्य) समहेडमन्वत्पर(र) रमायुक्(व) घृतशर्करं
च [1*] गोरीयुतं वा परमं(व)युक्तं सज्येति कुंडाति(नि) मय(वे)रितानि ॥१३॥
- 14 एतानि सर्वाणि स वस्तुकाति(नि) दत्ते(स्वै)व राज्ञीमहितो गृहीत्वा [1*] धन्याशिषी
धीरपुरीहितोक्तान्मुनिवग्गता² जयति क्षितीशः ॥१४॥
- 15 मा(म)हादान(न) स दत्त्वा(स्वा)यं राजसि(सि)ंहो महोपतिः [1*] सप्तसागरपर्यंतं भाति
कोर्ति(र्ति) प्रकाशयन् ॥१५॥ 'ज्जसाशय'स्या³गविषी समस्तस-
- 16 ज्जसाशयि-यागविधिमयेत्यलं । कार्या(र्वी) हि मत्वा शुभसप्तसागरदानं कृत(तं) दानिवरेण
युक्ता ॥१६॥ पं(पं)चेषु दृष्टं किम सप्तसा-

¹ This anagrade sign is not necessary.

² Read 'sac-pitapadā'.

³ These two anagrade signs are unnecessary.

⁴ There is a superfluous anagrade over this letter.

- 17 गरुडानं तदापिककुतो स्फुरत्पद्मः [१^{*}] स्वकस्मिताम्यमिबतस्तप्तसागरवान(ने)न बाष्टा^१दुषियो-
मयधृपः ॥१७॥ पा(रा)नीपा^२डाबसं(सि)हो^३वं जि-
- 18 त्वा जै(यं) सप्तसागरान् [१^{*}] साम्महावानविधिता द्विजेभ्यः प्रददौ मुवा ॥१८॥
जो(ज्यो)तिर्विस्मृतमेकतो जलधयः षट्(ष्ट)भापकेतर्भुव[^४] आरावि-
- 19 त्सं वा मते जलधयः सप्तैकतो वायनेः [१^{*}] नम्ये राजतनुं एष तर(वि)र्धं स्पष्टीकृतं
तत्र तद्गानोसर्गविधानयोर्मम मत(तं) तत्सत्यमेव द्रुवं ॥१९॥
- 20 इत्याकरेणैव विधितुं वादधानस्य पोषं तनुते यथा प्रभुः^४ । तवाकरोत्काचनसपु(स्त)-
सागरवान(ने)न वं वादध^४वह्निपोषण(नं) ॥२०॥ ततस्तु-
- 21 तामंरुपसंप्रविष्टः श्रीराजसिंहः परिवारयुक्तः । गुलाप्रयुक्तं सकल(नं) विधान(नं) प्रकल्प्य
पु(पु)र्णाहुतिमत्र कृत्वा ॥२१॥
- 22 गुलाह(कृत्वा)वंदस्वहरो मुशालग्रामं करे इष्टिममं निधाय । स्पृष्टावुषः शुक्लपदः नितलम्
भूतस्फुरन्पो(स्तो)म १^२ विचि-
- 23 भवाक्यः ॥२२॥ भूतभूतिर्वं(वं)ह्यपरायणश्च तता(तो)तुलां हेमतुलामनल्पां । मुवा समाह्वय
नृपोषवद्वा दिव्याः स्वरासीः प्रति
- 24 दानश्रीः ॥२३॥ सुवर्णमुद्रापरिपु(पु)रिता[^४] शुभाः सप्त(सा)नयत्वेव जयेन कोमलीः^३ [१^{*}]
तानिर्भृतास्ता व(व)ह्नास्तुलापुटे परा[^४] समानेतुमिमा-
- 25 स्ततो गता[^४] ॥२४॥ अथांतर(रे) बाण्यवद्वारायवो न्य(न्यु)नं सुवर्ण(नं) यदि वा
मय(वै)तवा [१^{*}] सप्तस्वधो सागर एव उत्तम आनीयतामाग(शु) सुवर्ण(नं)नि-
- 26 र्मितः[^४] ॥२५॥ गरीय(व)वासाक्यपुरोहितेन तदोक्त(क्त)मेवं नृपतिं प्रतीति [१^{*}] अपेक्षितेकाय
हि सागरस्य द्रुक्ता नृपेवो समता त(तु)लायाः ॥२६॥
- 27 एताव(दु)वं काव्यमहो सुनम्य(व्यं) पुत्रो(रो)धनोक्तं किल भुव्यप्रम्य(व्यं) । श्रुत्वा नृपालोमवदेव
तुष्टः स्मेरामनो दानिगमे विशिष्टः ॥२७॥ विपुक्(व्)-
- 28 नयसहस्त(ज)कप्रमिततोलकप्रोत्पलसत्सुवर्णपरिपु(रिता) [कि]ल त(पु)ला(ता) सुवर्णोद्भवा । विधाय
पुनह(ह्)तवजि(रिक्त)तिलने महा-
- 29 दानसहिमानकृतिपुर्वक(कं) जयति राजसिंहो नृपः । ॥२८॥ समसदेवावलिशोभ(नि)तेवं दिक्पाल-
वालाकपितासिपुत्रया । व-

^१ The word *edgata* is used here in the sense of *brāhmaṇa*.

^२ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

^३ This is perhaps a local term, meaning 'bag'.

- 30 सं सुवर्णसि(सु)सुवर्णपूर्णं ह्रींसी तुला मेरुनिभा विभक्ता(ति) ॥२६॥ सुवर्णसुतुलं प्राप्य
प्रस्तत्पागी स उच्यते । अतो तद्वर्णं सुवर्ण-
- 31 सुवर्णसुतुलपोषितं ॥३०॥ उपै(चैः) स्थितं नृप(पं) बीज्य जाता सत्वागसुंदरी [१*]
सुवर्णपूर्ण(र्णा) विभक्ता सु(कु)लस्त्रीय तुल(नो)चितं ॥३१॥ धन[रति]हनु-
- 32 न(भा)निधनमूर्तं सुभगपीडकरं मधुरोषि(सि?)कं । कनकका(क)ततुलास्मितमादरात्समस्तनोमृपतिः
प्रियतामयः ॥३२॥ एव(वं) तुला[दान]वि-
- 33 वि(विं) प्रकल्पा(स्त्र्या)भवत्कृतायो नृपराजसिंहः धि(अ?)नं तुल(ला) सधेदु(दु)धैः स[दु*]मतो
विविधमजास्ति सु(दु)धोवित्तमध्ये ॥३३॥ न ममेति त्यागवा-
- 34 का(स्या)द्वाने जाने तथेरितात् [१*] कर्मज्ञानोद्भवमुलं राजसि(सिं)ह त्वयावितं ॥३४॥
जलाशयोत्सर्गमुत्पत्तमागरवाजस्फुरत्स्व-
- 35 संतुलाभिधानकं । कर्मवय(वं) विमित्तवाग्देववरः ।^१ पापवयं हर्तं(त्सु)मिहेति कारणात्^२
॥३५॥ त्रया(यो)महाव(त)क(कं)स[न]-
- 36 अकल्हते तु लोकत्रयतुष्टिसुष्टयै । सुभगपीडितविकारघातं विमूर्तिमद्वदन्^३समर्पणाय ॥३६॥
युगम(मं) [१]
- 37 त्रिभिर्मलैरेनिरचास्व जा(जा)तं शतादयमेवीपकृतं हि मध्ये । तद्विद्वताकुडरणी(णी)वता तत्
धीराजसिंहस्य वि-
- 38 भाति भज्या ॥३७॥ धामी(क)*धर्मान(दानं) (स)* गजराजिदानं ह्यालिदानं अ(काटनो)*रणी-
प्रदान(नं) । गोबु(दु)वदान(नं) नृपतिः प्रक-
- 39 [स्य] नाताविध(वं) दानमवातिनु(काटनो)*ष्टा(ष्टः) ॥३८॥ तुमाहते मेक(र)रहो गृहीतस्त्वया ।^४
यदा देव तदेव जातः । स शंकरः
- 40 श्रीवर इव(एव) इ(इं)दो हिरण्यगर्भद्वय कवि(सवार)*स्वकप[ः] ॥३९॥ द्विजपतिगुह(व)-
भास्वग्नोदवा स्वर्णपूर्णं विविधवि-
- 41 सु(दु)धतेवान(वं)दपादं(वं)राभा । विगधिपकृतशोभासिद्धमधर्वगीताग्रमवज(नु)लतुला ते मे(मे)क(र)रेव
द्वितीयः ॥४०॥

* This stanza is unnecessary.

^२ The last letter, i.e., an, is superfluous.

^३ Perhaps we have to read tri-mūrtimad-brāhma.

^४ The letters in brackets are to be omitted.

- 42 आर्षोद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोद्भासामर्षस्ततः सत्सर्ववत्(श्च)रकः कठोरी(वि)कुलको सध्या-
विनायस्तुतः ॥४१॥¹
- 43 तेत(व)गोस्य त(तु) रामचंद्र इति वा कुणोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रा(वो)मूग्मधु(सु)वनश्च
इमे बह्वेधाविष्णुपत्ता[ः*] ॥४२(४१)॥ यस्य(स्या)मीग्मधु-
- 44 सुयसं(नस्तु) जलको वेणी च मोस्वामितामूग्माता रणक्षीर ऐ(ए)[व*] कृतवाद्यानप्रशस्वाह्वयं ।
काठय(व्य) राणगुणोपघर्जन-
- 45 मयं धीरा(रा)क(क)[युक्तं महत्*]² पूर्णः सप्तवयोत्र तमं उवगाहागर्वसर्गमुदः ॥४३॥³

Slab XIX ; Canto XVIII

[Measures : vv. 1, 2, 32, 39, 40 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 6-8, 11, 13-15, 17 *Upajāti* ; v. 4 *Indra-
vajrā* ; vv. 5, 9, 10, 12, 19-21 *Upajāti* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthābilā* ; v. 16 *Indravamśā* ; v. 18
Upajāti of *Indravamśā*, *Vamśasthābilā* and *Upāndravajrā* ; vv. 22-31, 33, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭup* ; vv. 34,
35 *Brāghdarā* ; v. 36 *Mālinī*.]

१८^३

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(मः) । घांसो विष्यगुडोत[वत्ति]रयत्त[ः*] तालोल घालीवको मभे(ज्ज्)रोपि
धनेरियो धनमयो भादौविका[मा]-
- 2 वदो । मवे(वे)रो शुभ[कृत्] वरोल उवित[ः*] श्रीमानसानो पुनर्भावी द्वावशतंयया
परिमितान्धामानिमानेकदा ॥१॥ श्रीमद्वा-
- 3 जसमुदतुंदरतरोत्सर्वेग्रहारीकृतान् श्रीराजामभिराजसिंहनुपतिधंयः पुरोचोविधि । वि(वि)भ्राणाय
गरीव(व)दासवि-
- 4 जत्[प्रा]प्ते मुया इतवात्तर्वाभ्यश्वराय सर्वविषये चित्तानु[स]धानिने ॥२॥ गरीव(व)-
दासकम्प(पु)रोहिताय धामानि-
- 5 मान्वाद्यसंमिर्तस्त(स्तु) [१*] इत्वा(त्वा) वदो [त्रा]हणमंशलाय धामान्वरी मूरिहृतप्रमाणा(वो)
॥३॥ द(व)ह्यापणं कर्म समस्ते(स्त)मेत-
- 6 त्त्र(द्)ह्यग्यदेवः परिकल्प(स्व) नूनं । गृह्णन् [वि]जेभ्यः भूतिनिर्भितावी⁴ [सर्वो ज]-
पत्येष म[हो] महोदः ॥४॥ क्वर्ति मेधा व(व)हवो मुहुः श-

¹ This numbering is wrong. We should have here a simple *śloka*, marking the first half of the verse.

² The words *gukhaṣṭaṣṭa* are supplied from v. 39 of the canto XIX.

³ This figure 18 is written on the top of the slab and refers to the serial number of the canto.

⁴ This should be corrected into 'विश्वः'.

- 7 नैः(नै)विनेत्र [ते^१]वानुमितं यदघतः । इन्द्रोत्सवं ते हरिरेव तार्थकं कर्तुं सहस्रं स्वदुर्गा
समागतः ॥१४॥ यत्पीर्णमास्यां कृत-
- 8 वासरोदः कर्मयन् तेन तु पूर्णि^२माषा । अयं चंद्रः परिपूर्णकालिः(ति)स्तथा
प्रपूर्णातिवर्षिभूषः^३ स्यात् ॥१५॥ मनोरथः पु-
- 9 अंतमोत्सव भूयात्फलं तथा स्यात्परिपूर्णमेव ।^४ पूर्णं प्र(प)रं व(व)ष्टु तयातिदुष्टं
प्रभोदसंपूर्णतमो नृपोस्तु ॥१६॥ निर्वर्त्य सर्वं स्वतु-
- 10 जाविधानं पूर्णाहतिपां(प्रो)तमन्त्यमिता । तुलाविष्टातुलपट्टराज्ञी जलं च सीभाम्यसुपुष्पपुर्णा ॥१७॥
सुवर्णवर्णं(र्ष) जित-
- 11 वत्सलं तथा यशोविशेषेण च राजती रजि । श्रीपट्टराज्ञी किल जेतुमुद्यताऽनुला-
करोदुप्यमयी तुला ततः ॥१८॥ तिष्ठ(निर्भ)त्वं^४
- 12 सीमं सकलं तुलाविधि(वि) पूर्णाहतिप्रांतमन्तमोदयुक् । मरीच(व)वासाद्यपुरोहितस्तथा सुवर्णपूर्णं
कृतवान्महातुला
- 13 ॥१९॥ ततः प्रसन्नो रणक्षोडरागनामानमात्र(रभ)प्रियमान्म(त्स)जं सः ।^५ धारोप्य कप्या-
तिमलवृ(त्तु)लाभां प्रमोदः(र)पुर्णं(र्षो)भवदेव पुर्णं ॥२०॥
- 14 सर्वेषु धर्मेषु यतः सुवर्णवान्मु(वास्तु)ला(ला) सुवर्णप्रचुरा ततोतमोत् । कप्याभकीति-
म्बु(म्बु)रितेन राजत(ती) तुलां तथाकारयदेव नूनना
- 15 ॥२१॥ तीक्ष्णचित्ते श्रीमृतरायसिंहभूपस्य माता(ता) रजतेन पु(पु)र्णं(र्षा) । तुलामनुत्थाम-
करोदुवापो(ल्ल)सम्भवा धर्मधरंधरामृत
- 16 ॥२२॥ बो(बो)हागवर्गस्तु सन्वृवरिस्वः स कैतरीसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः । रावततुला
कप्यमयी विधाय धर्मोभवदधर्ममयो विशु-
- 17 ङः ॥२३॥ स वासरो वा(वा)रहटः प्रसिद्धः सत्कैतरीसिंह इति प्रपु(पु)र्णा । कप्येन
कप्याभयः प्रकाशं कुर्वस्तुला तामकरो-
- 18 दुवारः ॥२४॥ अग्नि(स्मि)न्विने राजसमुद्रनामकः प्रीक्षतस्तद्वानो निरिर्मदिरं महत् । प्रीक्षं
नरेद्रेण च राजमंदिरं राजा-
- 19 विशां^६ नगर(र) पुरं तथा ॥२५॥ अथान व(व)ले तु सहस्रनेत्रमानसंपत्तिविराजमानः ।
धीराभसिंहो व(व)लिकर्णमो-

^१ The engraver's sign is superfluous.

^२ Before स्यात् there is again a superfluous engraver's sign.

^३ This depth is engraved above the line.

^४ This engraver's sign is also superfluous.

20. लक्ष्मीविजयार्कोपमदानिधीरः ॥१७॥ पूर्वैरितान्धान्यधराधरोस्तान्स्वाग्रजोता(शंका)नपि शकंराज्ञीन् । पु-
 21. शक्तिशंकादिकरवंतंश्च ददौ द्विजाभिभ्य इहागतेभ्यः ॥१८॥ ततो गिरीशमभवत्त्व(स्व)लक्ष्यता
 चित्रं हि तेषां(षा)-
 22. मभवज्जनुः पुनः । अनीय धान्यादि मुकापंकुज्जनैः कृतं कृतापैरिह सेवया प्रभोः ॥१९॥
 नैतावुशं जन्म
 23. मवाप्यलक्ष्यता¹ ईवगिरीशमभवज्जनुः पुनः । एते स्थिता एव तु पाचकाकलेर्गृह्यजे मित्र
 न चित्रमत्र
 24. तत् ॥२०॥ अनीतस्त्वे सद्रूपतवागिकाः पुनः(न)र्मुहुः कृता[*] कार्यकरंमंहाजनैः [†*]
 मृदुर्मृदुस्ता रिरिचुर्न चित्रता
 25. पानीयवाप्यो रिरिचुस्तद्वज्रुतं ॥२१॥ अस्य श्रीप्रेक्षितोकीस्तिविषयात्तांशमृतो ह्यव(यं) ।
 ईप्रप्रेक्षेतोपनवधीशानांशाधिकत्ववान् ॥२२॥
 26. ततो व(य)हृतरं ज्वयं इज्यं दत्तं पुरोधते । श्रुति(गर्भ्यो) व[†]हृत्तंभ्यश्च प्रभुना सावरं
 मृवा ॥२३॥ प्रभो राजसमुद्रस्य रिपत्(त्तु)गतर(र)गर्भः । तद-
 27. स्पष्टितवारिद्र[द्र]भा दूरीकृता अयं ॥२४॥ मध्ये राजसमुद्रस्य लोलेः [तलिल-*)]मध्यमेः [†]
 पाचकाकलेर्वेदिद्रावमपंकप्रशालनं क्ल(कृ)तं ॥२५॥ वसगा-
 28. जसमुद्रस्य तटे सहावर्तौपुरि । द्वाग्द्विमुद्राम्नो मे श्रीः स्माः श्रीपते नृप ॥२६॥
 तटे राजसमुद्रस्य वसन् श्रीश नृप धियं । द्वाग्-
 29. रिद्रमुद्राम्नो(म्ने) मे देहि मा(वा)हृ(क्त)दुतापंथात् ॥२७॥ सप्तसागरदानेन तत्सप्तपुरवाजितं ।
 द्विजानां दीर्घवारिद्रय प्रभो दूरीकृतं त्वया ॥२७(२८)॥ सम(प्त)मा-
 30. गरवानस्य मुक्तागोघप्रवाहृतः । दूरीकृतस्त्वया राजगिजवारिद्रयसवद्रुमः ॥२८(२९)॥ दत्तंहृम-
 तुलास्वर्गेः मुक्तागिरितंनिमान् । कुर्वन्त-
 31. तां गह्वंस्त्व(गृही)स्त्वं तद्(द्रा)रिद्र(द्रय)दमतो अयं ॥२९(३०)॥ तुलासुवर्णदानेन राजसिंह
 प्रभो त्वया । दु(द्र)रीकृत(ता) द्वाग्द्विमुद्रामनुला साधमर्गता ॥३०(३१)॥ वं श्रे-²
 32. ते राजसमुद्रकणमपरं क्व दधानो(यु)धिः ॥३०(३२)॥ मध्ये प्रो(ल्लो)लक(ल्लो)ल(ला)
 कैनाः श्क(स्फ)टिककूटभाः । सारताः सरतास्तोरे भात्यस्य
 33. मवका वकाः ॥३१(३३)॥ नृपता(वस्था) स्वीयं कृजं(गृहं) जं वम(स)ति किल तटे पत्य
 मद्रा(द्रा)रकांतां कृत्वा रम्यां पुरीं द्वाग्द्विमुद्रामयमः केशवो द्वारकेशः ।

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.² After this fifty-six syllables are wanting, which shows that one complete line of the inscription is missing.

- 34 गोमत्पुस्तुगसंगः ॐ ॐ ॐ ? विगदतछ(ब्ध)सचकोछ(ब्ध)पथः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतः
श्रीतडागत(स्स)मुद्रः ॥३२(३४)॥ वि(वि)भ्राणः सेतु(दे)-
- 35 धं गिरिकरचिरः पुरितो जीवनीर्धर्मानातछात्र(स)संग(गः) शिवस्तवनयुतः पोतपञ्चपा(स्त्या) प्रसक्तः
मंतायन्तास्त(स्त्यास्त)मुद्रस्तदधि-
- 36 क [ब]ति ते भूपते श्रीतडागो मर्यादा वाङ्मयि कलयति न च वा क्षारनार(नीरं)
कदाचित् ॥३३(३५)॥ प्रियतमम[ध]राया मंडलाब्ध-
- 37 कालयवनकलितभीत्यागस्यगोवर्द्धनेशः । वसति त्व तडागस्यावि(ति)के त्वन्मुदे तज्जसधि-
मपरमेव राजसिंहोति जाने ॥३४(३६)॥
- 38 अमावास्यां विना तं(र्न)व स्व(स्व)श्यः सिंधुः सगर्जनः । तडागस्ते तदधिकः सदा
स्प(स्व)श्यो विगर्जनः ॥३५(३७)॥ समुद्रमातुः स्वीकारो न कसौ
- 39 मातुरव तु । त्वया कृत्ये(ते) यत्सुिकारो वीरायं सिंधुतोधिकः ॥३६॥*] श्रीराणो-
दयसिंहमुनुरभवत् श्रीमान्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री-
- 40 'अमेरेश्वरोस्य' तत्तर्(न)यः श्रीका(धीक)र्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिव(श्च) तज्जर्(वो)-
स्माद्व्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एव क-
- 41 तता(वा)न्वीरः शिलासेलित ॥३६(३६)॥ पूर्णे सप्तवशे यते तपति वा सत्पूणिमाश्वे विने
द्वाविंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराज-
- 42 सिंहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजस्येः मुष्टप्रतिष्ठा(त्ता)विधेः स्तोत्राकां रणक्षोडभट्टरचितं
राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥४०॥ इति सर्गः(ः) १८॥

Slab XX : Canto XIX

[Meters : vv. 1, 12 *Sragdhara* ; vv. 2, 3 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4, 42, 43 *Sārdālavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 38-41 *Upajās* ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 *Anuśṭubh* ; v. 13 *Pramāṇībī* ; vv. 21, 34-36 *Rathodhātā* ; v. 37 *Sikharigā*.]

१६*

१ ॥ ३३ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥* तद्वर्मासत्कोविचंदाभूतशुभविभवत्कामधुक्शार्ङ्ग(र्ण)धन्वप्राकट्यो-
(दधः)†पारिजातामरयुवतिमशीत-

* These three syllables are missing.

† *Shandhi* is not observed here.

* This is is redundant.

* This figure 18 appears on the top.

* This sign of *anugraha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

- 2 लुराडोदयश्च [१*] अ(अं)साडो(चो)र्चःअवोयुक्विदशमजमहाभंगम(मं)मृतिरद्व्या धन्य(न्यं)तयु-
(युं)द्वयो पांयुनिरिति नवतः श्रीरतिव(यु)-
- 3 स्तडागः ॥१॥ कु(कुं)भोजुवप्रकरकुण्डजलो विदुणको जातस्ततो लवणनीरमयः समुद्रः कुंभोजुव-
प्रकरकुण्डजलोतिवृद्धा(डो)
- 4 मिष्टस्तव भित्तिराजसमुद्र एवः ॥२॥ श्रीद्वारकोद्ववहते परिमुक्तनूमिन्पु(म्युं)नः स्वधि-
सदुदधिः किल हृ(ण्)या(वा)क्यात् [१*] पत्तो-
- 5 रमित्तवरपीपुर्वातिहृणो नूनं सुपूर्ण इति तेऽस्थिवरस्तडागः [॥३॥*] जाले वष्टि(ष्टि)-
सहस्रनूपतनयाः पुत्तो सहस्रारय(स्राण्य)-
- 6 पुगा(गै)गाष्टा लवणीकृतावपि परोऽन्यः सेतुव(व)धंयु(येः) ॥३॥(१)^१ जाले वृत्तिषु मिष्टतृष्टिषु
अवान्यसेतुवधेस्य तत्तिंयो-
- 7 रेककृतेर(वि)ध्वंसमयान्नन्यामहे धन्यतां ॥४॥ अत्यस्य साम्यं न वदति कश्चित्तमस्य साम्यं
न च दृष्टमस्य । ततो महत्वे(त्वे)-
- 8 न जनाशयोप(मं) प्रोक्तः[*] समुद्रः कविभिर्न चित्रं ॥५॥ जले निगमा ये प्राणा
न ते मग्ना महोपते । ते मग्ना वदन्तद्वारे मग्नास्त-
- 9 त्यापर्वकतयः ॥६॥ सेवा(वी) विशिष्टप्रामाणाः श्रेयाश्च जलाशये । मग्नाणि तीर्षशेषाणि
तानि ज्ञातानि भूपते ॥७॥ ये जन्मिनां
- 10 जीवनवाः स्थले ते जीवनप्रवाः । यावतां च नृणां प्राणा भूवप्राप्तनृताङ्गाः ॥८॥
भूत्वा भूया जले मग्नास्तेषां श्री(बी)जाङ्कुर-
- 11 र्द्वै(द्वै)माः । जलेभवन्वाति(टि)कालो वदस्य त्वया कृता ॥९॥ श्री(बी)विदु(द्वु)भो जलस्यापी
तपस्तपति कुःकरा(कुण्करे) । प्रवालमालम(मा) शा-
- 12 श्रीगुला(ली)निः सार्था(वं)काहृ(हृ)यः ॥१०॥ वट(वृ)जाः स्थितास्तोमे तप(प)ति प्रचुरं तपः ।
क्षालयति जटाजालं मूयम(मे)तेज
- 13 योगिनः ॥११॥ त्वत्का(ली)त्तिंस्वर्णवीभूयदु(प)सिमहितप्रालकादिशङ्खान्नीलश्या(च्या)यानुम(मा)ना-
स्तपनकरमजोत्तुम-
- 14 सि(सि)द्वुरसंगत् । ध्याजत्सारस्थतोयस्तविति नरपते ते तडागः प्रपापी म्यप्रोषा म्यप्रोषा
प्रविदधति पव(व) पुनतम-

^१ This numbering ought to have come after स्तडागः in the previous line.

- 15 स्मिन्ति(त्रि)काम ॥१२॥ यथा स्वले तथा जले बुधा व[सन्ति] जंतवः । विचित्रमत्र
शास्त्रिनस्तथा जप(यं)ति भूपते ॥१३॥* जगत्स्थिता दुनाः सर्व(र्वे) व-
- 16 नत्वा एव तेऽभवन् । युक्तं विधेयो धर्मोऽथ वदणस्योपयोगतः ॥१३(१४)॥ पूर्वं यत्र
वने सिंहजंनानि जताशये । जालेऽत्र जलकस्तो-
- 17 जगज्जनानि जयत्यथ ॥१४(१५)॥ वदणा[ल]पतस्तोमानयनात् जितस्त्वया । प्रेक्षते ताम-
(न्म)गावस्तथा यद्यत्त(वत्)धकटाजकैः ॥१५(१६)॥ कम-
- 18 नाथ(त)स्त्वयानीतस्तद्वागे वदणात्तयात् । कमलाध(क्ष) स्थापितोऽत्र कमलादानतत्पर ॥१६(१७)॥
प्रवक्षिणस्त्वागता या माला भूपाल ता(ता)-
- 19 श्वया । तत्रात्ते वदणप्रोत्थं प्रेषिताः कक्ष[नानिधे] ॥१७(१८)॥ वदानो जलमग्नानां जहा
राजति तत्र ते [i] मीनाः गृहाणि कुर्व(र्वे)ति मीनानि य-
- 20 तगा इव ॥१८(१९)॥ निर्मलो जीवरक्षाकुडि(दि)[जरक्षण]कृत्वया । नवसूत्राप(र्वे)पेनोपे(नायं)
तडागो द्विजताम्रितः ॥१९(२०)॥ पूर्वपरिचममु(धस्मि)-
- 21 योत्तरवेदश्रुमिन् न द(वृ)ष्टिगोचरः । [— —] जन्तु जलपयो बुधः सिन्धु(धस्त ?)
इति नात्राच(त्र चि)त्रता ॥२०(२१)॥ श्रीराजनगरस्यास्य क ..
- 22 रज्जु(ज्जु)तभूतले । विराजते राजसिंहो गाढा(?)मंडलमातनोत् ॥२१(२२)॥ तत्र द्विजा[ल]यो
गानादेशात्प्रा[प्ता*] मुवेधिण[ः]* धट्ट(ट्ट)कत्वारि(रि)जवा-
- 23 ल्यायुक्तसहस्रचितयः स्थिता[*] ॥२२(२३)॥ एताव(व)तो ग्रामनामसहिताः^१ अविष्काः पुनः ।
प्रा[प्रा]प्तकास्त(स्तु)^२ अत(तं)क्याता जगता ना-
- 24 त्र त(तं)शयः ॥२३(२४)॥ ततो गरीव(व)डाताम्यः पुरोहितवरो हितः । तत(त) स्थित्या
स्वयं स्वाज्ञाकारिणः कार्यकारिणः ॥२४॥* स्थापयित्वा
- 25 स्वहस्तान्या(भ्यां) तद्वर्त(र)प्य[हर्निश(श)] । सप्त(प्त)तापरदानस्य तुलादानस्य वा प्रमाः(भोः)
॥२५(२६)॥^३ धन(धन) श्रीपट्टराज्ञा(स्या)श्च तुला[इ]व्यं तथा
- 26 वतु [i*] स्वकल्पित[स्व]र्णतुलादानस्य म(व)तु हाटकं ॥२७॥* रणजोडरायक(क)तं
तुलाप्रथं [त]दासितः । दत्वा(त्वा) पूर्वोक्त(त)[विप्रे*]भ्यः सदापूर्वमुदान्वितः ॥२४(२८)॥
विध(वे)काव-

^१ The number 20 between a pair of double dashes appears above the line, while there is a single dash after it, the last letter of the verse.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ After this there are two dots and two dashes, which are all superfluous.

- 39 ब्रह्मोऽस्म(स्मा)हामचंद्रस्ततः सततेश्वरकः कठोडिक(कु)मजो सधन्मादिनायस्तुतः । तेभंगोऽस्य
तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोऽस्य वा नायकः पु(पु)त्रो-
- 40 भून्मपुसु(सु)वतस्त(स्त्र)म इमे व(व)होशकिन्पुमाः [11४२॥] यस्यास(सो)न्मपुसुवतस्तु जनको
बेभो च गोस्वामिकाऽनुत्माता रणक्षोड ए[व*] कृतवान् राजप्रस(श)स्त्वा-
- 41 ह्यप ॥ काव्यं राजगुणोपवर्णनमयं बीरकमुत्क(कल) महत्(व) द्वावि(वि)शो^१प्रयत्नं तस्यं वरितो
वागर्थसंगोऽस्तुतः [1४३॥^२] सतुर्वि(वि)शत्याप्य इहामयजूबमुदे तर्गोर्व-
- 42 तर्गोभितः ॥३८॥^३ इति ईकालधीशतभक्तर्ग ११

Slab XXI : Canto XX

[Metres : vv. 1, 6-9, 15, 20, 24, 37, 38, 34, 35, 38, 41, 56; Upagiti : vv. 2, 10, 17, 26, 31, 43-46, 48, 52, 53 Giti : vv. 3, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51 Udyot : vv. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 42, 49 Aryā : v. 54 Anushtubh.]

- 1 ॥ रै(रै)तिथ(ड) [11*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [11*] अभव(व)तसिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे राडोड-
ताचान । सार्द्धनवतत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतमुद्रिकानुत्प(त्प) ॥१॥ परमेश्वरप्रसादा^१भिच-
- 2 गनं पंचविंशतिप्रमितः । राजतमुद्राजतकैर्गृहीतमतिनत(त्त)नं तुरंगवर(रं) ॥२॥ कतेतुरंगत(त्त)नं
वद(दु)[वत]मिसरजतमुद्राभिः [1*] कीर्तं च कनककस्तयं
- 3 ह्यमपदं हेनपुर्णवत्तनाति ॥३॥ नानाविधानि व(व)तुतरसंग्यानि महावरेण श्रीपुत्रे ।
रणेशः प्र(प्रे)वितवान् हस्ते रणक्षोडभट्टस्य ॥४॥ अथ राम-
- 4 सिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे किल कद्य(व्य)वाहभूषाव । राजतमुद्रासार्द्धविंशताप्राप्तुरचितमूल्यं ॥५॥
सुवरमज्जामयान(मं) गजोत्तयं ^२ रजतमुद्राणां । पंचदशज-
- 5 तेः कल्पितमूल्यं क्षमितुंदराक्षहर्षं ॥६॥ अथ सार्द्धसप्तशतमितराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं । ह्यहर्ष-
नामपुरं कनककस्तितव(व)तुलवत्तना-
- 6 नि ॥७॥ अद्वैतिनगरमध्ये प्रेषितवाग्याणपुर्णैः । हस्ते प्रयत्नकीर्तिः स्वपुरोहितरामचंद्रस्य
॥८॥ श्री(श्री)कानेरिप्रभवे^३ अनुपसिंहाय रामाय [1*]

^१ Instead of *dehānām*, we require here *śāstrānām*. Apparently this line of the verse was intended for the 22nd canto and has been wrongly copied here by the engraver.

^२ This line of verse is redundant. It is meant for the 24th canto.

^३ This numbering should be omitted.

^४ Read *śāstrānām* or *śāstrānām*.

^५ The metre is defective here. Read परमेश्वरप्रसादा नाम एव etc.

^६ This *dupda* is superfluous.

^७ The absence of *andhi* is in favour of the metre.

- 7 साईंनुसप्ततहलकराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्ये ॥६॥ मन्मूति(सिं)नामकरिचं साईंनहलकाद्य(चह)रजत-
मुद्राभिः । कृतमूल्यं तुरं(र)गवरं
- 8 साहससिंवररस(सं)क्षममह्यं ॥१०॥ से(स)साईंतप्तशतभितराजतमुद्रारचितमूल्यं । तेजसिधाना-
निद्य(य)मपि हेममयान्यव(व)राणि
- 9 बहुलानि ॥११॥ प्रेमावरपुर्वं किल को(वी)कानेरिस्फुटाभिधे नगरे । प्रेषितक(वा)न् राणेद्रो
माधवजोती [सु*?]हस्ते हि ॥१२॥ रावाय भावसि-
- 10 हानिधाय हावन्मुपात्ताय ॥१३॥¹ षट्(ट)सप्रात(प्राति)पुक्त्रिजताप्रे(प्रे) वशसहसंस्तु । राजत-
मुद्राणां कृतमूल्यं द्विरव(व) सु होणहारस्व(स्व) ॥१४॥ सा-²
- 11 खंसहस्त(ख)प्रतिक³राजतमुद्रारविन(त)मू(भू)त्वं । तुरयं नरतम(च)तुरं तुंगतर(र) सर्वशोभाय
॥१५॥ सत्साङ्ग(ङ्ग)सप्र(प्त)शतभितराजत(त)मुद्राप्रति(मि)तमूल्य(त्वं)⁴ ।
- 12 किरतलाभिधमपरं ह्य(मं) गहेमा(मी)व(व)राणि रागमणिः । मुनीनगरे भास्करमह(ह)कर(रे)
प्रेषयामास्म(स) ॥१६॥ चंद्रावतवं(वं)डाद्य मुद्रुकमणि(सिं)हाभि-
- 13 धाय रावाय । साईंविजताप्रलसत्सहल(खा)द्य(चह)सू(क)प्यमुद्राभिः ॥१७॥ कृतमूल्यं
गजराजं कसेवीलतिशुभाभिधं तुरमं [1*] साङ्ग(ङ्ग)सह-
- 14 स्वप(प्र)मित⁵राज[त*]मुद्रारचितमूल्यं ॥१८॥ मोहू(न*)सश(सं)साईं⁶यत्तज्जै कप्यमुद्राणां [1*]
कृतमूल्य(त्वं) ह्यसुरसं ह्यमग्न(न्व) हेमपुण्यवसनैव(नीध) ॥१९॥ राजा-
- 15 मया गृहीत्वा भद्रोणाहारकानाथः । रामपुरानगरे त्वय सधे(वं)मिद(व) सा⁷ शोपंजामास ॥२०॥
भाटीभूपात्ताय⁸ रावतवर⁹अमरसिंहाय । राज-
- 16 गु(त)मुद्रंकावशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतान्भू(भू)गार्द ॥२१॥ करिचं राजतमुद्रासाईंसहस्रप्रमितमूल्यं ।
ह्यमुकुटारूप(रूप) स(सा)ईंसप्तशतप्रति-
- 17 तहस्यमुद्रया(द्रा)भिः ॥२२॥ कृतमूल्यमपरमद्वयं सूरतिमूर्ति(सिं)व हेमवसनोधा(नीध) । धृतसर्व(वं)
जोतीदेवानंदस्य किल हस्ते ॥२३॥ इत्वा(त्वा) जेसमैदी
- 18 महापुरे प्रेमपूर्वमपि । संप्रेषितवानेतं स राजवीरो भूषतिधोरः ॥२४॥ जसवंतसि(सिं)हनाम्ने
रावलपर्याय षट्(ट)सहस्रंस्तु । पंचशताप्रे राज-

¹ The first half of this verse is missing.² The second quarter of this stanza is too short by four syllabic instants. To set the metre right we may read -शताप्रेषितसहस्रसहस्रंस्तु ।³ Instead of प्रतिक read प्रमितक.⁴ This half verse is in excess form. Compare above verse 15 and n. 1.⁵ The metre requires this syllable to be long.⁶ This *sa* is unnecessary and hence must be omitted.⁷ The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

- 19 तमुद्राणां रचितमूल्यमिमं(म)हेम ॥२५॥ शुभसारधारसंज्ञं [द्वि]विहरिजीकहस्ते तु । इ(ई)गरपुरे
नरपतिः प्रेषितव(वा)हेमपुत्रवसती(ना)मि ॥२६॥*
- 20 प्रथमं राजसमुद्रोत्सर्गोऽस्मै रजतमुद्राणां । तत्र सहस्रेण कृतमूल्यं जसतुरगनामहर्ष ॥२६(२७)॥
पंचशतव(व)प्यमुद्राव(व)तमूल्य(स्य)
- 21 तुरगमपरं च । कनकमयाव(व)रवृद्ध(व) म(स) वसवाद्याजसिंहनृपः ॥२७(२८)॥ राजत-
मुद्रिकावशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृंगो(गा)रं । द्विपमं(व)राणि
- 22 च इदौ दोर्लाभीषप्रधानाय ॥२८(२९)॥ सिरनातं कृतमूल्यं सप्तसहस्रं(सं)स्तु स(व)प्यमुद्राणां ।
द्विपमं(व)राणि स इदौ राण(वत)रां(रा)मसिंहा-
- 23 य ॥२९(३०)॥ राजसमुद्रजलाशयकार्यकृतामपगण्याय । राजतमुद्राणां वा कृतमूल्यान्पंचवि(विं)-
शति(ति)सहस्रं(सं) ॥३१॥* एकाधिकपंचाश-
- 24 द्युतपंचशताद्यकंस्तुरगान(न) । सुखदेकव(व)ष्टिसंख्यान् कुर^२ राजन्यराज्ये स इदौ ॥३०(३२)॥*
कुलकं । ए(का)प्रसप्त(प्त)तिलसत्पंचशता-
- 25 धे(धं)स्तु सप्तविंशतिकं । विष्णुसहस्रं राजतमुद्राणां रचितसन्मूल्यान् ॥३१(३३)॥ अष्टाधिक-
शतद्वयमितास्तुरंगमोश्चारणेभ्य इह ।
- 26 बालप्रवाहमये भादेभ्यो भूपतिः प्रददौ ॥३४॥* सप्तसहस्रं(सं)वि(विं)रचित[मू]ल्यं [वा]*
रजतमुद्राणां । द्विरवमनूपक्यं द्विरवमं साद्वंसव-
- 27 शतकं[:*] ॥३२(३५)॥ राजतमुद्राणां व(वा) कृतमूल्यं विनयसुंदरक(क) । हयमत्थं(न्यं)
विलसारं राजतमुद्रावतुःशतमुहीतं ॥३३(३६)॥ कव(न)कमयाव(व)-
- 28 र[वृ]द्धं सुसज्ज(व्य)राज्याय वा(वा)पदेशाय । नृपभावंसिंहनाम्ने रा[वृ] संश्रयेयामस्त ॥३३(३७)॥
लाघूमसानि(सोनी)हस्ते लाघुकं तीर्थयात्रार्थं । इत्या(त्वा)
- 29 व(व)हुलं द्रव्यं प्रेषितवान् प्रेमकृद्भूषः ॥३४(३८)॥ राजतमु(मु)द्राणां वा विंशताद्यवतु-
सहस्रकृतमूल्यान् । स इदेषावश ज(तु)रगान्निमंत्रणा-
- 30 यातनपतिभ्यः ॥३५(३९)॥ त्रिसहस्ररजतमु(मु)द्रामु(मु)ल्या(स्या) करिणी(नी) स्तुहीति ।
तीक्ष्णराजसि(सि)हनुपस्य मात्र(वे) इदौ कुमारैभ्य[:*] ॥३६(४०)॥ सग[र्ज]वतु[:*]-
- 31 शतमुक्तविंशहस्रव(व)प्यमुद्रिकामूल्यान् [i*] तुरं(र)गास्त्रयोदश इदौ निम(मं)वनायातनपतिभ्यः
॥३७॥(४१)॥ एकाप्रवष्टि(ष्टि)संयुतपंचशतप्रमितव-

* The metre requires this syllable to be long.

² Instead of कुर perhaps we have to read : ठाकुर .

- 32 पद्मद्व(द्वा)र्णा । सप्त ददौ भूपोद्भवान् निम(मं)व्रणायातनूपतिभ्यः ॥३८(४२)॥ षट्त्रि(त्रि)-
शदधिकशतयुक्त्रिंशत्सहस्र(सं)^१ अयुक्तरूपद्वार्णा । द्विशततुरंगान्स-
- 33 ददौ शासनयुक्तचारणौधभाटेभ्यः ॥३९(४३)॥ तत्र विभेक(वेक)स्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत्तुरं(र)गान्स-
शासनिभ्योवात् [१] पूर्वोक्तसंख्यतुरगायाजगतिर्हशास-
- 34 निभ्योसि ॥४०(४४)॥ श्रीकर्णसिंहशासनिकेभ्योद्भवानां सप्तुष्टय(यं) स ददौ । समरेश-
शासनिभ्योः(भ्यः) तुरंगा(गा)न्प्रतापसिंहस्य सप्त ॥४१(४५)॥ शासनिकेभ्योऽष्टा-
- 35 वश हृषानुदयसिंहशासनिभ्यस्तु । षष्ट्यंशतुरगान्हयमेकं विक्रमांकसाश(शास)निते(ने) ॥४२(४६)॥
धूम(ध्मं) । हि(ह)यमेकं तु रतमसीशासनिने राणवीरोदात् । शु-
- 36 मसप्तविंशतिहृषान् संग्रामनूपस्य शासनिभ्योवात् ॥४३(४७)॥ श्रीरायमस्तशासनिकेभ्योद्भवानेकवि-
(विं)शतिप्रमितान् । कुभाशासनिकायाश्चमेक-
- 37 मेकोनविंशतिप्रमितान् ॥४४(४८)॥ मोकलशासनिकेभ्यस्तुरगान्हृमीरशासनिभ्योवात् । पंचहृषान्ता-
(घांस्त्रा)वानुपशासनिकेभ्यो हृषान्सप्त ॥४५(४९)॥
- 38 धूमं । येताज्जेसीशासनिकाभ्यां(भ्यां) हयमेकमेकमवात् । राजसमुशासिवाहनमहासमरसीकशास-
निभ्यां तु ॥४६(५०)॥ हि(ह)यमेकमेकमेकं राक्षतवायस्य शास-
- 39 निम(ने) [१*] मोकलसहोदरस्य वि(द्वि)शत्तुहृषानेनभूप एवमत्र ददौ ॥४७(५१)॥ सत्संकटा-
विं(विं)शतिसहस्रशतधूमसाष्टयष्टिमितः । राजतनुद्रावुंरः श्री-
- 40 ताः शतपंचकं द्विपंचाशत् ॥४८(५२)॥ तुरगा सन्त्र(सं)कट्विंशत्सहस्र(सं)शतकाष्टकैरिति कीताः ।
करिणोगजास्त्रयोदश वता(ता) घोरे(रे)द्वाराज्य(ज)सि-
- 41 हेन ॥४९(५३)॥ षड्विंशेभ्यः[१*] कविभ्यश्च वंदिचारणपंचकं । यशसायनानि वाता(तां)सि
ददौ^२ ॥५०(५४)॥ जलाशयोत्सर्गविधानमेवं कृत्वा महादानस-
- 42 मेतमेव । तथैव नानाविधदानराज्ञी विराजते राजितराजवीरः ॥५१(५५)॥ इति श्रीराजसमृद्धी
प्रशस्त लीवत रंणभोडभट सर्व २०

Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

[Metres : vv. 1, 40, 42-45 ; *Sāradhāyikrīṇṇita* ; v. 2 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3-21, 23-25, 28-38 *Anuṣṭup* ;
v. 22 *Śalinī* ; v. 26 *Gītī* ; v. 27 *Āryā* ; vv. 37, 39 *Sikharīṇī* ; vv. 39, 41 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥३८ तिच(द्वं) [१*] श्रीमन्मेशाय नमः(नमः) [१*] पु(पु)र्णे सप्तवर्णे शते मु(धु)मकरे
स्वध्वावशास्त्रेभ्यो मावे स(द्वं)धूमसप्तमलियो(वी) वारभ्यवासा[वितः १]

^१The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

^२This *as* is scored out. Read हृषान्भूप.

^३The metre requires this syllable to be long.

^४This line of verse is too short by six syllables. Perhaps we have to read राजसिंहो नृपो ददौ.

- 2 पंचमि(त्रिंशत्)शतविक्रयकं उचिताभादावर्षात्वं वदे लग्नं राजसमुद्रनामकमहानब्धे तत्राय(ये) धवं
॥१॥ षट्चत्वारि(रिंशत्)शदाब्दा[श्च]-
- 3 य रजतमहावृद्धिकानां(षा) गुणानां तक्षाधीत्यं सहस्राण्यपि इक्षिरचतुःषष्टिसंख्यामितानि ।
षट्संख्यापुत्रास्तानि प्रको(ष)दित-
- 4 षट्पुत्रंशद्विशत्पुत्रास्तत्राण्येवं विलम्बान्युत गणनमिव¹ त्वेकपक्षे मयोक्तं ॥२॥ विवेकमत्र²
वक्ष्यामि इष्य(कष्य)मुद्राव(र)ले[रिह] ।
- 5 सप्तविंशतिज(षा)भि धनि(द्विंशत्)शतमितानि च ॥३॥ सहस्राणि चतुःसंख्यशतानि नवतिः(ति)स्तथा ।
सार्द्धसप्तशकाभ्याम(ष्यत्र) राम-
- 6 तितुष्य वं तफे³ ॥४॥ य(य)वज्जलचतुःसंख्यसहस्राट्सप्तानि च । सपादाशीतिकाभाद्ग(न्याहुः)
पितृव्यस्य तफे तय(षा) ॥५॥ प्र(पु)त्रगोहम(न)तिर्हो(ह्य)मवरा-
- 7 सोषासंगशोभिनः । सभद्रयं सहस्राणि द्वापर्यं शतानि च ॥६॥ पंचाष्टत्रिंशद्विक्रयद(वं)वा
गणनामवत् । एषा सायलवासस्य धं-
- 8 चोलीकुलशालिनः ॥७॥ चतुर्वंशाण्यष्टपुत्रतसप्ततिप्र(य)मितानि च । सहस्र(सा)ण्येकशतकं
तत्ताद्रे मरणे मृदां ॥८॥ च-
- 9 तुष्टकीनिःसृतानां तु लेकने गणनामवत् ॥९॥ द्वात्रिंशत्सहस्राणि षट् शतानि तयावकं ॥९॥
एकमत्राण्यद्यातं इष्य(ष्य) वा प्र-
- 10 भुपाद्वर्तः । तया प्रयादवानादि तत्लेखे गणनात्थियं ॥१०॥ सप्त नक्षाणि शंकानि
प्रतिष्ठाकरणे मितिः । एतद्वाजसमुद्रस्य पु(पु)र्व-
- 11 संख्याप्रलेखनं ॥११॥ पु(पु)र्वोक्तद्वयगणनाधिकेकः कियते पुनः । द्वात्रिंशत्संख्यलक्षानि सहस्रद्वितयं
तथा ॥१२॥ गण[ना]-

¹ The total sum spent on the actual construction of the lake amounted to Rs. 48,64,625½.

² The details of the expenditure are specified as follows:

Rs. 27,56,497½ in Rāmasinha's account (also mentioned in verse 25-29, canto XX).

Rs. 5,94,889½ in pūrya's or mudi's account.

Rs. 2,12,538½ in Mahāsinha's account.

Rs. 4,78,107 in carrying the earth thrown out of the quadrangular ditch in Pāshālī Śyāmalādīsa's account.

Rs. 33,601½ in plastering.

Rs. 7,00,001 in the inauguration ceremony.

Rs. 46,64,625½

³ The meaning of the word *tapha* is not clear. It seems to be the Sanskritised form of the similar Arabic word *tarf* which is used in the sense of side, direction, etc., and is also spelt as *tarf*. We are told in verse 21, canto IX that Rājasinha, finding the work of construction unmanageable by a single hand, divided it among his officials. The expenditure on items in charge of Rāmasinha, (the ruler's son) made, and Mahāsinha and Śyāmalādīsa seems to have been given in verses 4-9. The word has been used side by side with other items of expenditure. The word *tapha* may therefore be translated as 'in the account of', or 'on items in charge of'.

- 24 त्तः^(*) ॥२७॥ युमं । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेभ्यके । श्री(श्रा)वणे राजसिंहो
जीतवाडावधि ब्र(ब्र)जन् ॥२८॥ बैरा(बैरि)ता-
- 25 सं सिरोहीस्थं शत्रुसंघं(घे)न पीडितं । राघं सिरोहीनृपतिं चक्रे निजपराक्रमः ॥२९॥
एकलक्षप्रमितिका कम्पमुद्रास्त-
- 26 तोषहीत् । पंच ग्रामान्कोरडादीन्ब्र^१घाहोप्राह्वो नृप ॥३०॥ राणा सुवर्णकलशनीयं तद्देश
आगतं । तदुत्प-
- 27 मुद्राः प(पं)वाशताह्वान्पग्रहीस्ततः ॥३१॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तोते चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेभ्यके ।
श्रीराणेंद्रोद्यत्संकषाः राजगृहे
- 28 यजं^२ ॥३२॥ त्रिविक्रमाश्रयकृतो विक्रमार्कस्य दानतः । यक्तुं कः शुक्रमान् शक्तो राजसिंह-
पराक्रमान् ॥३३॥ राज-
- 29 सिंह बिबिधोयं प्रतापतपनं(न)स्तव । ब्र(नांत)स्वानपि रि(पुस्ता)पयस्यजुत(तं) महत् ॥३४॥
राजन्मयत्प्रतापान्निः शत्रुस्त्री(स्त्री)वा-
- 30 ण्ति(से)घनः । उवलत्यत्र न चित्रं तद्विदुर्कीर्तिनय—^३मपः ॥३५॥ शत्रुस्त्रीनेवपधाति संतापयति
संततं । श्रीराजसि(सि)ह भवतः
- 31 प्रतापतपनोजुतं ॥३६॥ प्रतापो वीपस्ते भिति[य] जगदालोककरणः दिक्षाभिः शत्रु-
(श्रु)णा(णा) कवननिकुरंय(बं) मलिनयन्
- 32 । दशां विध्यं स्नेहं कलयति वा प्राणपटलीपतंगाली दग्धां कलयति तनूपात्रवसतिः ॥३७॥
पदारचंदे साई किर-
- 33 ति करबुंवं रिपुगणः शिवो जातः कर्णस्फटिकविलसत्कुंडलधरः । विधुं आले गंगां शिरसि
भूजयोः श(शु)भ्रभूजगान्धवानो
- 34 भस्मांगो वसति पयले शे(शे)लशिलरे ॥३८॥ भूमा ॐ — ॐ भूजयोर्विदधाति पाणी
खड्गोरणं मुखरघौ प्रचूरं प्रताप(पं) । क-
- 35 नैपि भंति(?) विमलां(ला) विद्युशीतला मत् (कीर्तिस्तवी(री)श भूवन(ने) तय(ब) ब(बं)-
अमीति ॥३९॥ राजेंद्रो भवतादयं जयकरो ब(बं)रिजजा-
- 36 नां जवातु(व) गांभीर्वाक्किज सिधुरेव ह्यसहंतिष्ठा(प्र)वस्तुकिज । बं(ब)के सर्वविशेषभादि-
वितसद्गुणैर्वृतं नाम ते श्रीराणामणि-

* Sandhi has not been observed here.

* Three syllables are missing in the latter half of this verse and the sense is not clear.

* This long syllable is obliterated beyond recognition. Traces of the medial long *i* are visible.

- 37 राजसिंहपते वेवाः(धा) सुमेधाधरः ॥४०॥ राष्ट्रप्रदो जलधिजाग्रव उत्तमेभ्यो माधव(त्वे)व
सिंहपुत्तनो हरिसेवतो यत् ।
- 38 माधवां विशेषजगवादिमवर्णयुक्ता(क्ता) व(च)के विचिस्तदुचितं तत्र राजवोर ॥४१॥ श्रीरा-
जोदयसिंहपुनुरभव-
- 39 त् । श्रीमं(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य आ(धी)'अमरेजव'रोस्य तपः [ओकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो
राजजगत्पतिश्च तनयोऽस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः [ओजय*]सिंह एव [क]तवा(वा)न्वीरः
शि[लालेखितं] ॥४२॥ पूर्वे सप्तदशो दशे
- 40 तपसि वा सत्पुनिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रि(त्रि)शन्मितत(ष)स्तरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः [१*]
काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजतघेः सृष्ट(ष्ट) प्रतिष्ठावि-
- 41 धेः स्ता(स्तो)त्राक्त(क्त) रणछोडभट्टरचित(तं) राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥४३॥ धाम्नीद्रुस्करतस्त
माधवदुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सवे(वे)श्वरकः क-
- 42 ठोडिकुलजा(जो) लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्त(स्त)तः । तेलंगोस्य तु रामच(चं)डा(ड) इति वा
कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभूमयसु(सु)दनश्चय इमे ब्रह्मेगविष्णु(ण्)प-
- 43 मा[*] ॥४४॥ ज(य)स्वातीमयसुदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाभूमाता रणछोड
ए[व] कृतवाग्रालप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राजगुणीष-
- 44 वर्णनमय(यं) श्रीरा(रा)ज[युक्तं महत्*] सर्गोभूवधुनं कविशक्तिभूमामि(नि)क्योपेवर्गोत्तमः
॥४५॥*

Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

[Metres : vv. 1, 26, 30-46 Anushṭubh ; vv. 27, 28 Upagiti ; v. 29 Giti ; vv. 47-50 Śārdūlavikrīṭita.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) ॥ त(त)ते सप्तदशोत्ते प(प)चत्रिशन्मितेवके । श्रुत्वेकादशिकायां
तु चेतं(वे) प्रस्थानमातनोत् ॥१॥ श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातो
- 2 जयसिंहो(हा)निधो व(व)ली । मा(म)हाराजकुमारोयं प्र(प्रम)जपेरो समानतः[*] ॥२॥
श्रीरंगजेजं(बं) इष्टं(ष्टुं) स विल्लीं विस्तीपति ययौ । पश्वार्जे(जय)कुमारोयं ययौ
- 3 तेनात्मपू(पू)तः ॥३॥ विल्लीतः कोशयुग्मस्थे^२ अर्वाक्षिधिर उत्तमे । विल्लोडवर्दं दवर्शां
सोस्यावरमथाकरोत् ॥४॥ भूकतामाता

* Sandhi has not been observed here.

^२ This too is redundant. Read *Amardhar-aga*.

^३ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

- 4 उरोभूषा अस्मै ह्रीमांज(व)राण्यदात् । महामखेडं भूषावत् तावु(क्)तु(म्)गतुरंगमान(म्) ॥५॥
भालाण्यचंडसेनाय पुरोहितवराय च । गरीवदा-
- 5 सप्तप्रान्ने ह्रीमयासांति वा ह्यान् ॥६॥ महकुचष्ट(ष्ट)भुरभ्योदाने(न्वे)भ्योपि या(य)यो-
चितं । ततोमं जयसिंहाण्यो गणपुक्तेश्वरं शिवं ॥७॥ इ-
- 6 ष्टा गंगातटे स्नात्वा महारूप्यतुला ध्वजान् । करिणौ च ह्यं क्त्वा(त्वा) यातो बुधायनं
प्रति ॥८॥ ध्वरा च ततो दुष्टा वय(स्व)ष्टे(ष्टे) राणपुरंदरं(रः) । व-
- 7 छे वरानोद्योयं राणेशो भोवमावये ॥९॥ अते सप्तदशतोते वयो(वे) यद्विशवाह्वये ।
यो(य)स्य कृष्णकादशयो मेवाडे विल्लिकापतिः ॥१०॥ आ-
- 8 यातस्तस्य पुत्रस्त(स्तु)^१ आलो^२ अकबरामि(भ)यः । तथा तहवरः ज्ञानः प्राप्ता(प्तः) सेनासं-
मावु(समावु)[तः^३] ॥११॥ सुंदरे रा[ज]नगरे राजमंवरमंहवः^४ । तत्सोर्कः
- 9 कलिपतास्तत्र शकुः(शतः) शक्तायतोत्तमः ॥१२॥ पुत्रः सज्जसिंहस्य पुर वरस्य
सः । आ[ता] मूहकर्मासिंहस्य धोरं रणमिहाकरोत् ॥१३॥
- 10 वीरदशोवाकतः कोपि तथा विजयितुदाः । कृत्वा युद्धं दिवं याता भित्वा(त्वा)
आस्वा(स्व)[रः^५]मंडलं ॥१४॥ विधेः कलेर्व(वे)लावाजां वही राणापुर(रं)वरः
- 11 । बहवा[री]महाघट्टे[र]गण्यदुष्टाव(च) वा(वा)दुजा[ः^६] ॥१५॥ आयांतु कृतसंकल्पा अपि
या(यो)दुं महु[क्ति]तः । नलिको(का)[यो^७]नकलो(स्तो)माः सो(शु)रसंघा महोष्-
- 12 ताः ॥१६॥ राणो[क्ति]तस्तथा ज्ञातं ततो विल्लीज आगतः । बहवारीमहाघट्टे क(क)त्वा
तदुराणातन(म्) ॥१७॥ ऐ(ए)कपिपतितिभ्यंतं स्थितोत्र
- 13 निशि चैकवा [ः^८] दिव्यो(व्यो)वयपुरं पा(प्रा)तो मुप्त एवास्तमुपभृतिः ॥१८॥ तथा^१
अकबरः प्राप्नो महोदयपुरे ततः । तथा तहव(स्व)रः कं(का)नस्त-
- 14 स्तुत्यं तदुद्रे[ः^९] कृतं ॥१९॥ ऐ(ए)कनिधं इत्युसगाहंवाकव(व)रस्ततः । अंबेरीवीरवाघद्वी
दुष्टा शिविरमागतः ॥२०॥ भालाप्रतापः क-
- 15 कौटपुरवातो गजद्वयं । विल्लीजले(र्ले)न्यादानोय राणो(णे)राय न्यव(वे)दसत् ॥२१॥ अदेसरत्वा
बल्लाण्य ह्योद्यामृत्तिनां गजो(वज्र?) । न्य(न्य)-
- 16 वेवयस(सु)भृमु(म्)वे(वे)नैवाराविचलप्रभोः ॥२२॥ रत्नाशक्तसहस्राणि नृणा(णां) गट्टानि तद्विधः ।
विल्लीज(श्च)रस्ततः प्र(प्रा)प्तविचलकूटेन्या

^१ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ The meaning of smā is 'ma' or 'crime'.

that *Anirrita* was a surname of Chālukya Vikramāditya I¹ who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C. It is, therefore, not unlikely that this *sutra* was named after his surname either in commemoration of his having founded it himself or was named after him by some other founder in token of his respect to him as his suzerain.² That Vikramāditya I was a great conqueror is attested by his records in which he claims victory 'in country after country and in all directions'.³ That in the south he went as far as the Kāvērī region is proved by his Gadval Plates.⁴ As for the extent of his possessions in the north, we have as yet no direct evidence. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that in these northern regions he inherited the Three Mahārāshtrakas first acquired by his father, Pulakēśin II, since we have it stated in Vikramāditya's inscriptions that he not only regained possession of his father's kingdom which had been lost to enemies but also acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.⁵ Further it is well known that the Western Chālukyas were recognised as overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family ruling in the Nasik District. One Svāmīchandra of this family is explicitly stated as the feudatory (*pāda-prasād-śpaṇīś*) of Chālukya Vikramāditya I.⁶ Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of our grant, though not actually a contemporary of Vikramāditya I, evidently came under Chālukya hegemony at the time of recording the grant under study, i.e., in Śaka 615 (-693 A.C.), when his suzerain must have been Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. It is also interesting to note that it was this Vinayāditya who conducted a successful expedition in the north in which he was ably assisted by his son, prince Vijayāditya.⁷

None of the kings mentioned in our record bearing Gōvīndarāja is known to us from any other source except the two other grants of Nannarāja referred to above. However, in respect of Svāmīkarāja, attention may be drawn to another person of the same name who figures as *vijāyāt* in a 7th century record of Kāpālīvarman of the Bhōja family⁸ who ruled the area around Goa in the west coast. Except the similarity of name and the proximity in point of date between the two persons there is nothing else to connect the two, much less to treat them as identical.

The area of rule of the family of Nannarāja lay as determined by the provenance of their records and the places mentioned in them roughly in the districts of Akola, Amraoti, Betul and Nagpur of Madhya Pradesh, which all lay adjacent to one another. Ancient Vidarbha roughly corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāganthan Plates of Svāmīrāja, corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāganthan Plates of Svāmīrāja, was issued from Nāndivardhana, the same as Nāgarathan which lies three miles south of Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The family seems to have moved south-west to the region of Amraoti and Akola where they fixed a new capital at Padmanagara from which our inscription is issued. This place may be identified with modern Padmā⁹ lying within the postal jurisdiction of Akola.

¹ Above, Vol. X, p. 101 and n. 4.

² [The word *anirrita* here is to be taken in its literal sense of 'unhindered'; it is not proper to connect it with the name or title of any person.—Ed.]

³ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 226, 227, 228.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 268, 271.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 239.

⁹ I was at first inclined to identify Padmanagara with Paunl in the Bhandara District, a place which is also known as Padmapura, and where an early inscription of Bhoja Bhagadatta was discovered (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 11). In that case Umbarikā, the gift-village, might be Umret lying about 15 miles WNW of Paunl. But since there are two other villages of the name of Paunl, one in the Betul District and the other in the Nagpur District, one cannot be sure as to which of these three could be Padmanagara. See Mirāṭī, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 7, n. 2.

This identification is supported by the location of Umbarikā, the village mentioned; for, this is Umbari near Akola. Even the findspot of the plates, viz., Sangalooda, lies nearby. The Tiwarkhēd Plates mention another capital of the family, viz., Achalapura, the same as modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, north-east of Akola.

Of the places mentioned in our charter Padmanagara and Umbarikā have been identified in the foregoing paragraph. Tagara from which the donees hailed might be modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State. Nāgayayi, situated east of Umbarikā, may be Naigaon, near Akola. I am unable to locate Vajrapuraka, Vajvadraka and Uchehhi (or chū) vāhala which are stated in the record to be in or near Umbarikā.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [1*] Padmanagarād-Vi(rād[1*]Vi)stirana(rāṇa)-sthiti-pālan-āpta-yatasistī-
- 2 Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayē ramyō kshira-nidhāy-iy-ēndur-abhavach-ohhri-Durggarā-
- 3 [ō nripaḥ [1*] lōk-āhlādana-kṣetubhiḥ pravatatāis-tājō-viśā-
- 4 sh-ōdayai(r)-yyēn-ōahchalḥ padavīn-vi(vīn vi)gāhya vidhivat-paksha-dva[yam]
- 5 bhāsitam(tam) || (1||*) Tasya sūnur-āsi(e)f-d-anēka-samara-sāhas-ā(vash[arh]-
- 6 bhā-gaśā[h] śri-Vō(Gō)vindarājās-tasy-ūsid-ātmavīn-ātmaja ā-
- 7 tmany-āhita-śakti-siddhiḥ śri-Svāmikarājāḥ [1*] Putras-tasya ma-

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 hānubhāva-charitaḥ śri-Nannurājāḥ kṛiti(tī) kūntaḥ-kārupikah-kala-
- 9 āka-rahitaḥ-kṣetaḥ-karālō dvishān-dhaurēyō raga-sāhas-ā-
- 10 hita-dhīyām-agrāsarō māninaḥ vaidagdhi-ōddhata-chētasām-adhi-
- 11 patih-kalpa-dra(dru)mō yō-rtthināsh(nām)* ||(2||*) Yas-cha samāra(samāra)ya-viśāha-lō-
- 12 bhād-iva sakalair-ābhigānikair-itaraḥ-cha guṇair-upētaḥ
- 13 Paramabrahmaṇyaḥ Paramabhāgavataḥ śri-Yuddhāsaur-āpara-
- 14 nāmō(mā) ssa-sa(sa sa)rvān-ō(n-ō)va rāja-sāmanā-vishayapati-grāma-bhō-

* From Impressions.

* Metre : Śārdūlavārīṭī.

[illegible] $\bar{N}_1 \alpha$

1
 2
 3
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 9
 10

ii.b

16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the center of the plate.

iii.

24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the center of the plate.



Seal

Second Plate : Second Side

- 15 gika-purillaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādin=samannv5(b5)dhayaty-astu v5
 16 viditam yathā=āmābhīr-mmātā-pitrōr-ātmānā=cha puṇy-āvāptayā Taga-
 17 ra-vāstavya-Vā(or Mā)ruḥa-sagōtra-Kaugi(ā)kā-pravara-Taittirīya-sa-brahmachā-
 18 rīpē Anivārit-ānna-satra(ttra)-pradāyīnē Varṇulaka-chaturvēda-pautrā-
 19 ya Bhūtagaṇabhaṭṭa-putra-Haragaṇa-divivēdāya Vāṭapuraka-grāmā
 20 viśā(viśā)ti-karmīnā(nte)(ntā) madhuka-samōtā(tam) kshētraḥ=cha nīvarttana-śatata
 tachchha (tach=cha)
 21 Umberikā-grāmō(mā) dakṣhiṇī(pē)na Vālvadraka-sīma-maryyādā
 22 uttarah¹ Tatiliṅgichchhi-bhaṭākara(rakab) pūrvvataḥ Nāgaya(yi-maryā)jā²

Third Plate

- 23 pāchimatō Chelhiivāhala³ [ā]bhīr-āghāṭanāḥ⁴ kshētra[m^{*}] bhūmichhi(chchhi)dra-
 24 nyāyēna Kārttika-paurṇa(ruṇa)māsyām-ndaka-pūrvvam pratipāditam
 25 yatō=asmad-vathēyair-anyair-vv-āgāmi-nripati-bhōgapatihlūr-asmad-dā-
 26 yō-numantavya[h^{*}] pratipālayitavyas=cha yō v-ājāna-timira-pa-
 27 tal-āvrita-matir-ā[ch^{*}]chhindyād-āchchha(chchhi)dyamānam v-ānumōdā-
 28 ta sa pañchabhīr-mmahāpātaka[^{*}]-sa[m]yukta[h^{*}] syād=iti [i^{*}] Śaka-kāla-
 29 sa[m]vatsara-śatēshu abhīshu(tsu) pañcha(dā)sām=va(śa=va)rabēshu Kārttika-śuddha-
 pau.
 30 [ruṇa]mi(māsyām) likhita=iti [i^{*}]

Seal

Śrī-Juḍdhā[suraḥ]

¹ This may be also read as uttarahā TUNagichchhi.² IM is inserted below this last line at the left end of the plate.³ This may be also panchimatō-chchhiivāhala.⁴ Some word like apañchabhīr is to be added here. A similar omission occurs in the Mullai Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 202, n. 1).

No. 15—MUNDAKHEDE PLATES OF SENDRAKA JAYASAKTI ; SAKA 602

(1 Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

These plates were found several years ago in the possession of a Patil of Mundakhedē, a village in the Chulignon taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, who edited them twice—first in the *Marāṭhī* magazine, *Prabhāta* of Dhulia, Vol. I, No. 12¹ and afterwards in the *Annual Report of the Bhāratī Itihāsa Samāśāhita Maṇḍala for Śaka 1834*, pp. 169-177. As no facsimile of the record accompanied either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not published. Several years ago, while I was studying the Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhāllasakti², I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its importance for the history of the Sēndrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when I received recently a copy of the printed facsimile of the plates from my friend, Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra, Śaka 1829, as well as from the name *Prabhāta* printed on it, it is clear that the facsimile was published in the same magazine *Prabhāta* in the next issue after the text of the record was first edited by Chandorkar. This facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words in the transcript published by Chandorkar. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. For these reasons as well as because this is the only record of the Sēndraka prince Jayasakti and is important for the ancient history of Mahārāshtra, I re-edit the grant here from the aforementioned facsimile published by Chandorkar.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on the inner side only. Their size and weight have not been recorded. From the description given by Chandorkar they seem to have raised rims for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the first inscribed plate and the top of the second, there is a hole for the ring which strung the plates together. This ring is said to have carried a seal with the legend *Śrī-Jayasakti*, but no photograph of it seems to have been published.

The record consists of twenty-four lines, twelve being inscribed on each plate. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The record is, however, rather carelessly written and contains a few mistakes here and there. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in the other records of the Sēndrakas found in Gujarat and Khandesh. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows : (1) the initial *ś* resembles *l*, but has a long vertical on the right; see *śāśa*, line 14; (2) the stroke for medial *ā* is turned upward in the case of *j* as in *-āvājā-*, line 6; (3) *l* has everywhere a straight vertical stroke on the right; see *-labdha-*, line 2; (4) *a* generally appears looped as in *amānānta*, line 1, but it is sporadically unlooped as in *amānta*, line 16; (5) a final consonant is shown with a horizontal stroke on the top; see *ant*, line 21. The *j* (*śaśmānta*) occurs in line 10. Punctuation is indicated by single or double dots. The language is Sanskrit. Except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the writer has used in the eulogy of Bhānuśakti the very expression *śarad-amala-śāśāka-maṇḍala-jayasakti* (*yajāś*), which describes Ādityasakti in the Bagumrā plates,³ and Allasakti in the Kāsārē plates.⁴ Again, the expression *Bhava-gūṇur-in-āpratikata-śakti* which describes Ādityasakti in the present plates occurs in connection with Allasakti in the Bagumrā and

¹ This No. bears the date Phālguna, Śaka 1829 which is plainly a mistake for Śaka 1828. The same mistake occurs on the first page of the previous two issues. As stated above, the facsimile of the plates published in the next number bears the date, Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

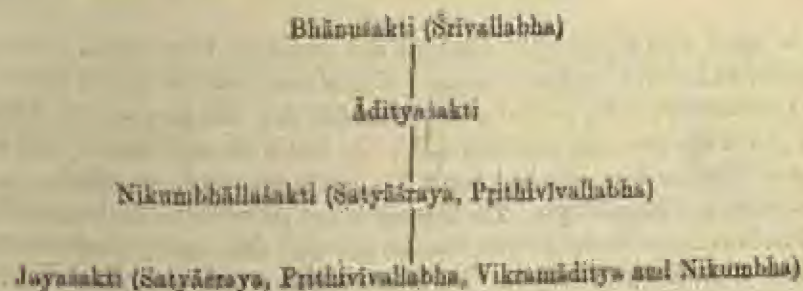
³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

⁴ G. H. Kṛts, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, p. 71. Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 197.

Nāgād plates.¹ The drafter of the present grant has thus drawn upon previous records of the family, and, evidently regarding the epithets as conventional, has not scrupled to transfer them from one prince to another. As for orthography, we may note that *ṣ* is used for *s* in *Phālguna*, line 24, and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are reduplicated; see *-cātāridanta-* and *cikārama-*, line 2 and *-śvaddhyāta*, line 4.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the *Sēndrakā* prince *Jayaśakti*. They were issued from *Jayapuraḍvārī*. They record the grant, by *Jayaśakti*, of a village the name of which Chandorkar read as *Sēpāgatalaśa*. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is *Sēpāḍaśa grāmaḥ*, not *Sēpāgatalaśa-grāmaḥ*. The village was therefore named *Sēpāpā*. It was included in the *Kundalikāmala viśaya*. The donee was the *Brahma* *Bappasvāmin*, the son of *Rāvasvāmin*, who belonged to the *Kātyāva gōtra* and the *Hiranyakēśin* branch of the *Taittiriya śākhā* of the *Black Yajurveda*, and resided at *Kallivana*. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the *Mina-rāśi* on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna* in the year 602 of an unspecified era. The year and the *tithi* are expressed only in words. From the *Nāgād* plates we know that *Jayaśakti*'s father *Allaśakti* was flourishing in Śaka 577. The year 602 mentioned in the present grant of *Jayaśakti* must, therefore, be referred to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 680-81 A.C. In this period the sun entered the *Mina-rāśi* at 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February 681 A.C. The religious ceremonies connected with the *śākhānti* must have been performed after sunrise next day, the 18th February 681 A.C., which was the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* *Phālguna*.² This date shows that the *amānta* scheme of the lunar months was in vogue in Northern *Mahārāṣṭra* in the seventh century A.C. The grant was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika Rāma*.

The present grant gives the following pedigree of the donor:—



Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as *Nikumbhallaśakti*, being probably misled by Bühler's reading of the royal name in the *Bagunrā* plates. The facsimile of the present grant, however, shows the correct reading of the name to be *Nikumbhāllaśakti*. The same reading of the name occurs in the *Nāgād* plates published by Mr. G. H. Khare. We now know from the *Kāśārē* plates that the proper name of the *Sēndrakā* prince was *Allaśakti*. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of the plates. *Nikumbha* was evidently a *biruda* prefixed to his name. The same *biruda* is seen to have been assumed by *Allaśakti*'s son *Jayaśakti* in the present plates. The *biruda* was evidently derived from the name *Nikumbha* of *Allaśakti*'s grandfather, mentioned in the *Kāśārē* plates. He had another name of *Bhānuśakti* which is noticed in the three other grants of the family, including the present one. His descendants *Allaśakti* and *Jayaśakti* seem to have assumed his name *Nikumbha* as a *biruda*, probably because he was the founder of this *Sēndrakā* branch which flourished in *Gujarat* and *Khandesh*.

¹ *Sanskritādhya* (Masthead), Vol. VIII (October, 1929); above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 198.

² This *tithi* commenced only 18 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

The present grant describes both Allāsakti and Jayāsakti as *śamadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They both were evidently subordinate chiefs, owing allegiance to the Chālukya Emperor of Bādāmi. Bhānuśakti, though described in a more grandiloquent style, probably enjoyed no better status.¹ As his grandson Allāsakti was flourishing in 653 and 656 A.C., Bhānuśakti may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. He was probably placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II after he had conquered these provinces from the Kalachuris. No records of the reigns of Bhānuśakti and Ādityaśakti have yet been discovered, but Allāsakti is known to have made three grants, two of which, recorded in the Kāsārē and Bagunrā plates, are dated in the Kalachuri era and one, viz., that in the Nāgad plates, in the Śaka era. The earliest of these, viz., that in the Kāsārē plates is dated K. 404 (653 A.C.) and registers the donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēja, modern Pimpalner in West Khandesh. The second, known as the Bagunrā plates, dated K. 406 (656 A.C.), registers the gift of the village Balisa, modern Wanasa near Tēn in South Gujarat. The third record, viz., the Nāgad plates, though issued from Kāvāvatāta, modern Kārwan in Gujarat, mentions the grant of a village in the *viśaya* of Nāndipuradvāri which is probably identical with Nandurbār in West Khandesh. This grant is dated in Śaka 577 (655-56 A.C.). These records show that Allāsakti continued to hold Gujarat and Khandesh at least till 656 A.C. Sometime thereafter, he seems to have lost Gujarat; for the next date from that part of the country is K. 421 (671 A.C.), furnished by the Surat plates of Śrīyāraya-Śilāditya, which register the grant of the village Āsajjigrāma, modern Asgaon, not far from Tēn. From the Mānōr plates,² recently published by Mr. Krishna Deva, we learn that Dharīśraya-Jayasinhha, the younger brother of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I, founded the Navsāri branch in 669-70 A.C. Thereafter, the rule of the Sēndrakas seems to have been confined to Khandesh. As shown below, the places mentioned in the present Mundakhējā plates can be satisfactorily located near the western border of that district.

It may be noted that Bhānuśakti, Allāsakti and Jayāsakti bore certain *birudas* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerains. One of these deserves special notice. Jayāsakti calls himself Vikramāditya in the present grant, dated 681 A.C. His suzerain was Vikramāditya I, who had died just in the preceding year (680 A.C.). As this is the only known grant of Jayāsakti, we do not know whether Jayāsakti had borne the *biruda* previously or whether he assumed it only after the death of Vikramāditya. The absence of any reference to the imperial family in the present grant lends colour to the latter view,³ but we may note that similar *birudas* were assumed by other feudatories of the Early Chālukyas. The Mānōr plates, for instance, show that Maṅgalarasa, the son of Dharīśraya-Jayasinhha, had assumed the *biruda* *Vinayāditya* before Śaka 613 (691 A.C.) during the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya. The present grant does not, therefore, give any indication that Jayāsakti had thrown off the yoke of the Early Chālukyas.

No descendants of Jayāsakti are known but, as I have suggested elsewhere⁴, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.C. may have belonged to the same lineage. Like the Sēndrakas, they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the

¹ Chamblorke's view that the Sēndrakas were independent kings who helped the Early Chālukyas to establish themselves in the Kanarese country is not supported by any evidence.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.

³ Dr. Fleet also inferred that the Bagunrā plates belong to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance. See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom. Mus., Vol. I, Part II, p. 361*. Since then we have known of several records of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas which make no mention of the reigning emperor.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 166 ff.

Pāṭaṇ inscription of Śaka 1128; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sēndrakas, as it traced its descent not from the lord of serpents but from the Sun¹.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Kundalikāmala, the headquarters of the *śiṣṭya* in which the donated village was situated, is probably identical with Kundalgaon, 14 miles west of Nāndgaon near the western border of the Khandesh District. No place exactly corresponding to the donated village Sēnāpā can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundane which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nāndgaon may represent the ancient village. Jayapuradvārī, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jaur which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nāndgaon. Kallivana where the donor resided is undoubtedly Kalvaṇ, the chief town of the Kalvaṇ taluk of the Nasik District.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³[†*] स्वस्ति [†*] जयपुरद्वारीतो मेरुमही[ध]रशिखर[स्त्रि]रुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसितयशस(सि) [म]हति सेन्द्रकरा[त्रा](जाना)म-
- 2 त्वयेनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटो[प]समरसंघट्टलब्धविजयी(यो) विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वविक्र-
म(मा)-
- 3 नकान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमकुटनिघृष्टपा[द]पंकजो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
ण्यश्री-
- 4 संपदुपेतः शरदमलशशांकमण्डलामलयशसः(यशः)⁴ श्रीवल्लभभानुशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
नुद्धचातः स्वभुण(ज)म-
- 5 शिमयूखचक्रवलप्रकाशिताशेषदिवक्त्रकृत्स्नकवर्तिलक्षणोपेतो विपुलघनगुणयशसः(यशः)-
कुसुमनिकरो-
- 6 पशोभितसकलवसुधातलः समुद्र इव क्षितिस्त्रितिराजकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगा(र्ग)-
भारी देवद्विजातिस्वजनवां-
- 7 धवोपभूज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहतशक्तिः⁵ श्रीमदादित्यशक्तिस्त[स्य] पुत्रस्तत्पा-
दानुद्धचातो व्यपगतस]-
- 8 जलजलधरब्धोमत[ल]शरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोवितानलक्षिताभोधिपरापरः(पारापारः) सेन्द्र-
ककुलगगनचन्द्र]-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 342.

² From the photo-etchograph published in the *Prabhāṭa* (Marāṭhī) for Chattrā, Saka 1829.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ This expression is used to describe Adityasakti in the Bagumrā plates, and Allāsakti in the Kharā plates.

⁵ This expression occurs in the description of Allāsakti in the Bagumrā and Nāgād plates.

- 9 मा[^{*}] समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभश्रीनिकुम्भान्नशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्र-
स्तत्पादानुदघातो विगतघन-
- 10 षट्केन्दुमण्डलामलकुलतिलक^xकृत^xयुगनरपत्पतिश्रमिस्तसच्चरितः शरणागतासिंहरः प्रस-
भाभिकृष्टान्य-
- 11 राजथोः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभविवक्त्रमादित्यनिकुम्भश्रीजयशक्तिः
- 12 सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्रामकूटावयुक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्^{*}] समनु-
बोध-

Second Plate

- 13 यत्पस्तु वः संविदित(त्) मया परलोकाप(पे)क्षत्वम(मं)गीकृत्य महत्फलं [हि]
श्रुत्वा] [ततः] कुन्दलिकामलविषयान्त-
- 14 मयैतसेणाणा एष ग्रामः^१ सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सर्वदादानदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभे[दि]कापरिह्री-
णाभ्यन्तर[सिद्धि]-
- 15 कः [भू]मिच्छिद्वन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेक्ष[ः] आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्र-
(त्रा)न्ययवक्रमोप-
- 16 भोग्यः कल्लिवान्वास्तव्यकाश्यपसंगोत्रतित्तिरिक्^२हिरण्यकेशिब्राह्मणरेवस्वामिसूनोर्व्वणस्वा-
मिने वसिष्ठरुवंशवद(दे)-
- 17 [वा^{*}]ग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रिय(यो)त्सर्पणात्वं(त्वं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिवृद्धये ब्राह्मणमह(हा)जनसमेताय
- 18 [का]ल्गुण(न)बहुलदशम्यां पृष्ये तिथौ^३ भगवति सवितरि मि(मी)नराशि संवक्रान्ते
उदकातिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्मद्वंश्यैर-
- 19 न्यैव्वा[गामि]भूपतिभिर्नैलवेणुकदलिसारसंसारजलदुद्गुदोपमं च जीवितमवधाय्यं
शिरीषकुमुमसदृशापायं [च]

^१ Chandorkar read: -तिलककृत- but the sign inscribed above कु is that of *gāṇḍhālika*.

^२ Chandorkar read सैनामकनवग्रामः but the correct reading is clearly as given above; compare -कोविपाणां एष ग्रामः in the Vaṇḍar plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 34) and कुमारिवक्षो एष ग्रामः in the Samarai plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 299).

^३ Read सैत्तिरीय-

^४ Read पुण्यतिथौ.

[illegible]

11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26

- 20 योवन(न) निर(रि)तदीसलितगत्वराणि चैश्वर्याभ्याकल्पा(लब्धा)स्मदायोनुमंतव्यः
पानयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यास(मे)न
- 21 व्यासेन [1*] 'व(ष)ष्टिवर्ष्य(पं)सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
च्छेता चानुम(मं)ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[11१॥*] विद्याटवीश्वतोया-
- 22 सु शुक्ककोटरवामिनः[1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदामं हरन्ति ये [1२॥*]
बहुभिर्व्वसुषा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य व-
- 23 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) [1३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
पलाद्रश युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छैः योनुपा-
- 24 लनाम्* [1४॥*] संवत्सरशतपट्के द्वपुत्तरके [फाल्गुण(त)बहुलः^३ दशम्यां लिखि-
त(त्) चैतत्तान्निविग्रहिकरा[मे]ने(षे)ति [11*]

No. 16—CHATESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

B. CE. CHITRA, NEW DELHI

This beautiful *prasthā* is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black granite. It is kept in the temple of Śiva, that goes by the name of **Chāṭāśvara**, in the village of Kianapur or Kisanpur (Kishnapura), in the Cuttack District of Orissa. This village is situated about 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack. The inscription seems to have been examined first by Bābu Nagendra-nātha Vasi as early as November 1893. He noticed it in Bengali, in 1894, in his *Vivakāśa*, Vol. VI, p. 229. Later on, in August, 1898 he read a paper on it, giving its full text and translation, which has been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I (History, Antiquities, etc.), pp. 317-327. No facsimile of this *prasthā* has so far been published elsewhere.

After Vasi's treatment of this inscription, no other scholar seems to have cared to examine it closely, though it has been referred to by various scholars in connection with the history of Orissa. In the winter of 1939, the writer of this article, in the course of his official tour in Orissa, happened to visit Kianapur, where he studied the inscription from the original slab. As a result thereof, it was found that the text presented by Vasi is in inaccurate in places as his interpretation of it is erroneous. The present writer had occasion to comment on this inscription in the Hindi monthly *Mithila*, September 1951, pp. 153-158, as also in the *Oriental Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, 1952, pp. 11-13, where the importance of the inscription as well as a few examples of the defects in Vasi's treatment of it has been pointed out. These may be considered as enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription.

¹ Name of verses 1-4: *Anuśṭup*.

² This clause is superfluous.

The inscribed surface measures 31"×18". It contains 25 lines of writing. The engraving is beautifully executed, and is fairly well preserved throughout, except a few scratches about the middle of lines 17 and 18. These, however, do not cause any difficulty in the reading of the *akṣaras* affected.

The alphabet of the inscription is the eastern variety, proto-Bengali, of the thirteenth century A.C. Some scholars prefer to give this script the name Gaudī.¹ Forms of *kh*, *j*, *t*, *ḥ*, etc., which resemble the modern Oriya and Bengali forms of these letters, are noteworthy. The forms of initial vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* and *ḥ* may be seen in lines 6, 8, 22 and 8 respectively. The sign of *viraṅga* is remarkable inasmuch as it consists of two small circles, one above the other, with a horizontal top stroke on the upper circle. The form of *p* looks somewhat like that of *y*. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as *śtes* and *śja* in line 1, *rtḥ* in line 3, *vyā* in line 7, *mbrā* in line 12, and *śhja* in line 7. This last shows that the subscript *j* resembles *t*. The form of *t* otherwise may be seen in *mukujē* in line 2. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is in verse throughout, except the obsequies in the beginning. There are altogether twenty-five verses in various metres. The verses are not numbered; but the end of the first half of every stanza is marked off, as a rule, by a single *daṇḍa*, and the completion of every stanza likewise by a double *daṇḍa*. The style is highly ornate.

As for orthography, no distinction is made between the signs for *ḥ* and *e*. Properly speaking, the sign for *e* stands also for *ḥ*. In giving the text, I have read it correctly as *h* wherever *ḥ* is required.² A consonant after *e* is generally doubled, cases like *rtḥ* in line 6 being exceptions. In those like *amaraḥ* in line 5 the rule of reduplication does not apply at all. In such cases the consonant after *e* is correctly left single.

Grammatically, the pronominal use of the word *deya* in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature, as in Māgha's *Śilapālśradha*, III, 57: *janmī-ajāta-śkhalanair-an jātu deyaḥ-py-umuckyaṁto viśāta-mārgāḥ*. In verse 9, the verbal form *ajāat*, in the causative sense, is a solecism, which is repeated in *ajāat* in verse 10. Similar solecisms are not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions. On the seals of Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyōtishā, for instance, we have *tiṣṭa jāta dēyāṁ śrī-Ratnamatyāyā*, *Kalyāṇavarod*.³ To quote another instance, we have *varaudharīṇa-tanayam prajāṇā* in the Mandasari inscription of Mālava Samvat 524, referring to the Gupta king Gōvindagupta.⁴ The word *śuddhām* in verse 7 has possibly to be taken as synonymous with *śivalām*, which would be of lexical interest. The construction, however, seems to be faulty inasmuch as a *śiva* was essential in the subordinate clause and that is absent. Instead of *śuddhām*, something like *śiva-śiva* would thus have been better. These observations, it may be admitted, hold good only in case the interpretation of the verse in question as given below be acceptable. The verse no doubt is a hard nut to crack.

The main object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Kāmāntaka, i.e., Śiva, evidently identical with the present Chāṭṭāvara temple. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who exactly was responsible for raising this edifice. Vāṇu ascribes it to Anaṅga-

¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar, for instance, justifies this designation (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 234; *IBQ*, XXVIII, pp. 130-1). The script of the present inscription compares well with that of Śaṅkṣāvara's inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhadra II; above, Vol. VI, plate being page 202.

² The confusion between *e* and *ḥ* is not only a paleographical feature, but also a phonetic peculiarity, which is noticeable in certain inscriptions even of the Gupta period. See Dr. G. S. Gai's note in the *Journal of the Gangadhar Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

³ Dr. Hirānanda Sastri's *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, Calcutta, 1942), p. 70.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 15, text 1, line 4.

bhima II,¹ whereas a careful perusal of the text, even as it is presented by the said scholar, will show that it was Anāṅgabhīma II's (really III's) minister, **Vishṇu**, who built that temple. Bāhu Manomohan Chakravarti, who, by the way, proved this Anāṅgabhīma to be Anāṅgabhīma III (and not II), has evaded the issue by merely observing: "Several years would have elapsed between the minister Vishṇu's fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple."² Bāhu Rākhāl Dās Banerji, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note by attributing the construction of the Śiva temple in question to Gōvinda who was the said Anāṅgabhīma's grandfather's minister.³ The confusion is probably due to the fact that Anāṅgabhīma's grandfather's name also happens to be Anāṅgabhīma and that both he and his minister, Gōvinda, also figure in the present inscription, as we shall presently see. Dr. Hemchandra Ray, however, correctly ascribes the erection of the temple to Vishṇu.⁴

Our inscription mentions only four members of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga: (1) Chōḍa-gaṅga, (2) his son Anāṅgabhīma, (3) his son Rājendra, and (4) his son Anāṅgabhīma. Not taking the earlier rulers of the lineage into consideration, Vaas took the second of the aforementioned members as Anāṅgabhīma I and the fourth as Anāṅgabhīma II. In the context of the full genealogy, however, these two stand as Anāṅgabhīma II and Anāṅgabhīma III respectively; one of their forefathers (Vajrabasta by name) being Anāṅgabhīma I.⁵ It may further be observed that a variant form of this name, which frequently occurs in inscriptions, is Anivaṅkabhīma, and that Rājendra of our inscription is to be equated with Rājārāja III. The full genealogy as well as the events connected with the various members of the dynasty has recently been reviewed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his edition of the Nagari plates of Anāṅgabhīma III: Śaka 1151 and 1152.⁶ The portion of the genealogy contained in the present inscription stands as follows:

- (1) Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.)
- (2) Anāṅgabhīma II (4th son of 1) (1190-97 A. C.)
- (3) Anantavarman-Rājārāja III (son of 2) (1198-1211 A. C.)
- (4) Anāṅgabhīma III (son of 3) (1211-38 A. C.)

Again, as indicated above, in connection with Anāṅgabhīma II, our inscription mentions his minister Gōvinda; and in connection with Anāṅgabhīma III, it describes his minister Vishṇu. As a matter of fact, the Chāḍaśvara inscription is a eulogy of this Vishṇu himself. Of the total of twenty-five verses, the poet has devoted as many as thirteen to Vishṇu alone, describing his valour, learning and charities. The first eleven verses, descriptive of the Lunar Race and some of the later Gaṅga rulers belonging to it, serve as introduction, while the concluding stanza mentions the poet's name and fame. A perusal of the whole inscription leaves one with the impression that Vishṇu was that type of a minister who is all in all in a state, while its ruler counts as a mere figure-head.

The contents of the inscription are, briefly, as follows. It opens with a symbol for *siddham* followed by *Om* and obeisance to Śiva. Verse 1 is in praise of the Ocean and verse 2 in that of the Moon, born of the Ocean. Verse 3 refers, in a conventional way, to the kings descending from the Moon, i.e., those of the Lunar Race. Verses 4 to 6 describe, in a general way, king Chōḍagaṅga

¹ *JASS*, Vol. LXVII (1908), p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII (1903), p. 120.

³ R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 255 and p. 262.

⁴ H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 478.

⁵ For a full genealogical list of the later Gaṅgas of Kalinga, see Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 287-288.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

(i.e., Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga). It is of interest to know that, in verse 4, he is described as an incarnation of the Narasimha *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu. We may parenthetically observe here that, as is known from other inscriptions, Chōḍagaṅga's ancestors were all staunch devotees of the god Śiva, and that Chōḍagaṅga himself was one such in the earlier part of his life; but that, about 1112 A.C., he started adoring Viṣṇu as well, later on becoming a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. His descendants all adhered to the Vaiṣṇava faith.¹ Verse 7 describes Chōḍagaṅga's son Anaṅgabhīma (II) as a peace-loving ruler. Verse 8 mentions his able minister, Gōvinda, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gṛha*. Verse 9 introduces Anaṅgabhīma (II)'s son Rājendra (Rājārāja III), whose son Anaṅgabhīma (III) is described, in verses 10 and 11, as a valorous and munificent ruler. Verses 12 to 22 are descriptive of Anaṅgabhīma (III)'s minister, Viṣṇu. In verse 12 he is stated to have stabilised the empire of the lord of Trikaṭṭāga (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III). Verse 13 represents him as a great warrior. Verse 14 alludes to his having routed a king of Tammāga, while in verse 15 mention is made of his fight with a Muslim ruler (*Yama-dāmanidra*). Verse 16 refers to his vigilance and war-preparedness, ensuring safety and security to the empire of the lord of Utkala (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III). Verses 17 and 18 contain a poetic description of his glory (*paśas*). Verse 19 adverts to the *Tulāpuruṣa* gift which, it is indicated, he ceremonially gave on the sea-shore near Puri. Verse 20 contains a poetic description of sea-breezes and informs us that the minister Viṣṇu caused pools and tanks to be constructed along principal roads. Verses 21 and 22 describe his proficiency in the *Vēdas* and various *śāstras*. It may, in passing, be remarked that it is on the strength of these two verses that Viṣṇu may be taken as a Brāhmaṇa. Otherwise, neither his caste nor his parentage is expressly stated in the inscription. Besides, we are not in a position to say whether he was in any way related to Gōvinda, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Anaṅgabhīma II. Verse 23 informs us that Viṣṇu erected the temple of the Destroyer of Cupid (*Kāmāntaka*), i.e., Śiva. In verse 24 a long life is wished to this temple as well as to the *pradestī*. The author of the *pradestī*, a poet, Bhāskara by name, introduces himself in verse 25, as the last item.

It may be realised that this eulogy gives us more of poetry than of history. The translation of the text appended hereto will give an idea of the heights of imagery and hyperbole to which the poet Bhāskara has soared. He has exhibited his skill well; but, alas! he has not been understood so well, with the result that what little of historical value his poem contains has suffered distortion. The obscurity that prevailed over the identity of the builder of the temple has already been pointed out. Following Vasu's translation, Banerji says: "According to this inscription either Gōvinda or Anaṅgabhīma III erected several pleasure-houses at Pāruashōttama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpuruṣa* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."² Now, this statement is wrong. In the first place, it is neither Gōvinda nor Anaṅgabhīma III, but Viṣṇu, who should be credited with the works of public utility enumerated. These, again, in reality consist only of tanks. He constructed no pleasure-houses and no roads. A perusal of the text and its rendering (of verses 19 and 20) given below will show that the so-called pleasure-houses refer to the toy-hillocks of jewellery for the *Tulāpuruṣa* gift, magnified by the poetic fancy into so many replicas of the Mount Māru, the abode of the gods, and that, so far as roads are concerned, Viṣṇu only dotted them with tanks here and there, and had nothing to do with their constructions. Besides, even the excavation of tanks may not be taken as a personal charity of Viṣṇu. It was presumably a part of the liberal policy of the government with Viṣṇu as its chief minister. What stands to the credit of Viṣṇu as a person, judging from the description given, is the great gift of *Tulāpuruṣa*, apart from the building of a Śiva temple, the main object of the inscription. It may be observed that the *Tulāpuruṣa* is the first of sixteen

¹ Ibid., pp. 239-40.

² R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

malāddānt, 'great gifts,' enumerated and elaborately described in the *Purāṇa*.¹ In the case of the particular gift in question, the donor gives away in charity his own weight of precious metal and stones (gold, silver, ornaments, jewels, etc.).

Historically, the allusion to the wars waged by Vishnu on behalf of his master, Anangabhūma III, are more important. They are, however, so vague that they do not add much to our knowledge. Verse 14, shorn of its hyperbole, means to convey that Vishnu fought with a king of Tumāṇa and possibly harassed him. We know that Tumāṇa was the capital of a branch of the Haihaya of Malākōṣṭa, now represented by a small village called Tumāṇa in the Lāphā Zamin-dārī of the Bilāspur District in the Chattrgarh Division² of Madhya Pradesh.³ We know also that these rulers came into conflict with the Gādga of Utkala (Orissa). In fact, Ratnadēva II of the Haihaya line is known to have inflicted a defeat on the great Gādga monarch Anantavarman-Chōdagaṅga, the great-grandfather of Anangabhūma III.⁴ It is, however, not known as to who the adversary of Vishnu was. It may be argued that the author of the *prastāva* would have given us a more detailed and definitive information on the point, if the war were really a major one. Chakravartī infers from the poetic description that 'the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vināyaka hills'.⁵ It is true that the *Vaṅghy-dānt-ukhā-dāna bhīma-tāpā-kāṇḍe* of the original does lend itself to that sort of inference, yet it is open to various objections. In the first place, the word *bhīma-tāpā-kāṇḍe* may not refer to a river of the name of Bhīmā, as we have taken it to mean. In fact, no river of this name is known to exist in the region concerned. The well-known Bhīmā or Bhīmarathi, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā river, is too far in the south. It is thus more probable that the compound *bhīma-tāpā-kāṇḍe* is to be rendered by 'in the fearsome groves along rivers'. The choice of the word *bhīma* in this context seems to have been dictated by the poet's liking for alliteration. After all, the poet is describing the bewildered state of his hero's adversary running about in all directions, and not the site of any battle.

The reference to Vishnu's encounter with a Muslim ruler in verse 15 is even more obscure. Chakravartī's supposition that this 'refers probably to some invader of Gyaśar-dīla' was, the fourth Bengal ruler⁶ lacks corroboration.

It is needless to dilate upon the faulty text and the free rendering of it presented by Vasu, resulting in misconceptions some of which have been shown above. As indicated above, the inscription is to be treated more as a piece of poetry than as a bit of history.

TEXT⁷

[Meters: V. 1 *Śūlāśrīṭī*; v. 2 *Upajīṭī*; v. 3 *Śrāgdhārī*; v. 4 *Maṇḍūkyaṭī*; vv. 5-7, 10-17, 20 *Sāntālanakṛīṭī*; vv. 8, 9, 21, 25 *Paṇḍarābhīṭī*; v. 18 *Harīṭī*; v. 19 *Prithvī*; v. 22 *Paṇḍarābhīṭī*; vv. 23, 24 *Māhīṭī*.]

१ सिद्धम् ३३ नमः शिवाय ॥ स मस्मिन्मेनाकः स्मरति जनककोटललितं
पदन्तः श्रीकान्तः श्रवति गृहवामातृपदवीम् । मुरेभ्यस्तन्मस्त्वव्यसतमनुभूय
व्यञ्जितं मस्मुनामत्यं सोषय्यवति सरि-

¹ The sixteen great gifts are: *Taṭṭagatāṅga*, *Hiranyagatāṅga*, *Dhātugatāṅga*, *Kalpapatraṅga*, *Ukhāṅga*, *Hiranyakūṭṭhaṅga*, *Hiranyagatāṅga*, *Śrāgdhārīṅga*, *Paṇḍarābhīṭīṅga*, *Dhātugatāṅga*, *Kalpapatraṅga*, *Ukhāṅga*, *Hiranyakūṭṭhaṅga*, *Hiranyagatāṅga*, *Śrāgdhārīṅga*, *Paṇḍarābhīṭīṅga*. For their description, see the *Malaya Pradesh* chapters 273-298. Compare also Hāmāli's *Chaturvargaśāstra*, *Dhātugatāṅga*, *Paṇḍarābhīṭī*.

² *India Antiquary*, Vol. LIII (1926), p. 297.

³ H. C. Ray, *DMH*, Vol. I, p. 470.

⁴ *JASO*, Vol. LXXII (1908), p. 449.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ From the original and from linked *malāśrīṭī*.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 तामेकमुभगः ॥[१॥*] तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः कलानिधिविष्विष्वविजोचनानाम् ।
यमर्पयामास गुणानुरागाज्ञे[वे] मुरारिर्मृकुटे पुरारिः ॥[२॥*] भूपास्तस्माद्वि-
भूवुर्विस्मयसमरोदञ्चदाश्चय्यवीर्यजयो-
- 3 तिज्ज्वलावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्त्यानदानप्रवन्धाः । येषां कीर्तिप्रवा[हे] प्रतिपदमुदयस्त्वर्द्ध-
नीसङ्गनीव्यप्रेह्वस्तत्तोतकेनः कलमति जलधिस्तानि लोकायितानि ॥[३॥*]
तेषाम्ब[र्वा] यं यं ये विशदयशसा-
- 4 ऊचोदगङ्गाक्षितीन्द्रव्याजव्यक्तं तरहरितनोभ्योतिराविर्बभूव । दण्डी(र्षी)हामद्विप-
मदनदीतीर्थसंन्यामिना यन्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिनृपतयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीम् ॥[४॥*]
धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान्प्रागेव वै-
- 5 रिथियः स्मेरमपंतराङ्गतेन मतसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः । चक्रे वैरिवधूजनस्तनतटीव्यो
मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः पश्चाद्दुदुरगन्वसित्थूरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्यस्थसौः ॥[५॥*] यत्कल्लोलित-
मण्डलापकुटिलाटोपमकु-
- 6 रत्नाध्वसैर्व्यङ्गाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्ययिभिः पाथिवैः । चण्डाशोद्विच मण्डलापपटलं
निभिन्नं तन्मन्युना मन्यो निर्व्वृतिगर्ज्वितैरनुसृतो निर्व्वर्णसीमा रसः ॥[६॥*]
आसीत्सुनुरनङ्गभीमनृप-
- 7 तिः पुण्यातपन्नततो न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकल्मषमसीकल्लोललीलावितैः । केयं
मन्यकला यदुन्मदकारिष्यूहम्बि(हं वि)हायामुना शुद्धामेकपदे वृषे कलयता
साम्राज्यमासादितम् ॥[७॥*] स्वैर श्रुति-
- 8 प्रवगवीभिध्पास्यमानो गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः । राज्ञः क एष महिमा
यदसावनेन साम्राज्यमारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥[८॥*] सचा(र्वी)नतप्रतिमहीपति-
केशपाशशेवातवलिशिख-
- 9 रे नमराजहंसाः । यत्पापपङ्कजगृहाश्रमिणः स्वपन्ति राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन वतः
क्षितीन्द्रः ॥[९॥*] जनेसी तमनङ्गभीमनृपति यस्य प्रतापान्नमस्वालासम्ब(संव)जितैः
सुवर्णशिखरो याति इवत्वं
- 10 यदि । आदायैतमहन्निशं यदि धना मुञ्चन्ति धारोत्करानाथाः पूरयितुं तद्यापि
विजयी यद्दानकोलिक्रमः ॥[१०॥*] वैमोक्ष्यं विमलोकरोति यदि तत्कीर्तिर्मृषा
स्वर्द्धनी कण्ठे चेद्विलुण्ठति

[illegible]



- 11 तद्गणितयो विरुमोक्तिकानां सजः । तत्पादाब्जनव्यवृत्तिव्यतिकरं भूषाविधिव्यञ्ज-
भूष्यत्यधिकृतिपालभालफलके कः पट्टवन्धग्रहः ॥[११॥*] तस्याथ क्षितिपाल-
भालवदभीनिवास्त-
- 12 पादाङ्गुलेर्विष्णुर्विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान्साचिव्यमव्याहृतम् । इवेतच्छत्रसन्तानि यस्य
यससा निम्माय किम्ब्रूमहे साम्राज्यं विकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपत्रोक्तम् ॥[१२॥*]
ये याताः शरणं
- 13 रणाङ्गणाशिरस्स(स्स)न्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो [यै]र्वा दुर्दमदोर्विजामरसिकैस्सत्तातवङ्गैः स्थितम् ।
आश्चर्य्यं यदमी द्वयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः पादं प्राप्ता निम्बर-
निर्व्वृत्तिप्रणयिता प्र-
- 14 व्यधिनः पायिवाः ॥[१३॥*] विन्व्याद्वैरधिमीम भीमतटिनीकुञ्जं तटेम्भोतिवे-
र्विष्णुर्विष्णुस्सावसाविति भयाद्वै तन्दिशः पश्यतः । योगाभ्यासपरिश्रमेण न
तथा वैखानसानामिदं विश्वं
- 15 विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्माणपृथ्वीपतेः ॥[१४॥*] कर्णोत्तंसितसायकस्य
सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः किम्ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्द्रसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।
वस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-
- 16 नां व्योमाङ्गणे नाकिनामस्वानरनिमेयवृत्तिभिरभूत्तैर्महानुत्सवः ॥[१५॥*] साहसाः
परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यूथैर्गजाः प्रेङ्खद्भिः पथि पुण्डरीकपटलै-
द्विचक्रमा-
- 17 कम्पते । सम्बा(संवा)सः कटकेषु मौलि[पु] पदन्यासः कुलवमामृतां [कु]द्वे यत्र
न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीलतिः ॥[१६॥*] इमापीठं कियदम्बरङ्किय-
दथ स्वःसौधमेतत्कियद्विचक्रं किय-
- 18 देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माण्डखण्डङ्कियत् । आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रे-
दमामोदते यत्र [स्फूर्जं]ति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतद्वशः ॥[१७॥*]
तपततनयामभ्यादत्तेवत्तंसयितुं शिवः कुवलपकुलं
- 19 कर्णोत्तसेन विभ्रति सुभ्रुवः । विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्गीर्विदन्त्यालितः स्वनेर्जंगति
जनितद्वेतादौते तदीय[य*]शोभरैः ॥[१८॥*] अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीपु
वाराभिधेस्तटीषु घटितास्तुलापु-

- 20 स्थाहेममूमोमूतः । विश्वासवसतीस्तातः कलधता वनाराजिता लक्ष्मीपदनवारिजे
तरतितास्तलीलं दनः ॥[१६॥*] पन्थानः सरसां धर्तस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्गिता
यत्तदा स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-
- 21 वभंकुहरध्वस्ताध्वलेदोम्मंजः । सप्तशौरभसारणीकरमयैः पाषेयनारैरमी मन्दं
मन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानम्भोधिबेलानिताः ॥[२०॥*] आन्वोशिकी कुटिलमंजत
यं वन्दाक्षैर्ध्वस्य नयी वदनतान-
- 22 रसे चुचुस्व । स्वरं यदीवहृदये विजहार वार्ता वं वरुनीतिरणि निम्भंर-
गालिलिङ्ग ॥[२१॥*] उदयशोषादपथप्रवर्तनस्सलद्गतीनि श्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः ।
चकार तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तिसम्भ-
- 23 दाम्पदे पुराणानि पुनर्ज्ञानि यः ॥[२२॥*] कनककलशभावं भावयामात भास्वानजनि
रजनिजानिः स्फटिकः पूर्णकुम्भः । ध्वजपटन्तुलश्रीर्ध्वजं च व्योमगङ्गा
विरचितममुनेदं धाम
- 24 कामान्तकस्य ॥[२३॥*] विभुवनभयशान्तिं ह्युत्तुमेकाग्रंवेन्तध्वजपमिष यावत्कुर्वते
पर्वतेन्द्राः । सदनसिद्धमुदञ्चरकेतुञ्जप्रतिष्ठासिह कलयतु तावद्गोपताञ्च
प्रशस्तिः ॥[२४॥*] लोका-
- 25 इचतुर्दश न माति यशो यदीयं विद्याश्चतुर्दश न तुपाति यस्य बुद्धिः ।
मन्मन्तराध्यापि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्तिर्न स्तानिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोत्प्राः
॥[२५*] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Obsequies to Śiva!

(Verse 1) Hail to the Queen, the sole (lonely) lord of (all) the rivers, (and merged) in whom the famous (mount) Mainika (still) cherishes the memory of his (childhood's) frolics in the parental lap,* in whom Vishnu is (reposing himself) as son-in-law at (his father-in-law's) home,² (and) who

* Mt. Mainika, son of Mt. Himalaya from Main or Mainak, is described here as absolutely care-free, because he was lucky enough to have escaped the calamity when Indra clipped the wings of his mountains. He owes his escape to his friendship with the Queen. The word *jambū* in the original stands for both *jambū* and *jambū*, 'father and mother', according to Pāṇini, I, ii, 67 or I, iii, 70.

² Vishnu is known to be Mahāśaṅkhāya, i.e., 'one who reclines on the waters of the great ocean'. The queen is his father-in-law, because his wife, Lakshmi, happens to be the daughter of the Queen.

cipation (*from the bondage of this world*), having pierced through the frontal disc of the orb of the sun in the heaven.¹

(*Verses 7*) From him (Chōḍagaṅga) was (born his) son, king Ananāgabhinna, a very paragon of piety,² who was not touched by the spurtings of billows of the ink of sins of the Kali age. What a (wonderful) magic trick was that, leaving aside the array of rutting elephants, (and depending rather) on the one-legged bull (i.e., *dharma*), adopting merely³ that (magic), he had secured the empire!⁴

(*Verses 8*) In the family of (the Brāhmanas belonging to the) Vata (gōtra) there was born an excellent Brāhmana, called Gōvinda, who was voluntarily adored by the hymns and chants of (all) the three Vēdas.⁵ What an (astonishing) greatness was this of the king that he made him (Gōvinda) the bull-at-the-yoke for carrying the burden of (his) empire!⁶

(*Verses 9*) Then, from him (Ananāgabhinna) was born a king, named Rājendra, the swans (in the form) of toe-nails; the house-holders (so to say) of lotuses (in the form) of whose feet, rest⁷ on the top of mossy woods (in the shape) of locks of hair of all the hostile chiefs who bowed (to him).

(*Verses 10*) He (Rājendra) begot that king Ananāgabhinna whose manner of disporting himself by giving charity far exceeds in fulfilling desires (of the suppliants), even if the mountain of gold (i.e., Sumēru) gets melted by the blasts of the flames of the fire of his prowess, and the clouds, having taken it (molten gold), shower it in myriad streams day and night for filling (all) the quarters (of the space).

(*Verses 11*) If his fame purifies (all) the three worlds, in vain is there the celestial Gaṅgā! If his utterances roll about in the neck (of the people),⁸ lie upon pearl necklaces! If the purpose

¹ All this means that the enemies fought and fell. Seeing no escape from the sure death, they made a virtue of necessity, hoping to be rewarded in the world hereafter with the reward of a happy warrior. And that reward consists in the attainment of perfect bliss in the solar region, as the tradition has it, which only two can reach, a *vijaya* and a warrior. Compare the couplet: *Dvān-man parashan lōkē sārya-magadā-bāhūnan parivāṇā pāga-pāṇā-cāraṇā chābhīnābhā bhāṇā*. 'There are these two men in the world who burst through the disc of the sun, (one is) a paripatetic pāga perfected in meditation, and (the other is he) who is killed in the battle without turning his back (upon his opponent)'. [*Suddhābhīnābhābhāṇā*, Nirmayaśāgar Press, Bombay, 6th edition, 1929, p. 161, verse 106.] Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, kindly informed me that this couplet is met with in certain Kannaḍa hero-stone inscriptions. See B. Lewis Rice's *Mysons and Conq. from the Inscriptions*, London, 1909, p. 172. It may be recalled that, among the duties of a *śakatyapa*, a noteworthy one is *gudhā chāpāpāpāyānam*, 'not running away in the battle field' (*Śrīmadbhāgavatpūṇḍrī*, XVIII, 43), which is echoed in the *reṇā chābhīnābhā bhāṇā* of the couplet quoted above.

² This means that the pious people enjoyed special protection and security under Ananāgabhinna.

³ Mark the use of the word *baddha* in the sense of *bonds* in the present context. The English word *pure* offers a parallel inasmuch as this likewise is occasionally used in the sense of *sheer* or *mere*. See remarks above, p. 122.

⁴ The implication is that Ananāgabhinna was a peace-loving and righteous king. Though he possessed war elephants, he never went to war. The bull, symbolic of *dharma*, stood on all the four legs in the Kṛita age, on three legs in the Trētā age, on two legs in the Drāpara age, and in the present Kali age, he stands only on one leg, mythologically speaking. Again, *mantra-bhāṇā* apparently denotes here 'magic tricks' or the like, but in reality it stands for *mantra-bhāṇā*, 'the exponent of wise counsel,' which is one of the three expedients well-known in the lore of statecraft, the other two being *prabha-bhāṇā* and *atitha-bhāṇā*, referring to the personality of the king himself and the enthusiasm of his forces respectively. The poet astutely tells us in the present verse that Ananāgabhinna's success as a ruler was due to the wise counsel he used to receive from his ministers, one of whom is described in the verse that follows.

⁵ In other words, he easily acquired proficiency in the Vedic lore.

⁶ Another of the poet's pet conceits! Being a calf (Vata), a great favourite of the cows (*gavā*), Gōvinda must indeed have made a fine bull of himself to drag the great burden! Shorn of the poetic embellishment, the circumlocution means that Gōvinda was Ananāgabhinna's chief minister.

⁷ Mark in this verse and in the following ones the historic present tense, referring to the past events.

⁸ It need not be pointed out that the Sanskrit word *keṇḍha* means both 'throat' and 'neck'.

(Verse 17) Just think (of it) ! How extensive (after all) is the surface of the earth where his (Viṣṇu's) Fame can comfortably sit ! How spacious is the sky where she can stretch her feet ! How big is the mansion of heaven where she can enjoy herself ! How roomy are the quarters of the space where she can leap about ! And how expansive is this fragment of a universe where she can dwell !

(Verse 18) The world having been (white) washed by the asaps of his fame, owing to the (all-enveloping) whiteness produced (thereby), Śiva grabs at Yamunā for adorning (his head), fair damsels carry blue lilies for their ear-ornaments, (and) in the heart of the jasmine groves the bees make out their mates (only) by the buzzing sound.¹

(Verse 19) On the shores of the sea, favourite of (the god) Puruṣōttama,² he (Viṣṇu) raised many a veritable Mēru (mountain of gold) while performing the *Tulīpurāṇa* ceremonies. (Consequently) Indra, seeing (not one but) a hundred pleasure-resorts (resembling Mēru), cast askance amorous glances on the lotus-like face of (his consort) Śacī.³

(Verse 20) He (Viṣṇu) dotted the roads with hundreds of lotus-pools, at convenient intervals. From that time onwards, the sea-breezes, with their fatigue and weariness of the way removed by (their resting in) the deep inner cavities of the blooming lotuses, carrying provisions for the journey—provisions consisting of the spray pregnant with the fragrant essence—gently follow the way-farers.

(Verse 21) Login regarded him with favour ! Love of the *Vēdas* kissed his ruddy lips ! Ethics had a free play in his heart ! Statecraft, too, embraced him lustily !

(Verse 22) As for the *Parāyus* (the old persons, so to say),⁴ he, himself being a repository of the wealth of clear understanding of the real meanings (of the *Vēdas* and the like), revived (and rejuvenated) them ; (for), owing to the great defect (and the derangement, attendant on old age, of the humours of the body, known as *tri-dōṣa*) through the perversion of the views about the *Vēdas* (and the decay⁵ in the faculties of hearing and seeing), they were leading (people) on the wrong path and thereby becoming unpopular (and going astray and stumbling).

(Verse 23) This temple of Śiva has been built by him (Viṣṇu), where the Sun has assumed the form of its globe⁶ of gold, the Moon has become its crystal pitcher full (of water),⁷ and the celestial Gaṅgā (is apparent in) the fluttering beauty of its banner.

¹ Traditionally, the waters of the Yamunā are black whereas those of the Gaṅgā are white, and it is white lilies that ladies take for making them into ear-pendants. The bees are naturally black. The confusion, such as Śiva reaching for Yamunā instead of for Gaṅgā, is wrought by the fame which has turned everything white, possibly speaking.

² The allusion seems to be the beach near Puri in Orissa, where there is a famous temple of Puruṣōttama-Jagannātha, so closely associated with the minister Viṣṇu's patron, Anāgabhikṣa III.

³ Mythologically, Mount Mēru consists of gold and gems, and is the abode of the gods. In the *Amarakośa*, I, 49, we have such significant synonyms of it as *Himādri* ('mountain of gold'), *Ratnacakra* (gem-pool) and *Śarāṇa* ('abode of the gods'). The sight of a hundred such delightful abodes must needs rouse a desire for dalliance in Indra, the lord of the gods.

⁴ The analogy with old persons is kept up in the attributes that are given in this verse to the *Parāyus*. It need hardly be mentioned that the word *parāyus* means 'old.'

⁵ The use of the word *vīrahama* in the sense of decrepitude, decay or decline, is best illustrated in the *Śrīmad-bhagavadgītā*, II, 63 :

Kṛdānta bhāvanī samuśhob
samuśhobit smṛitī-vīrahamaḥ |
smṛitī-bhāvanānta bhūti-kāśit
śūdrī-kāśit prasaṅgaḥ ||

⁶ By this is meant the spherical member of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple, from which rises the bull-shaped spire.

⁷ This obviously refers to the pitcher of water, which is kept suspended or placed on a tripod over the *Śaṅkha* in the *amṛta* structure, the pitcher having a tiny hole at the bottom to allow water constantly to drip on the *linga* below.

(Verse 24) As long as the great mountains¹ remain inside the ocean, as if engaged in the *jala-japa* prayers² for the removal of dangers from and the establishment of peace in (all) the three worlds, so long may this temple keep up the grandeur of swelling heaps of foam³ in this world, and so long may (this) eulogy be sung (as well)!

(Verse 25) That well-known Bhāskara is the poet of this (poem), whose fame is hardly contained in (all) the fourteen worlds⁴ that there are, whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (all) the fourteen lores⁵ that there are, and whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (all) the fourteen aeons⁶ that there are.

No. 17—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

A.—Kāyapa Image Inscription from Silao

This inscription has been published by me.⁷ It attracted the attention of Professor Dr. E. H. Johnston of the Balliol College, Oxford, England, who was good enough to offer some illuminating comments on it in a letter, dated the 18th October, 1941, addressed to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Dr. Chakravarti kindly supplied me with the relevant extract from that letter. This extract runs as follows :

"Owing to various circumstances I have only recently seen Dr. Chhabra's interesting article in *Epigraphia Indica* on the Kāyapa image inscription at Silao. On one or two points however he has overlooked references, which would have modified his interpretation. If you would be good enough to send this letter to him, he might be interested to look up those I mention, and if he wishes to publish a supplemental note, he is welcome to make what use of my remarks he likes; there is no need to mention my name.

"On page 330 he refers to *Buddhacarita*, xvii, 12, in Cowell's edition; but the whole of the text in Cowell from xiv, 33 on is a nineteenth century addition by Amṛtānanda, who was Hodgson's pundit in Khatmandu. Asvaghosa did give a full account of Mahākāyapa's conversion, and an English translation of it from the Tibetan and Chinese by me is to be found in *Acta Orientalia*, XV, canto xvii, 24 ff. There is also an earlier translation in German from the Tibetan only by Fr. Weller in *Das Leben des Buddha von Asvaghosa*.

¹ The reference here is to the submarine mountains.

² In an ordinary *japa*, the votary sits in a quiet corner and mutters prayer or repeats a formula there in an undertone or inarticulately, but in a *jala-japa*, as the term indicates, he is required to keep sitting under water all the while.

³ One has to imagine that the exterior of the temple was originally white-washed, and that the main item of the up-keep of a temple usually consists of a fresh coat of lime-wash at least once a year. The poet no doubt wished that the temple built by Vishnu might be well looked after and might endure for ever, but the *phāsa-pūṣya-pratidīpti* of the stanza lends itself equally to a totally opposite and unintended sense: the *solidity* of a *heap of foam*, a mocking reference to the ephemeral nature of man-made things.

⁴ The broad division of the universe into three: earth, heaven and the nether world, is here replaced by its more elaborate classification into the following fourteen sections: *bhū*, *bhuvā*, *svā*, *śakāśa*, *jūnāśa*, *śūpāśa*, *śūṣāśa*, *vātaśa*, *prithvīśa*, *rasātalaśa*, *śūktātalaśa*, *śāśvātalaśa* and *pātālāśa*. The first one refers to this earth, the next six are above it, one over the other, and the remaining seven are under it, one below the other.

⁵ The fourteen traditional lores are four *Vēdas*, six *Vidhāngas*, *Itihāsa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya* and the *Purāṇas* collectively as the fourteenth.

⁶ The fourteen *manvantaras* constitute but one day of Brahmā. They comprise 4,320,000 human years. Six such periods have already passed, we are living in the seventh, and seven more are yet to come.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXV, 327 ff. and plate.

"In verse I, should not *jāṇaṃ* be taken in the technical sense, as described in *Rhys Davida-Steda, Pali Dictionary*, s. v. I. It is a puzzle to me that the term does not appear to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. I would suggest the meaning here is "of immeasurable intelligence" (or "power of perception"!).

"The last verse refers to the legend that Mahākālī attained Nirvāṇa, but after it his body was preserved by magic, and he entered the Gurupāda mountain, where he awaits the coming of Maitreya. Hsuan Tsang's account of it differs slightly from this and from the verse, in making his Nirvāṇa be deferred till the meeting with Maitreya. For the canonical accounts see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 144, and much more fully in J. Przyluski, *La Légende 'Acolā* 167 ff. (Is this latter important work not available in Indian libraries?) Dr. Chhabra is clearly not satisfied with his own translation and has not seen the significance of *adhīsthāna*, which refers to *adhīsthāna*, the magic spiritual power of Buddha, by which he causes things to endure, or a Bodhimatya to explain the most esoteric points of doctrine. For references see La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhiharmaśāstra de Vasubandhu*, ch. iii, 31, and ch. vii, 119 and E. Lamotte, *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā*, 56 ff.; and Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatīraśāstra*, 377.

"Despite the last, I think it is unusual to find the power attributed to anyone except the Buddha. It is of course a specifically Mahāyāna doctrine, and the Hīnayāna adopted it from them. I take it that the verse means "This Kāśyapa, who passed into Nirvāṇa and yet kept his body in existence by his magic power just for the good of the world, resides (lit. shines) in the Beautiful Gurupāda mountain; i. e. inside the mountain, not on it."

I have nothing to add, except one remark in connection with Dr. Johnston's explanation of the last verse. It might be considered right provided the *śi'yaṃ* of the original be taken as referring to Kāśyapa himself. It is, on the contrary, presumed that we are concerned here with the statue and the inscription on its pedestal. And when the latter says *śi'yaṃ-ābhātī Kāśyapāt*, it obviously alludes to the stone image of Kāśyapa,¹ and not to Kāśyapa as a person. Such being the case, would it not be correct to say 'on the mountain, not inside it' rather than 'inside the mountain, not on it'?

Further, I am inclined to connect *Gurupāda gīṇa ranyā* with *śi'yaṃ* and not with *śi'yaṃ-ābhātī*.² The difference it makes is as obvious as it is consequential. According to the latter construction, the statue must necessarily have been set up on the Gurupāda hill itself, whereas according to the former it might have been established anywhere else as well. In fact, the possibility of its having been erected in the vicinity of the village of Silao, if not at Silao proper, has already been shown.³

B.—Chandrabandī Rock Inscription, Śaka 803.

This inscription has been edited by the late C. R. Krishnamachari.⁴ It is a Kannada record and pertains to the Jaina faith. It consists of only six lines, the last two of which comprise the following *Ārya* in Sanskrit:

अनवरतशास्त्रदानप्रदिलक्षारिप्रज्जलपरेश्वरम् ।

इतिनिदाघविषातं कुप्यात् श्रीमद्वै(स्व)नन्दोऽः ॥⁵

¹ It has been pointed out that "the inscription is virtually a label to the image" (*ibid.*, p. 335).

² *ibid.*, p. 333, note 13.

³ *ibid.*, p. 327, para. 1, p. 331, para. 2.

⁴ *The Kannada Inscriptions of Kapplī (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 12, Calcutta, 1933)*, pp. 6-7, plate I (b).

⁵ It may be pointed out that the sign of medial (long) *i* is not distinguishable from medial (short) *i* in this inscription, and that the rule of *śandhi* has not been observed in *śi'yaṃ* *ābhātī*.

The learned editor introduces this verse by remarking that it "expresses a wish that the glorious Sarvanandindra may 'dispel the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of his conduct'. The reading in the photograph appears to be *jala-dhāraiḥ*—, in which case it would refer to the waters of his pure conduct." His translation of the couplet accordingly runs as follows: "May the glorious Sarvanandindra wonderfully effect the destruction of the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of (his) ceaseless teaching and (his) absolutely pure conduct!"

First of all, the possibility of the reading *jala-dhāraiḥ* is ruled out by the fact that it militates against the metre, not to speak of the dubious nature of the use of *dhāraiḥ* for *dhāraibhiḥ*.¹ Secondly, the term *nidāgha*, that has been taken in the sense of 'drought,' usually means 'heat,' 'summer,' or 'hot weather.' This primary sense of the word appears to be quite appropriate in the given context. In fact, it is doubtful whether the word *nidāgha* has ever been used in the sense of 'drought.'

It is, however, the last word of the couplet that the present note seeks to draw particular attention to. *Indra* in *Sarvanandindra* is evidently not to be equated with *Bhaṭṭār* in *Sarvanandi-Bhaṭṭār* that occurs in the Kannada portion. The word *indra* appended to the name Sarvanandin plainly refers to Indra, the lord of gods, the god of rains, with whom Sarvanandin is metaphorically identified. The rest of the verse will bear it out that we have here a clear instance of the figure of speech, called *Rūpaka*, and that the very Indra is the mainstay thereof. The idea embodied in the verse thus becomes manifest: as the god Indra allays the oppressive heat by pouring rain, so may the holy Sarvanandin dispel the evil by spreading knowledge and thereby turning the common herd into good characters.

Finally, as implied by the above free rendering, the long compound in the beginning also lends itself to an interpretation slightly different from the one offered by Śrī Krishnamachariu. According to him, it speaks of two diverse things: *śāstra-dāna* and *pravimāla-chāritra*. And the *chāritra* he takes as referring to that of Sarvanandin himself. It would perhaps be preferable to treat the two things not as separate, but the first as the cause and the other as its effect, and thus the *chāritra* as referring to that of the people at large. This would not only justify the plural number employed in the expression, but would also be more in consonance with the adage *vidyā dadāti vinayam vinayāt yāti pūrātām*, etc. A more literal rendering of the stanza would therefore be: "May Indra, (the god of rains,) (in the guise) of the holy Sarvanandin, in his wonderful way, put an end to the (blazing) heat (in the form) of the evil by means of rain-clouds (in the shape) of perfectly flawless characters (prodigal) through his ceaseless teaching or continuously disseminating knowledge (among the people)!"

¹ What has been taken for the length mark (or medial ā) on the letter *ā* seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

² Considering the religion of that teacher spoken of, the *śāstra* here may be taken as adverting to the Jaina scriptures, but may as well be taken in its broader sense of knowledge as defined in the *śūtri*:

एनेकसम्यग्बुद्धेर्वि परोक्षार्थस्य व्यङ्ग्यम् ।

सर्वस्य शोचनं शास्त्रं यस्य नास्त्यन्व एव तः ॥

Mr. P. B. Desai, Epigraphical Assistant, has kindly pointed out to me that the inscription is in the nature of an epitaph and that the concluding expression in the Kannada portion, *śaṅkṣaṇa-sānta madipidiḥ*, translated as "completed the vow of renunciation," implies, as similar expressions in similar Jaina inscriptions do, that Sarvanandin died. In that case, the blessings invoked in the Sanskrit *Arj*et would sound rather inconsistent unless, of course, Sarvanandin's agency as preacher or teacher, after his death, be understood to be continuing through the succession of his disciples.

C.—*Balsānī Inscription : Śaka 1106*

This short inscription of four stanzas, rather indifferently engraved, has been published by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.¹ Its text seems to be defective here and there. I had an opportunity of examining Dr. Dikshit's article on it at the time when it was going through the press. I even made a suggestion or two regarding its reading. The observations offered here are the result of a study which I subsequently happened to make of this interesting record. It presents certain difficulties that are still awaiting solution. Dr. Dikshit's provisional identification of the king Krishna figuring in it, for instance, with a member of the Ābhira family of Bhambāgiri needs corroboration. And his explanation of the line read by him as

यः के(ह)णस्य नहीपतेः करतले कलनिं पिष्ट्वा(व्या)चले(जाम)

'who in no time made over the earth...to the possession of the king Krishna' does not seem to have hit the nail on the head.

In the present note, however, I propose to draw attention to a more obvious point, namely the object of the inscription. "The object of the inscription," says Dr. Dikshit, "is to record that the *Paṇḍita* repaired the Royal Maṭha (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at Balsānaka, for the inhabitants of Brahmins."² The relevant text सा(य)कारवयानवर्त च नमं निरंतरं बहुनिवासहेतोः has accordingly been translated by him as "he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitation of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery."³

The use of the term *maṭha* in the original has given rise to what I may call a misconception as to the exact purport of the record. It has been taken in its ordinary sense of 'monastery,' whereas it has in all probability been employed here in its secondary sense of *devālaya* or 'temple.'

In the very opening sentence of his paper, Dr. Dikshit informs us that the inscription 'is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple.'⁴ And in the absence of any specific reference to the contrary in the inscription, we may be justified in accepting that the *maṭha* mentioned therein refers to the very temple itself where the inscription is found.

Going through the earlier reports on the epigraph, one gets at the root of the confusion. Mr. H. Cousens first drew attention to its existence 'upon the *maṭha*.'⁵ Mr. R. D. Banerji, who happened to examine it later on, has asserted that it is found on a temple and not in the *maṭha*.⁶ It appears that both the scholars in reality referred to one and the same building, the former naming it *maṭha* after the manner of the inscription and the latter calling it temple in accordance with its actual appearance. The mistake, however, seems to lie in the fact that to Mr. Cousens, the term *maṭha* meant nothing else but 'monastery.' To him the building in question was thus a monastery, because it was labelled, so to say, as *maṭha* whatever its form and size. One finds him describe it as such in his *Medieval Temples of the Dakkhin*.⁷ In this publication he gives also a plan of the *maṭha*,⁸ from which one can see that the modest dimensions of the structure answer more to a simple fane than to a monastery.

It remains to be shown that *maṭha*, meaning 'temple', is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauḷi cave inscription of the time of Śāntikara,

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁶ *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 65.

⁷ *As. Prop. Report, A. S. I., Western Circle, 1918-19*, p. 45.

⁸ *Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII*, pp. 23, 26-27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, plate XXVIII.

for instance, records the erection of a temple, where the term employed is *maṭha*.¹ The word *maṭha*, occurring in line 8 of the Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Śiva.² The Alagum inscription, dated in the sixty-second regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga, obviously refers to a temple of Śiva, under the name of Gartāvvara, again using the word *maṭha* for 'temple'.³ Instances of *maṭhi* and *maṭhikā* (diminutive forms of *maṭha*) in the sense of 'shrines' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.⁴

If now, in view of the foregoing discussion, we accept that the *maṭha* of the inscription refers to a temple, the question arises as to which particular deity it was sacred to. The answer is: to Brahman. This is indicated by the very words *निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः* which may now be rendered as 'for the permanent residence of (the god) Brahman.' The word *brahman* thus retains its primary sense. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation to the very god Brahman. And, as if to lend conviction to all this, we have a report by Mr. Cousens himself that among the sculptured stones, that lie about at the ancient site of Balaṅga, there is an image of Brahman.⁵ It may, therefore, be supposed that this image must originally have been enshrined in the *maṭha* spoken of in the inscription. It is called *rāja-maṭha* or 'royal temple,' which possibly signifies that it was built originally by a king. It may be worth while to investigate as to who this king was. Considering that temples devoted to Brahman are few and far between,⁶ the present specimen though now deserted, may be counted among rarities.

No. 18—NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS

The sculpture bearing a short one-line inscription engraved at its base, which is published below, was discovered in 1940 at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra State, by Mr. K. Ramamurti, the Senior Conservation Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, who was then in charge of the Archaeological Museum at that place. It is a mutilated image in high relief on a white marble slab that was found half buried in the debris of rubble and stones on the northern slope of the Nāgārjuna hill, overlooking the river Kṛishṇā. In the process of clearing the debris, Mr. Ramamurti discovered traces of a large many-pillared hall, at the extremity of which the image under review was found. The partly exposed pillars of this hall are made of marble similar to that used for the other monuments of this place. The building, of which these pillars are the survivors, perhaps enshrined under its roof the very image which forms the subject matter of this article. A search for the missing portion of the image round about the region proved of no avail. The image is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself. When I visited this place

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 330.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 226, text lines 26 and 27.

⁵ *Madras Temples of the Deccan*, p. 23.

⁶ An article on The Temple of Brahmā at Khos-Brahma, by Mr. Henry Cousens, in the *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, pp. 171-75, may be consulted with advantage on this point.

in 1940, I took a photograph of it and a couple of estampages of the inscription at its base, both of which I publish here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgārjunikonda, Amarāvati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in **Prākṛit** language and **Brāhmī** characters assignable to the 3rd century A. C.

The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an *a-vidhuvā*, 'one who has her husband alive', and a *jīvapatā* (Sanskrit *jīvapatrā*), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the *Hūga* and the other in the form of the *yoni*, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines akin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegian coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, Ādyā-Śakti, Prakṛti or Prithivī, the Earth.² Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oblong sealing found at Harappa depicts, on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb.³ This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure akin to this is afforded by a small repoussé gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess.⁴ The inscribed sculpture of Nāgārjunikonda also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamḍuralā who figures for the first time in this record is described as Mahādēvī and the wife(?) of Mahārāja Siri Khavala Chātāmula. The latter is probably identical with her namesake who is mentioned as a son of Siri Vira Puruṣadatta and Mahādēvī Bhagidēvā and as the brother of Queen Kodabalsiri, in inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda itself.⁵ In an inscription from Ruṣṭāla, not far from Nāgārjunikonda,

¹ Photograph No. 1996 of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India; inscription No. 470 of 1940-41 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² B. K. Mukerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 19-20.

³ Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 62, pl. XII, 12.

⁴ *J.N.A.S.*, 1898, p. 579, pl. opp. p. 579, figs. 11 & 15.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and inscriptions G and H. The king's name occurs variously as Khavala Chātāmula in inscription G (page 34, plate V, line 7) and Khavala Chātāmula (in inscription H, line 16, plate V, reverse).

NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION



the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Khuvula Siri Chāntamūla.¹ The expressions *a-vidhavā* and *jīva-putā* used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathurā, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C.² and also on some inscriptions of the Śuṅga period on the railings from Bodhi-Gaya.³ In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.⁴

TEXT

Sidha[m*] |⁵ Mahādēviya a-vidhavāya jīva-putāya Mahār[ā] ja-siri-
[Ehava Chāntamū]la-put[īya]* Khavulāya kārītāi* [||]*

TRANSLATION

Success. [This image is] caused to be made by Mahādēvi Khavulā, (who is) an *a-vidhavā* (i. e., one with her husband alive) and (who is) a *jīva-putā* (Sanskrit, *jīva-putrā*, i. e., one who has her child or children alive) (and who is) the wife (1) of Mahārāja Siri Ehava Chāntamūla.

No. 19—MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Ablur is a village about 6 miles north of Hirekerūr, the present day headquarters of Kōd taluk, Dharwar District. Traditions are current in these parts asserting that formerly it was a very big city¹⁰ and included within its extent the present day neighbouring villages of Bhōgāvi Sotkōṭi, Nūlgēri, Dūpadhalji and Yattinhālli. According to another tradition Ablur is the birth place of Sarvajña,¹¹ a popular Kannada poet (circa 1700 A. C.) and a house near the Sōmāvara temple is shown as the place where he was born. In one of his *tripadī* verses Sarvajña states that he was born at Amābūrn¹² which is identified with Ablur.

¹ As. Rep. S. I. E., 1936-37, p. 82, para. 11, Ins. No. 34A.

² As. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, 1901-12, p. 128.

³ Ibid., 1908-09, p. 140, l. a. 3; cf. *Jīva-putā* in the Nasik inscription of Śantamūtra Sātākarni and *Jīva-putra-putra* in the inscription of Prabhāvatigupta in the *Select Inscriptions*. (These references were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. C. Sircar.)

⁴ *Bhartṛmālā* prapamāṇikā—*Māghasandhā*, v. 90, *Jīva-putra-putra* śrīyaḥ—*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*; *Jīva-putrī* *putra-kāṇḍa* *Udharmagandhā* *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*—*Mahābhārata*, *Adiparva*, ch. 144. (I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Dr. V. Raghavan for these references).

⁵ The punctuation is indicated by a hook-like mark.

⁶ This portion of the inscription bears numerous scratches on the stone somewhat obliterating the letters enclosed in the brackets.

⁷ The stone has slightly peeled off here and with it the lower half of the letter *pa* has gone. There is a distinct mark of an *anusvara* over it. Probably the expression is *putāya*, a corrupt form used in the name of *putayā*.

⁸ This expression obviously stands for *īdāṃ itī*.

⁹ The slanting stroke at the end seems to stand for the punctuation.

¹⁰ The *Ablurā-charita*, to which a reference will be made in the later part of this article, also says that it was an extensive city.

¹¹ R. Narasimhaiah; *Kannada Kāvya*, Vol. II, p. 533.

¹² Channayya Uttangi; *Sarvajña Vachaspathi* (3rd edn., 1935), verse 8.

Over half a century ago the late Dr. Fleet noticed in this journal seven inscriptions¹ from this place, three of which were edited in full. In the course of my annual tour during the field season of 1951-52, I visited Abūr (January 1952) and explored its antiquities. My investigations revealed that this village contained a large number of inscriptions many of which were not known to Fleet and that some important points connected with its antiquities were also lost sight of. In all I discovered thirteen more inscriptions. I propose to study a few of these here briefly.

Most of the interesting facts regarding the activities of Ēkāntada Rāmāyya,² the militant protagonist of the Śaiva upheaval, are centred in the temple of Sōmāśvara. Besides the epigraph E³ furnishing a graphic account of his miraculous exploits⁴ this temple contains an inscription above a panel of sculptures depicting the scene of Rāmāyya's encounter with the Jainas as described by Fleet.⁵ As there are some errors in the understanding and reading of this record (F) by Fleet, I may point them out here in the first instance.

Firstly, it is a label inscription and the word *tānu* appears to have been used in a rather technical sense denoting 'a place representing the scene of.' We meet with its variant *tānu* and *tānu* in other inscriptions at this temple, which we shall study presently. The expression *tānu* may be derived from the Sanskrit root *sthā*, though it appears to have been influenced in its formation by Prakrit. It is interesting to note in this context that the labels in Tamil incised near the sculptures representing incidents in the Pallava history, found in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram, similarly end with the word *iṭṭu*⁶ meaning likewise 'a place, etc.'. Secondly, the epigraph is not incomplete and none of its letters is missing as supposed by Fleet. The first line ends properly with the word *kudureya-* and continues in the second. At the end of the second line, again, it is unnecessary to supply some letters through brackets as done by Fleet. For its continuation is found on the front side of the parapet wall and it reads almost exactly as conjectured by Fleet. The whole inscription now reads as follows :—

TEXT (Fleet's F)⁷

- 1 Śrī-Brahmāśva(śva)ra-dēvarallī Ēkāntada-Rāmāyyaṁ baśadiya Jīnan-odḍay-āgi taleyan-aridu haḍeda tānu || Saṅka-gāvuṇḍam baśadiyan-oḍeyal-iyade āḷam-kudureya-
- 2 n-oḍḍicalu Ēkāntada Rāmāyyaṁ kāḍi geldu Jīnan-oḍedu lūga-pratiṣṭo(the)yaṁ māḍida tā(vu) [||*]

TRANSLATION

This is the place representing how, at (the temple of) the illustrious god Brahmāśvara, Ēkāntada Rāmāyya laid a wager, at the cost of the Jina of the shrine, of cutting off his head and received it back again. When Saṅka-gāvuṇḍa would not let him destroy the shrine of the Jina,

¹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 212 ff.; inscriptions A to G.

² The epithet *Ēkāntada* appears to have been acquired by Rāmāyya after his victory over the Jainas. In lines 28-29 of inscription E the propriety of this epithet is justified on the ground of his firm and single-minded devotion to Śiva. But it appears reasonable to add that he might as well have claimed it to bring into contrast his great achievement which consisted in vanquishing the doctrine of Anāikānta that characterised the Jainas faith.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.

⁴ It is of interest to note that the achievement of Ēkāntada Rāmāyya against the Jainas is also described in one of his compositions in the Ragala metre by Harihara, a Kannaḍa poet of about the 13th century. Harihara's account agrees in many respects with that of the Abūr inscription E.

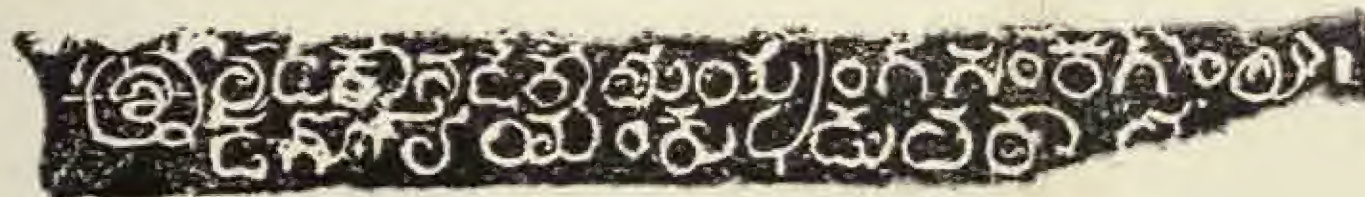
⁵ Above, Vol. V, pp. 230-61.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

⁷ *In situ* and from an impression.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

Inscription I



Inscription II



First portion



Middle portion



Last portion



arraying his men and horses against him, Ēkāntada Rāmayya fought and vanquished them. He smashed the Jina and installed the *līṅga* (in its place).

Now I will take up two more inscriptions in the same temple. These deal with the same theme as the above, viz., Ēkāntada Rāmayya's victory over the Jainas. These are also of the label category. They are not dated, but evidently belong to the same period as that of the above epigraph. They may be assigned approximately to 1200 A. C. on palaeographic considerations.

INSCRIPTION I

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the left of the entrance into the inner shrine of the Sōmāvara temple. The sculptures represent a dignitary with attendants on one side and a row of Śaiva devotees on the other. A person holding a document in his hand is shown prominently in the middle. The epigraph reads :—

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrīmad-Ēkāntada-Rāmayyaṅga Saṁka-gaṁḁvun-
- 2 ḁan-ōḁayaṁ kuḁva tū[vu] [0*]

TRANSLATION

This is the place (*depicting the scene*) of conferring the certificate (*of victory*) upon the illustrious Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Saṁka-gaṁḁva.

INSCRIPTION II

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right of entrance into the inner shrine of the same temple. The sculptures depict the scene of a Jina placed horizontally ready to be broken amidst a group of local officials and Śaiva devotees. The epigraph reads :—

TEXT²

- 1 Yū(Ē)kāntada Rāmayyaṅgaṁ Jinaṁpa-ḁḁḁḁ.
- 2 līṅga-pratishṭheyam māḁḁḁa tāvū [0*]

TRANSLATION

At this place (*is depicted the scene of*) Ēkāntada Rāmayya breaking the (*image of*) Jina and setting up the Śivalīṅga.

INSCRIPTION III

This is an independent inscription by itself, made up of labels. It is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right side of the parapet wall at the entrance proper into the same temple and just opposite to Fleet's E. The characters are of about the same period as those of the foregoing records. The panels of sculptures as well as the inscription divide themselves into three portions pertaining to different episodes in the lives of Śaiva saints. The first series of sculptures consists of the figure of Śiva in his divine form followed by that of a Śaiva mendicant standing before a devotee holding a long piece of cloth in his hand. The second series represents a devotee with his wife carrying a child in her arms and a Kāpālīka *bhikṣu* facing them. The last is the figure of a seated man holding an object like a small round bat. The labels below these sculp-

¹ In situ and from impressions.

² In situ and from impressions.

whereas Bijjala was a protagonist of the orthodox Brahmanical creeds,¹ Basavāvara was a reformist directing his attacks against the rigidity of Brahmanical dogmas and practices and preaching his new cult of liberality and equality amongst the devotees of Śiva.² A volume of epigraphical and other evidence is now available to prove that Bijjala, like all members of the Kalachuri house, was a staunch follower of Śaivism and had no particular interest as such in Jainism. Thus the theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala stands thoroughly exploded.³ When Fleet wrote in this journal more than half a century ago, he expressed his doubt⁴ in regard to the historicity of Basavāvara on account of the paucity of sources then available to him. Subsequently the discovery and publication of a substantial number of literary works and epigraphs which constitute quite reliable and contemporaneous documents, have established him as a historic figure beyond all doubt.⁵ Of paramount importance in this context is the evidence of the Arjunavāṣa inscription published in this journal.⁶

We are in possession of more epigraphical evidence now to show that besides Rāmayya and Basavāvara, there flourished in this century other sponsors of the Śaiva movement, whose aggressive activities must have contributed to its success. We may illustrate these observations from the contents of two inscriptions. An inscription at Anpīgūri⁷ in the Dharwar District, referring itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Virā-Somdeva IV and dated in 1181 A.C., introduces a feudatory chief of the Sagara family named Virā-Goggidēva. An ardent upholder of the Śaiva faith, he is described as 'a fire to the Jaina scriptures' and 'a death to the adherents of the Jaina Law.' The record further characterises him as 'an eagle to the snakes which are the Jainas' and 'a hunter of the wild beasts in the form of followers of the Jina.' Another epigraph from Tālikōṭi⁸ in the Bijāpur District, referring itself to the same reign and bearing a date in the same year, furnishes the following facts about another feudatory, Mahāmāyājñānra Virupakṣa. This Virupakṣa propitiated god Hara by his multifold devotion and was busily engaged with the advocates of the rival faiths. He launched a regular crusade as it were against the adherents of other sects. A conflagration to the forest of Jaina creed and adept in demolishing the Buddhist Canon, he pulverized the Jaina temples and raised the thrones of Śivaliṅgas. Thus did he vindicate his solemn oath and hold aloft the banner of Śiva in the three worlds. By virtue of such achievements he was endowed with the endowments of innumerable Śaiva devotees, both of the past and present generations. Lastly we may note here the significant circumstance that both Virā-Goggidēva and Virupakṣa of the above two epigraphs lived in a period slightly later than that of Basavāvara and that their spheres of activities too were confined to the northern parts of Karmāṭaka. This might have been responsible for the confusion of later writers attributing to Basavāvara active hostility against the Jaina creed.

¹ I have discussed this topic and illustrated it with extracts from Haribhara's above-named work in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karmāṭaka, delivered at the Karmāṭa Research Institute, Dharwar, in 1951. They are now published; see *Karmāṭa Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 102 ff.

² The *Sayings of Basava* are replete with utterances that testify to these observations. They show that his chief opponents were Brahmanas of the orthodox school wielding influence in the society. The Brahmanas and their practices are criticised severely and more often in his utterances than the Jainas to whom only passing references are made. The following among others are a few passages criticising Brahmanism: *Basava: Shlo. Vachanapada* (pp. 48), Nos. 571, 576, 583, 588, etc.

³ The 'Kalachuris of Karmāṭaka' referred to above; see *Kar. Sāh. Pari. Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 113-14. Also see Girind Pat's *Māyā Upaśāhṅga*, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 242.

⁵ *Māyā Upaśāhṅga*, pp. 23-22.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 6 ff. and 17.

⁷ Bombay-Karnatak Collection, No. 207 of 1923-29. The text of this and the following inscription are not published. Their short summaries only have been given in the *Annual Reports on S. I. Epigraphy* for the years concerned. But I have utilised their texts with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 68 of 1929-30.

No. 20—PARBATIYA PLATES OF VANAMALAVARMADEVA

(I Plate)

P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI AND D. C. SENGUPTA, OOTACAMUND

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatīyā which lies about three miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. It was secured by Mr. Biswadeb Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. Mr. Sarma handed over the plates to his teacher, Mr. S. K. Datta, Barrister-at-Law, then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where they are now deposited.

The plates measure 10" by 6.2". They are held together by a ring to which a seal, similar to those found with the charters of the ancient kings of Prāgyōśāha, is soldered. The seal is oval in shape with its diameter measuring lengthwise 4.7" and breadthwise 4.3". It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on counter-sunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front, below which, separated by a cross-bar, is the legend in characters similar to those employed in the inscription on the plates. The legend is written in three lines and reads :

- 1 *Seanti* [॥] *Srīmad-Prāgyōśāh-ādhip-ānu-*
- 2 *yā mūhūrāyūthirāja-śrī-Vaṇam*[5]-
- 3 *lācīrmanudīn*[॥]

The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plates are raised; but the rims of the first plate are damaged and the last line of the inscription on its face is partially obliterated. The upper border of the obverse of the second plate is also slightly damaged towards the right. With the exception of certain *akṣaras* in the last line on the first plate as well as the vowel-marks of a few *akṣaras* in the first line of the same plate and also of line 1 on the obverse of the second plate, the inscription is in a good state of preservation. The *akṣaras* are neatly and beautifully incised. With the exception of the third plate, all the inscribed faces of the plates have one or more *akṣaras* in the margin opposite the ring-hole or in the space left out near about the hole. In the margin of plate I (reverse) there is the single *akṣara* *śrī*, while plate II (reverse) has similarly *sa*. But in the space near the ring-hole of plate II (obverse) there are the stray *akṣaras* *śrī*, *śrī*, *sa*, *sa* and *sa* (t) together with two indeterminate marks, which are all fashioned here and there without any order. They, however, do not appear to have been the *akṣaras* inadvertently omitted in the inscription on the faces of the plates in question. The *akṣara* *śrī* may of course be taken as a *maṅgala*; but the other *akṣaras* can hardly be accounted for.¹ The plates together with the seal weigh 258 tolas, while the seal alone weighs 127 tolas.

The characters employed belong to the East Indian variety of the Siddhamātrikā or Kuṭṭa script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgarī or Proto-Bengali.² Indeed it is the *Gauḍī līpī* or the East Indian script as known to Al-Bīrūnī³ and was the source from which the Bengali alphabet and the allied Assamese, Oriya and Maithilī scripts gradually developed. The inscription employs several times the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 58), *i* (lines 4, 10, 19, 22, 23, 53), *u* (lines 41, 50) and *ṛ* (lines 13, 28, 50, 52). Initial *i* is of the ordinary type in all the cases,

¹ For similar stray *akṣaras* on the last Tezpur plates of Vanamalavarman, see P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāma: Rāya-Mana-danti*, p. 62 and note 2.

² Some of the *akṣaras* (cf. *a*, 43, *ṛ*, *j*, *ṣ*, medial *i* and *an*, etc.) closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms.

³ Sachau, *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Vol. I, p. 173; cf. *JRASB*, L, Vol., XIV, 1943, pp. 115-18; *IAQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 130-31.

except in line 23 where the lower part has a double curve instead of the usual one. Medial *ā* has no less than three different forms. In addition to the usual sign resembling a *dayda* put at the right of consonants and generally joined above with their top *mātrā* (cf. *Kailāsa* in line 1), there are some cases where the stroke is a little curved towards the right and reaches only down to about half the length of the consonants (cf. *krīṣṇa* in line 2), while in others it comes only a little down and then goes up, leaving a sharp curve below and ending in a stroke curved towards the right above the head of the consonants (cf. *pañc-āṣṭa* in line 1). Medial *u* and *ū* are usually of the ordinary types; but the forms of *chyu* (cf. *chytair* in line 2), *ru* (cf. *dhvānt-aru* in line 23), *rū* (cf. *ārūḍhair* in line 11) and others are interesting. *Bhū* has been written in two different ways. The ordinary sign for medial *ū* has been employed in some cases (cf. *abhāt* in line 53); but often the *ū* sign is formed by joining the sign for *u* with a *dayda* put at the right of *bh*; cf. lines 9 (*bhār*), 12 (*bhār*), 18 (*bhūā*), 20 (*ādhāt* for *ābhāt*), 24 (*bhūmishu*) and 25 (*bhūri*). Medial *ē* is formed by lengthening the left end of the top *mātrā* of the consonant in a curve forming almost a loop at the end; but it is yet shorter than the developed sign of the *mātrā* reaching the bottom of the line. The *akshara* *ḥ* has not been distinguished from *h*. The consonant *jh*, which is of rather rare occurrence, is found in the conjunct *jjhā* in line 43. The final consonants *r* (lines 5, 12, 54, 57, 59), *n* (lines 51, 53) and *m* (lines 4, 7, 8, 23, 35) occur many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The prose portion exhibits the quality called *śjar* in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of masters like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (cf. lines 33-46); but the versification is rather weak, there being several cases of metrical errors (cf. verses 8, 9, 19, 26, 27). The formal part of the charter from the beginning down to *Vanamālvartmanudraḥ kṛtālī* in line 48 is the same as in another record, viz., the Tazpur plates,¹ of the king who issued the charter under discussion, except that two passages of considerable length have been omitted in the present inscription, perhaps inadvertently. As some mistakes are common to both the records (cf. *ātṛya* for a word like *yuktasya* in verse 2 and *vijagrikhuḥ* for *yagrikhuḥ* in verse 21), it seems that they were prepared from the same draft which was faulty. There are altogether thirty verses (actually 29 verses and only the first half of another stanza). Of the five verses in the latter part of the document, two are the common imprecatory stanzas, while the remaining three describing the dome are written in a style which is definitely worse than that of the stanzas in the formal part of the record. Weakness in the composition even of the formal part is exhibited by the repeated use of some expressions; cf. *adhināthata* in lines 7-8; *nīkēṣa* in lines 16-17; *atēṣa* in lines 17, 20, 26; *aṅghri* in lines 9, 14, 30; *saici-ōra* in lines 10, 12; *anugā* in lines 13, 19; *vāta* in lines 30, 36. The number of orthographical errors, although not many, is not inconsiderable. The conjunct *agh* has been written as *ah*. The word *pushkariṇī* is found in the form *pushkiriṇī*. *Anuvāra* has been used instead of the final *m* in the imprecatory verses quoted at the end of the record. As regards other orthographical features, the consonants *g*, *v* and *dh* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *m* and *n* have been only occasionally reduplicated under the same condition, while *ṭh* and *y* have not been subject to reduplication. *T* has been reduplicated when followed by *r*.

The inscription is not dated even in the regnal reckoning of the king who was responsible for its issue, although that was expected considering its age and locality. There is, however, no difficulty in determining the approximate date of the charter. As a record of the father of its issuer, viz., the Tazpur stone inscription of Harjaravarman,² is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.C., the inscription under notice has to be assigned to a date about the middle of the ninth century A.C.

¹ See *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1940, pp. 766-67; *Kāmarūpa-śarṇa-śaṅkṣā*, pp. 25-26.

² *Kāmarūpa-śarṇa-śaṅkṣā*, p. 187.

several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free-gift and a rent-free holding.¹ Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding.² In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given'; but a specified rent was fixed for it.³ There were other cases (cf. the charter under discussion) in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free-gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold' and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions may have often been allowed to be enjoyed by the holders.⁴ In ancient India, often the sale of land was theoretically represented in the form of a gift. This is definitely suggested by the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 114: *śhāvarasya vikraya-patishēdhat... dāna-prakṛtiśch-cha vikraye-'jā kartavye śhāvarasyam-ulakam dātūn dāna-rūpēna śhāvara-vikrayaṁ kuryāt*.⁵ That Hapō-sagṛāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold seems to be suggested also by the absence of the customary list of officials and subordinates who were usually addressed by the kings while making free gifts of land.

The reference to the joint family in which the four Brāhmanya brothers Chūjāmugi, Dōṣṭhā, Garga and Śambhū were living together is very interesting. It is said that they did not get separated for fear of the loss of *dharma*. This seems to acknowledge the right of the sons to demand partition of the family property (even during the life time of the father) as provided for in the so-called *Mitāksharā* system of inheritance. It is interesting to note that some early writers on law (e.g., Gautama, 28, 4; Manu, IX, 111) favour partition because it tends to increase *dharma*. Manu says that "the brothers may stay united, or separate in case they desire an increase of *dharma*; by living separate *dharma* increases; therefore separation is meritorious." As indicated by Brihaspati and Nārada, when the brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them, but when there is a partition these acts are separately performed by each,⁶ and this explains the reference to the increase of *dharma* by Manu. According to Śāṅkhālikhita, however, brothers may stay together, since being united they would prosper materially.⁷ This view was no doubt shared by the members of the Brāhmanya family mentioned in our record. The fear of *dharma-kahaya* referred to in the inscription points to the fact that such acts of *dharma* as the worship of the gods and manes and the entertainment of guests were easy for a joint family with its undivided property but difficult for each of the tiny families partitioned out of it with the small resources at its disposal.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only legible record, besides the Nowgong plates⁸ of Balavarman, of the Mlāchālīya dynasty of Prāgyōtīsha, which was founded by Śālastambha and was preceded by the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, represented by Bhākaravarman and his predecessors, and succeeded by the Pāla dynasty founded by Brahmapāla, although both the dynasties of Śālastambha and Brahmapāla claimed to be offshoots of the ancient Nāraka or Bhauma line. According to verses 9-10 of the Bargson plates⁹ of king Ratnapāla of the third dynasty of Prāgyōtīsha kings (i.e., the Pāla house of Brahmapāla), the kingdom of the descendants of Nāraka passed to the Mlāchālīya-āpīnāthā

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 417.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 347-8.

³ See *JASB*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

⁴ Cf. *JASB*, 1932, pp. 4 B.

⁵ Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra*, Vol. III, p. 567.

⁶ See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

⁷ Kane, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *JASB*, 1907, Part I, pp. 289-92; *Kanpurā-āman-śruti*, pp. 73-80.

⁹ *Kanpurā-āman-śruti*, p. 84.

Sālastambha, the twenty-first king of whose line was Tyāgasimha; this king having died childless, the subjects, preferring a scion of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, made Brahmapāla their king. Of these twenty-two rulers of the Mlāchhha house of Sālastambha, mentioned in verse 7 of our record (cf. the expression *tasya-ānanyā*¹ indicating the relation between Vajradatta and Sālastambha) as a branch of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, we have inscriptions of three kings only, viz. (1) Harjara or Harjaravarman to whom belong the Hayungthal plate² and the Tezpur rock inscription³; (2) Harjaravarman's son Vanamāla or Vanamālarman who issued the Tezpur plates⁴ and the charter under discussion; and (3) Vanamālarman's grandson Balavarman who issued the Nowgong plates referred to above. Of the four published records of the family, Harjaravarman's inscriptions, one (the Hayungthal epigraph) of which is fragmentary as only one of the plates has so far been found, are both in a miserable state of preservation. The original of the Tezpur inscription of Vanamālarman is now lost and its transcript, published as early as 1840 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, is palpably full of mistakes of all sorts. The late Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya made an attempt to emend the faulty transcript of the record with the help of imagination; but the result could hardly be satisfactory. The only published record of the family, reliable from the historians' point of view, is thus the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, although this epigraph also suffers from a few damaged letters. Under the circumstances, the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālarman under publication remove a number of defects and doubts in the history of the Mlāchhha or Sālastambha family of Prāgyōtisha.

In the first place, from the published wrong text of verses 7-9 of the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarman, it was so long believed that king Prālammbha was the father of Harjaravarman. The clear reading of those verses in our record shows that Prālammbha was a wrong reading for Sālammbha and that Harjaravarman's father was not Sālammbha but the latter's brother (apparently younger brother) named Arathi. It further shows that the reading of the name Arathi in verse 9 is wrong. The theory about the existence in this dynasty of a prince named Arathi, regarded as the son of Arathi who is mentioned in the passage *chakra-ānukū* (Chakra and Arathi) in line 9 of the indistinct Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, is thus entirely imaginary.⁵ Secondly, it was so long believed, on the strength of the wrong reading of verse 5, that it was Bhagadatta who is said to have received the lordship of the territory of Uparipattana. It is, however, clear beyond doubt from our record that, while Bhagadatta obtained the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta secured lordship over Uparipattana through the grace of Jāvara whom he had propitiated.⁶ Thirdly, the name of

¹ Ibid., pp. 48-51.

² Ibid., p. 187.

³ Ibid., pp. 68-69; *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 796-67.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-Helen-Smṛti*, introduction, p. 20. The reading and interpretation of verse 8 of the Hayungthal plate are not beyond doubt. According to Bhattacharya (op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51-52), Harshavarman, who seems to be placed immediately before Sālammbha in our record (cf. *śat-Harṣa-antir* in verse 8), was followed on the throne by his son Balavarman; then in the family were born the princes Chakra and Arathi, and the son of the latter, whose name is not traced in the record but is suggested to be Arathi (on the basis of the wrong reading of verse 9 of Vanamāla's lost plates) became king; Jivadēvi, mentioned in the following verses 9-10 and described as the mother of Harjara in verse 11, was the wife of Arathi's successor Prālammbha (no. Sālammbha). We now know that Sālammbha was succeeded by his younger brother Arathi, who was the husband of Jivadēvi and the father of Harjaravarman. It seems therefore that the second half of verse 8 of the Hayungthal inscription has to be so interpreted as to indicate that the throne passed to the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi and that the younger of the two brothers was the husband of Jivadēvi. If this has to be accepted, then it has possibly to be suggested that Chakra was another name of Sālammbha and that the rule of Balavarman intervening between that of Harshavarman and Sālammbha was ignored in Vanamāla's records because that king was succeeded by Chakra alias Sālammbha after a very short rule.

⁵ Cf. *Journ. Asian Res. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

Harjaravarman's queen, who was the mother of Vanamālavarman, is given as Śrīmatīārā in verse 15 of the published text of the lost plates, while the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman (line 24) has it as Maṅgalārī. The correct reading of the name in Vanamālavarman's inscription is now found to be *śrī-Maṅgalā*. The real name of the queen thus seems to have been Maṅgalā or Maṅgalārī. Fourthly, the name of Harjaravarman's mother was read in the lost plates as Jivadā (verse 10), although the Hayungthal plate gives it as Jivadēvi (line 13). The present record shows that *Jivad=āi* suggesting the name Jivadā is a wrong reading for *Jivadēvi*. Fifthly, verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the rebuilding of a fallen temple of Hētuka-Śōlin (Śiva) by Vanamālavarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word *hētuka* in this context, Bhattacharya's emendation *Hāṭapa-Śōlin* to indicate the god installed at the city of Hāṭapāśvara seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of Prāgyyūtiśha kings was Hārūppāśvara. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however, be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two aksharas of the name are not quite distinct; possibly *sarū*".¹ In line 21 of the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, Bhattacharya reads the name as *Hārūppāśvara* (although not the slightest trace of *ā* sign on *h* is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to Hārūppāśvara.² In line 1 of the Tezpur stone inscription³ of the same king, the reading seems to be *Hārūppāśvara*, although Bhattacharya suggests *Hārūppāśvara*. The late Mahamahōpādhyāya H. P. Sastri reads the name in this record as *Hārūppāśvara*.⁴ As regards the first akshara, however, he says, "The *ā* stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was *Hārūppāśvara*." In regard to the second akshara of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of *ra*. Hence the Government Epigraphist (H. Krishna Sastri) read it as *Ma*". In a note⁵ on the reading of this damaged inscription, that master epigraphist, P. Kielhorn, read the name as *Ha. ppāśvara* and observed as follows: "Of the name which follows upon *svasti*, the initial consonant (*h*) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply *ha*, or *hā* or *hu*; and the second syllable, which I have omitted, is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 5 of Plate IIb of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmasīlva of Prāgyyūtiśha where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read *Hārūppāśvara*, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be *sarū*. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like *rū*, and in the impressions of our stone inscription to read *rū* seems impossible."⁶ It will thus be seen that the reading of the first two aksharas of the name *Hārūppāśvara* is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably *ha* and not *hā*. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman, the name is found in the rough transcript published in the *JASB* as *Harajitama*, although, it may be pointed out, the letter *ā* has always been read by the transcriber as *v* as a result of the

¹ *JASB*, 1897, p. 291, note 29. See also Kielhorn's remarks on the reading of the name, quoted below.

² *Vida Kāmardya Mahā-mūlā*, p. 60 and plates facing p. 47. *Cl. Journ. Ar. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 111, note B.

³ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 187.

⁴ *JBORS*, 1917, p. 515, notes 1-2.

⁵ *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 203 dem Jahre 1909, pp. 465-71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

- 17 प्रथं ॥२३॥ ज्ञापयित्वा^१ अकबरस्या(स्तथा) तत्र संभागतः । तथा हस्तप्रणीतां शृङ्गप्राद्व
नी(का)गतः ॥२४॥ नही(ही) प्रति तदायातो राज्ञे-
- 18 द्वो रोषपोषितः । कोटवीग्रामतः^२ शीघ्र(ध्र) ततः सेनासमो(मा)वृतः ॥२५॥ संप्रेषितो
भीमसिंहः कुमारो राजभूभुजा । ईदरद्व(ध्व)सम-
- 19 तनोत्संहसा(र्ता) ततो गतः ॥२६॥ बडनगरं लुडित^३मय चत्वारि(रि)शतसहस्र(ज)मिताः ।
राजतमूढा जगृहे बंडविधी भीमसिंह इह
- 20 ॥२७॥ ग्रहमदनगरे लक्षद्वयप्रमितकल्पमुद्राणां । वस्तूनां लू(लु)टनमिहे(ह) कारितगान्धी-
मसिंह(ह)व(व)ली ॥२८॥ एका महामतीदि-
- 21 विप्रक्षिता जयु(यु)मतीदिनुविशती । वे(वा)लधपातयः प्रकाशित(ता) भीमसिंहवोरण ॥२९॥
राजामहीमहेंद्रस्य^४ आजया वित्त उ-
- 22 लुकः । महाराजकुमारधीजयसिंहो नामः(म)^५ ॥३०॥ कालाक्षचंद्रसेनेन चोहानेन समूह(भु)ता ।
तथा सव(व)र्त्तसिंहेन राधेण रणसू-
- 23 रिणा ॥३१॥ केसरीसिंहनाम्ना लङ्काया राधेण शोभितः । राडोडपोपोनाबेन^६ अरिसिंहस्य
सुनुना ॥३२॥ जगवंतादिसिंहेन धन-
- 24 राजम्वराजिभिः । सहितः स्वाहितवर्ध कर्त्त(र्त्तु) हितसमोहिते ॥३३॥^७ अयोधस सहस्राणि^८
अश्वधारवराधलेः । संहितसिंहसहस्राणि
- 25 पवातीनां महात्मनां ॥३४॥ संने गृहीत्वा प्रथमो विश्वदूतटी प्रति । ततस्ते दम्कुरा
राधो संगरं चकृत(व)न्मवाः ॥३५॥ सहस्रसंख्या-
- 26 निहलीशलोकान् जघ्न(घ्न)गंजधर्म । येनागतस्तत्तिरुगाभिःभूतस्तदकम्बरः ॥३६॥ पंचाशत्-
रगाव्हीरा गृहीत्वा तादयवेदयन(न्) ।
- 27 कुमारजयसिंहाय जयसिंहो मुदं दधे ॥३७॥ जयसिंहः कुमारोष श्रीराजेश्वर्य दशनं ।
कृतबान्क(न्क)तकृत्या(त्यो) वा महारणहृती
- 28 कृती ॥३८॥ शक्तवतस्य शक्तस्य केसरीसिंहवर्मणः । गंगध्वज इत्येष कुमारपदवीं वषत्
॥३९॥ अष्टादश द्विचान्ततान्-
- 29 योषान्दुत्संबधान् । दिलीशसंघादानीय राजेश्वर्ये ग्यवेदयत् ॥४०॥ राजेश्वरेण कुमारोष
भीमसिंहो बलीनि(सन्नि)तः । प्रथितो-

^१ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

^२ Read *luptam*, it would be Hindi.

^३ *Masidi* stands for *masjid*, i.e., mosque.

^४ This fourth quarter is too short by two syllables. Perhaps the intended reading was *Jayashih-Bi-azma-ji*.

- 30 कबराख्येन तथा तहबरेण च ॥४१॥ खानेन तंगरं चके शकरशोरभोष[भं] । उत्तम्य
वेवसुरी ता(ता) महानाति तसोप्र(प)मः । ॥४२॥
- 31 घानोरानगरे चके पुष्टं पोदुविचमः¹ । बा(बी)कासोलंकिवीरीय छदु(घट्ट)रवाः रणं व्यधात्
॥४३॥ राणेदेण कुमारोष गज ॥²
- 32 सि(सि)हो व(व)लात्वि(न्वि)तः । प्रस्थापितो व(व)भजायं तडे(डे)गमपुरं महत् ॥४४॥
राष्ट्रप(प) कप्पमुद्रातन्नत्रमवापि वा । त्वं(त्वं)व मिल-
- 33 न³ कार्यं मया राणेन निश्चितं ॥४५॥ श्रीरंजबो दिल्लीश उक्तवान्त [त]दु(दु)तरं ।
विधेः कलेवं(वं)लाज्जातं पत्तदन्न ववाम्यहं ।⁴
- 34 ॥४६॥ श्रीराणोवयसिहसुतुरभवत्⁵ श्रीमं(म)प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीधमरेद्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्ण-
सिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राण-
- 35 जगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्मादा(दा)र्जसिहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिह एव कृतवान्भीरुः शिताबे(ले)कितं
॥४७॥ पु(पु)णं सप्तदशे शते तपति वा
- 36 सत्पुणिमाख्ये दिने द्वाविंशन्मिस्तवस्तरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमू(मू)द्रमिष्टजलधेः
सुष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तो-
- 37 प्राक्त(क्त) रणछोडमद्वरचितं राजप्रशस्त्या[ह्व]यं ॥४८॥ युगं । अ(आ)सीद्भास्करस्तसु
माधववु(वु)धोऽस्माद्भामवं(वं)दस्ततः[*] स-
- 38 त्म(त्स)वैश्वरकः कडो(डो)दिकुलजो लक्ष्म्यादिनायस्त(स्त)तः । तेज(ज)गोस्य तु रा[मचं]द
[इ]ति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मय-
- 39 सु(सु)वनस्त्वय इमे व(व)ह्येणविष्णुपम[ः] । ४९॥ यस्यासा(सी)न्मयसुवनस्तु जनका(को) सेषो
च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[व*] कृत-
- 40 धानाजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणोपवर्णनमयं वा(वी)रांकमुक्त(क्त) महत्⁶ ।⁷ द्वाविंशोभवन्न
सर्वं उदितो वागवंसर्गस्कुं(स्तु)टः ॥[१४०॥*]
- 41 [चतु]वि(वि)ंशत्याख्य इहानवद्वयमुदे सर्गोर्वसर्गोन्नतः⁸ ॥५१॥ इति श्रीराजप्र[श*]स्त(स्तो)
श्रीराजसर्ग(गर)श्रीप्रस्त श्रीसर्गविंशत्य⁹ स[र्गः]

¹ We have probably to read *yuddam-ulikula-ulkrumah*.

² These two *daḍḍas* are superfluous.

³ A more correct form would be *śaṣṭam*.

⁴ This *daḍḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁶ The portion of verse from *chatur* to *śaṣṭa* is redundant here ; it is meant for the twenty-fourth canto wherein it occurs in the thirty-sixth stanza.

⁷ The meaning of this part is obscure ; this line of writing in any way is superfluous.

Slab XXIV : Canto XXIII

[Metres : vv. 1-3, 9-13, 45-52 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 4-8 *Bhujāṅgaprayāṭa* ; v. 44 *Sārlūdamikriṣṭa*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीपणेशाय नमः^१ ॥ अते सप्तदशेतीति सप्तत्रिंशन्मिहोदके । कास्तिके शुक्लदशमोपिने
राणापु(रं)द्रः ॥१॥ नानाविधानि [दा]-
- 2 नाति इष्यं इत्या(त्वा) त्यन्तकं । द्विजादिभ्यो हरि (यात्वा) जपमालां करे दधत्
॥२॥ हृदि तंस्वाप्य च जपन्नामनाम स्वनाम च । तयश-
- 3 : स्थापयन्तीकं(यैस्तोके) भूलोकं त्यक्तपादपः ॥३॥ इदानीं महादानमूर्ध(र्धं) द्विजेभ्यस्तथा गाः
सप्तसाः सुवर्णाद्विष्णवः(र्णाः) । तदुक्तं कर्म अ-
- 4 य(श्च)लं संवधानी नृपो दुर्गमस्वर्गमार्गाय यातः ॥४॥ महादानसन्म(न्म)दपरत्तमसंवाः कृता
दादया तेभ्यस्तत्त्वर्णरूपः(पाः) । तदा(दी?)योस्त्व-
- 5 निःश्रेणिकाश्रेणिकानिः शित्तिस्पर्शहेनं विमान(नं) दमान(नं) ॥५॥ महोद्रेण संप्रेषितं भेदिनीद्रः
समाकृष्ट विस्मयंभेः संवतदध । य
- 6 नाकं मुखं प्राप यमेण नाकं महाराजसिंहो नरेन्द्रेण सिंहः ॥६॥ महोद्रेण संमानितस्तेन
विध्यासने स्वा(स्था)पितो मानितस्तोवितो
- 7 यत् । महादानमालातडागप्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा)करो विष्णुनामग्रही यर्मपूजे(र्णः) ॥७॥ ततः स्वीय-
बेकुण्डलोके त्वकुण्डप्रभाषो हरिः प्रेषयि-
- 8 त्वा विमानं मुद्रा(दा)ऽऽकार्यं संस्थापयामास युक्तं स्वपूर्वोद्भूतं संयुतं राजसिंहं ॥८॥
ततः(तः) कण्ठजे नगरे सिधिरं ज्वातनीडा(इ)ली ।
- 9 जयसिंहो जयमयः सत्पंचदश वासरान् ॥९॥ उत्तल्प्य कृतवाग्वीरो राजसिंहासनसिधिसि(ति) ।
रि(र)रञ्ज रणवज्रोवं कोणा(र्ण)म-
- 10 लौहिनीरतिः ॥१०॥ अते सप्तदशे पूर्वे सप्तत्रिंशन्मिहोदके । मार्गशा(शी)र्षे शीर्षमार्गप्रकाशो
मार्गशाखंदः ॥११॥ वसत्का(न्क)ण्ठजे नग-
- 11 १गरे जयसिंहो महामयः । श्रुत्वा सहवरं ज्ञानं देशसुरी दिलप्य च ॥१२॥ आवात(त्तं)
षट्मर्षावात्सीलिनं कोपयुरितः । स्वभ्रातरं भीमसिंहं
- 12 भीमं वाऽऽवे(वा) प्रेषयस्त तु ॥१३॥ बीकासीलकिनं बुद्धा तं समदवासरं तत्परं ।
महाभीमो भीमसिंहो बीकासीलकिनं क(श्च)रः ॥१४॥ अध्वनु-

^१ This pa is anapada-samāhara.

- 13 श्लेष्(च्छ)सत्वा(संन्या)नि दृष्टस्तदुचरोमव(व)त् । विवाष्टकात् गु(क्तो)ष राहुमुक्त(वर्ग) कु-
विष्(च्छ)विः ॥१५॥ धानोरापा^१श्च श्रम्यातो जपसिद्धो इलेलवा [१^२]
- 14 छुप्यश्वेशशैलेध्वामा(या)तो ह्याव(यो?)वृ(वृ)तोस्य तु ॥१६॥ मार्गो इत्यो राणलोकेगोमुदाष्ट
यायतः । कडा घट्टास्ततो राणातोके(वीके)वृ विष्-
- 15 तैः ॥१७॥ रत्नसीरावतेनापि स्थितं घडे(ट्टे) शिलोक्तदे । वनेलवा न शक्तोभूत्तदा गतुं
कथंचन ॥१८॥ अथ श्रीजयसिंह(हे)न ज्ञानाक्यो व-
- 16 रसाभिधः । प्रेषितो मि(मे)नतं कर्तुं तेनोक्तं मार्गवाप्रिता ॥१९॥ इ(से^२)लवा(वा)न(नं)
प्रत्येवं भवान्दिल्लीशमानितः । सहस्राण्यश्ववाराणा(णां) सगव(संगे) पं- ?)
- 17 चरशात्र ते ॥२०॥ राणेइत्यकराजस्यो घट्टं कडा स्थितो भवान् । निःसरस्व(स्वे) व
निश्चितो राणेइत्य तत्र स्फुटं ॥२१॥ स्नेहस्तत्रप्रपयेतमा-
- 18 यातस्त्वमतः परं । नचावे(वावे)नोच्यते च(वे)तं घट्टाश्रितारवाम्यहं ॥२२॥ उच्यते
केल्यापयानि नवा(वा)वेन तदेदितं । पथीत्सु(इवात्सं)न्य समायाति मा-
- 19 स्तु तेनापि वारणं ॥२३॥ घट्टप्रपत्य मार्गस्य वृष्टप्रयं प्रेषिता भटाः [१^३] तैलवा(वा)वेन
तु कृंदवृष्टालयोवृडं ॥२४॥ ततो न निःसृतस्तत्र [न^४]वाव(वाव)-
- 20 स्तवनंतरं सहस्व(स्व) कण्ठमुद्रास्तुदत्तं(त्वं)कर्म द्विजातये ॥२५॥ अग्रेसरुत्त च तं^३
नवा(वा)वो रणकेसरो । निःसृतोयंन्य(न) मार्गेण राजी त-
- 21 आपि संन्यावान् ॥२६॥ रत्नसीरावतो रत्नं वे(यो)धाना(नां) मार्गतो जवात् । रं(र)णं
चक्रे निःसरणं नवा(वा)वः का(क)व्रतो व्यप्रात् ॥२७॥ इत्वं इलेल-
- 22 ज्ञानस्तु निः^५मृतो प(घ)ट्टलक्षणात् [१^४] दिल्लीशांतिक श्रापातः पृष्टो विस्तीश्वरेण
मः(सः) ॥२८॥ त्व(त्वं) निःसृत किमावातो सणा(राण)कस्यान् मो
- 23 गतः । इलेलपा(सां) तयोवाय(व) नाशं लब्धं मया प्रभो ॥२९॥ राणे(णे)डो मम
[प^६]श्चात् हंतुं मां समुपगतः । योषा मे मारितास्तेन मानाहं तेन निः^५-
- 24 गु(तः) ॥३०॥^५ अस्मा(आ)भावाश्रित्यमेव लोकानां तु चतुः^६शता(ती) । मृता हंत श्रिः(ति)सुतस्तत्^४
भूत्वा दिल्लीश आकुलः ॥३०(३१)॥ अथाकबर आवातो मि(मे)ल-
- 25 न(नं) कर्तुंमूढतः । राणाश्रीकर्मसिंहस्य द्विता(ती)वस्तगवो बारी ॥३१(३२)॥ गरीब-
वासस्तत्पुत्रः श्यामसिंह इहागतः । वृ(कृ)त्वा मि(मे)सनवात्ता(सर्) तां

^१ This *ph* appears like *gh*, while next to it there is a superfluous *da* in *da*.

^२ The reading of this latter half of the verse is not clear; possibly we have to restore it as follows; *airwadham* in *Nandhana* *brilam* *ghatta-tropam* *driddham*.

^३ Read *agrestum* *aka* *brided* *tan*.

^४ *Bandhi* is not observed here.

- 26 पराधत्तु गतो दुर्ग ॥३२(३३)॥ ततो व^१ल्ललगातस्तु मिलने^२ राडर्धमातनीन् । तथा
हसनमर्त्ता^३र्त्ता मिलनस्य^४ विपि(धि) व्यधात् ॥३३(३४) जयसिंहो-
- 27 य मिलन^५ कर्तुंमृष्टोऽमातनीन् [१^{*}] श्रीनद्राजसमुद्रस्य^६ ध्वजभार्गं स्थितस्ततः ॥३४(३५)॥
सहस्राभ्यध्वजाराणां सप्त स सप्तकविधा । सध्वे स्थि-
- 28 कः सप्तसप्तिसप्ततेजाः समाव(ब)भी ॥३५(३६)॥ जयसिंहः स्थितः स(त्त)नामसात्तसमे ह्ये ।
तत्प्रेम्भा(ध्व)कजनैः प्रोक्तं ध्वजवारमयं जगत(त्) ॥३६(३७)॥ प-
- 29 वासीनामयुक्तं संगे रथापितवाग्रजः । तदा पत्तिमयं प्रोक्तं जगद्गुप्ता जनेधु(र्धु)धं
॥३७(३८)॥ महाशीर्षो महार्धयो जयसिंहस्ततो व(ब)ली [१^{*}]
- 30 जालेद्रं चंद्रतीरास्यं सो(मो)हार्णं स्वापयन्पुरः ॥३८(३९)॥ रावसव(ब)लसिंहास्यं परमार-
प्रिदोमणि । चंडीतालं महारावं राठोरान्वीरठकुरात्
- 31 ॥३९(४०)॥ चोडावताग्नये चंडान् शक्तान्शक्तवतांस्तथा । रानावताग्नयेगान्शक्तवतां-^७
म्वकुंभान् ॥४०(४१)॥ सयत्तिजवैरादघा^८न्समे संते^९
- 32 संस्थाप्य से(सो)स्तवः । राणेद्रो रणदुर्धदो(धो) मिलना^{१०}यो(धो) मुवाञ्चलत् ॥४१(४२)॥
रक्तध्वजैः(जैः) शोभमाना भाति नावा मवद्विषाः । सफलवटुमा
- 33 गोवा एकत्र स्वापिताः किम् ॥४२(४३)॥ वे(वै)रिघाह्वणे(णे)मैहोषरकुलैः सद्रतवृंदैरहो
राजचक्र(च)पंडच बाहवस्ति(शि)तिस्फुल्लतार्यवु(वु)तः [१^{*}]
- 34 उद्युङ्गोनिवरंमंहि(हो)मिनिवहंमर्वादिपापूर्ववा नाभीये(ये)न युतो^{११} विराजति जयो राजा^{१२}र्धवः^{१३} कि
परः[१^{*}] ॥४३(४४)॥ क्षोरंगजेद्वयोरस्य चित्ती-
- 35 शस्य युतस्य सः । जगत्प्राणसुरप्राणघातमस्य प्रतापिनः[१^{*}] ॥४४(४५)॥ साक्षया
ति(वि)सतासिधूना(वी)भीर्यगुणसागरः [१^{*}] इव(ले)लला महावीरो हसप्राज(ह्मा)-
- 36 द्युरितः[१^{*}] ॥४५(४६)॥ तथा हुरा(न)नचल्लीना(र्त्ता) व(व)म्येपि म्वेद्र(व्य)भुभुजे(ज) ।
राठोवी रामसिंहास्यो रतलामपुरस्थितः[१^{*}] ॥४६(४७)॥ हाहाकिद्वीरसिंहास्यो गौरम्-

^१ The sign of anagrams is unnecessary.

^२ Though the correct form of this word is *salhan*, yet our author invariably uses *salhan* which is Hindi.

^३ *Snada* is not observed here for the sake of the metre.

^४ *Snadhi* is not observed here.

^५ The intended reading of this portion seems to be *carvita-maharaj-udhaya*.

^६ This couplet is redundant.

^७ There is a superfluous *snada* here.

- 37 पस्तथापु(प)रे [१^{*}] हिट्ट(हिट्ट)म्लेख(ख)महावीरा क्षायातः संमुखं सुखात् ॥४७(४८)॥
दिल्लीपतोमैः स्वोर्वेदच वेद्यपालैः समावृतः । जयसिंहो विभागाव^२ विष्णा(ष्णा)लंभय-
- 38 मावृतः ॥४८(४९)॥ ततः^३] श्रीजयसिंहास्तः पूर्वोक्तोऽष्ट(८)कुर्यंतः । मरीचवाचनान्ना
स्वपुरोहितवरेण वा ॥४९(५०)॥ नी[बु]प्रधा(धा)नवे[स्ये]न युक्ते(काः) मुद्योनिदेव-
- 39 साः(सा) [१^{*}] महानाग्यो [महा^४]श्रीयो(यो) महोत्साहो महामताः(ताः) ॥४९(५१)॥
हि(हि)दूस्नेह(ख)महावीरदेशनामधिशोभिनाः(तः) । वना(वाजमा?)व्यमुरवाणमण्येदेशंनसाततो-
- 40 त् ॥५०(५१)॥ क्षात्रमाख्यभुक्त्वा(भुरवा)णो रणेऽस्वावरं भुजं । अकरीडिनयोपेतसु(सः)
मे(स्ने)हमनुदोषन् ॥५१(५२)॥ एकादश मजो(जा)नस्या(स्या)श्चत्वारिंशन्मिताम्
- 41 शुभान् । क्षात्रमाख्याय राने(ने)[द्रो]प(ने)द्यायात् सुवर्षयान् ॥५२(५३)॥ क्षात्रमाख्यः भुरवाण
एक मरुत द्विप(एकं मरुतमं द्विप?) । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याश्चान्द्रमवस-
- 42 न्यवीः ॥५३(५४)॥ यंवाजत्रयिता भूवा(पः) समूहं राननुभूजे(ने) । इवो(वी) महान्हमपं
मिलनं त्वनयोरनूत(त) ॥५४(५५)॥ इनेनया(या) तकोवाच सुलतान श्व-
- 43 ण् प्रमो । अय(यं) बीरवर्द्धनेनो राना जालसिरोमणिः ॥५५(५६)॥ रावः सव(व)लसिंहोऽ
रत्नसीनामरावतः । चोद्यावत् रणे चं(चं)डाः शक्ता(क्ताः) शक्तावतास्तथो(था)
॥५६(५७)॥ प-
- 44 रमारदत्त राजोस(डा)स्तथा राजावतोत्तमां(माः) । रणे सि(ति)हाः पर्वतेषु भार्यमद्वुदलमाः
॥५७(५८)॥ मृगुपुर्ने(ने) महापोषा ज्ञातव्यं विजतां(वु)धे । दिल्लीपते प-
- 45 रां — —^५ रानोक्त्या रञितुं पु(धु)र्व [॥६०॥^६] अत्रमा(मो)प्युक्तवानेवं सारथीव न
संशयः^७ ॥(१) संतुष्टो अयसिहा(हो)म इवावासां कृतावतार(कृतावरः) ॥५७(६१)॥
जे(न)वसिहो महाभागो वी-
- 46 [रु] शि[विर]माततः । सरदावी[ड्या]प[तः] शीघ्र(ध्रं) मिलनं [यजत]वर[त्?] ॥५८(६२)॥
[पूर्वैः] समं इति त्रयोविंशतिनाम सगः ॥

Slab XXV : Canto XXIV

[Meters : vv. 1-10, 16-27 Anushtubh ; v. 11 Upagita ; vv. 12-15, 33-36 Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; v. 28
Aryā ; v. 29 Upagita ; vv. 30-32 Gā.]

- 1 ॥ सिप(र्ष) श्रीजनेशाय स्म(नमः) [१^{*}] येष्वा^१ अमरसि(ति)हाख्यौच्युक्तस्य धर्म(मिं)जः ।
राने(ने)दराजसिंहस्य राजराजस्य संपदा ॥१॥ हिम्नो दध सहस्यो(हस्यो)दसो-

^१ The two sets of *śardū* and the figure 47 appear above the line.

^२ The reading of these four syllables is probably intended to be *śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

^३ The name is not clear here.

^४ This third *śardū* is too short by two syllables.

^५ The absence of *śardū* line is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

- 2 लक्षैः¹ पूर्णतो भूतः । मृदात्मने व(वि)मृष्टायास्तुलाया अनुलाभ्यः ॥२॥ मा(म)हासेनो
हस्तिनीतास्क(स्कं)मे वं(व)धूरमुदरं । तोरणं भाति गौरो-
- 3 स्वाधोरणं तुल्यद्वया² ॥३॥ महोच्च(च्च)लतया किवा³ ऐरावतकुलस्त्रितिः ॥४॥ हस्तिन्येवा
मृ(मृ)द्भिः धत्ते बिजकम्पोच्चभूषणं ॥५॥ वत्ताकुशल-
- 4 [मास्ये]वा⁴ सत्तलंबाभवत्ततः [१^५] इक्षितं तुलसीकृत्य हस्तिनेना(ना)कुशल्यं ॥५॥
मा(म)हातोरणमेतत्तु गौरेकीर्त्योन्नतोक्तं । प्राञ्जलं साञ्जलि-
- 5 युगं भुजयोभाति मृ(मृ)दतेः ॥६॥ द्वितीयं तोरणं तत्र पार्श्वेस्ति तपु मुदरं । तया⁵
समरसिहास्योत्सवातिविचित्रकृतं ॥७॥ राणोदरा-
- 6 जतिहस्त्य पट्टराज्ञा(ज्ञा)तिवित्तया । धीराणां राजतिहस्त्य भाषा भिषप्रतापया ॥८॥ सदाकुर्वन्ति-
नाम्प्या वा तुला ह्ययमयी कृता । आस्ते
- 7 ततोरणं विव हस्तिन्या(न्या) हस्तयुग्मं(य)वत् ॥९॥ आस्ते गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितशिरोमणेः ।
कृतायाः स्वर्णपूर्णमास्तुमायास्तोरणं महत्
- 8 ॥१०॥ गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो रणक्षोदरायः । आस्ते कृतायाः किल
तेन ह्ययत्रा(त्रा)जतुलायाः शुभतोरणं तत् ॥११॥
- 9 श्रीराणोदरातिहस्त्युरभयत्⁶ श्रीमं(म)प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीजमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णतिहस्त्य
वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पि(ति)हव
- 10 तनयोस्मादाजतिहस्त्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयतिह एष कृतवान्धीरः शिलाज्जेक्षितं ॥१२॥ पुर्णं
सातवशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णमा-
- 11 स्ये दिने इतिद्वान्मितवस्तरे तरपतेः श्रीराजतिहस्त्यभोः । काण्य(व्य) रावसमुद्रमिष्टजलयोः
सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्रावतं
- 12 रणक्षोदनद्वरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥१३॥ युगं [११^६] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवद्वयोत्सवाज्ञा-
चंद्रस्ततः [स^७]स्तिर्जेश्वरकः क-
- 13 डो(डो)डिकुलमो मन्मथादिनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तैलंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा
माधवः पू(पु)षोभूम्पुसुदनस्य इमे व(व)-
- 14 होशविष्णुवताः ॥१४॥ पर्यानीमपुसुदनस्तु जनको वेणो स गोस्वामिजातभूमाता रणक्षोद
ऐ(ऐ)(व^८) कृतवाग्वाजप्रशस्त्याह्वय(यं)

¹ In v. 28, Cantó XVII, the quantity of gold mentioned is 12,000 *ulcas*.

² Perhaps we are to read *ulayud=rock*.

³ The absence of *ma* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

⁴ *Shankha* has not been observed here.

- 15 । काव्यं रावण(गु)णौघवर्जनमयं [बोरांकयुक्त*] त्रुवि(र्वि)शतशतय इहानवद्वयचुवे तर्गो-
वसर्गोक्तः ॥१५॥ राजप्रशस्तिप्रयोग(यं) प्रतिद्वः स्वां-
- 16 जगत्पत्न । लवनीनां(ना)भादिवासानां पाठाभे जायतां ध्रुवं ॥१६॥ नारायणाविपुष्पा-
त्प(रन)राणैरान्वयवर्जनं । कर्णस्थितं स्वा[स्क*]णी(णी)-
- 17 च्वपुत्रनीत्रलुप्तपदं ॥१७॥ रामादिरामस्तुतिपुष्पाव्यं रामायणोपमं । भुत्वा(त्वा) धने धनेश[ः*]
स्वात्काव्ये काव्यो मुहूर्तिरि ॥१८॥ ना-
- 18 नाराजेतिहासाक्तं यं स्वाद्भारतोपमं । भारत्या भारतीमुख्यः पठम्भारतस(स)द्वये ॥१९॥
वा(वा)ह्यमो व(व)ह्यवस्वो वा(वा)ह्यो वाहुवी-
- 19 पदवान् । वंश्यो लभेद्वनं भुत्वा शु(शु)द्रो नदं तपाशिलं ॥२०॥ तन्तम्य वित्तमन्त्रेभ्यः
पठन्तम्यो(भ्य)स्त्वमानुयात् । इभ्यतां मुचने मर्यो
- 20 नालभ्यं तस्य किञ्चन ॥२१॥ विप्रोगिहोत्रशामेभ्यः क्षत्रियोऽलिलनृमिपः । वंश्यो धनी
स्वात्काव्यस्यः श्रिया सुस्थो भवे-
- 21 द्ध्रुवं ॥२२॥ राज(जा) भुत्वा चक्रवर्ती शौर्यगामीर्वर्चयवान् । देशस्वास्थ्यं लभेद्वरिजयं
कुरुते सदा ॥२३॥ पठन्कुरद्भ्रातृव-
- 22 तन्वमस्त्रयसक्तया । शकटं मुत्तनुभुत्वा वंकुटं शानुयादिव ॥२४॥ इमात् साहू
कृतवान् खैरावावस्य मारणं । त-
- 23 तेजुदु(दु)डभिप्राह(हं) वन्हेडाव्यनुटनं ॥२५॥ धारापुरा(री)मारणं च मसीदिततिपातनं ।
व्वस्तं [ववे]² महमदतगरं नुटने [नित?]*
- 24 ॥२६॥ महामसीवितनं कृतवान्समरे कृती(ती) । इत्युक्तः प्रभुवीराणां पराक्रमवितर्णयः ॥२७॥
जगदीशमिथ(थ)तमयो
- 25 माथुरहीरामनिर्महामिथः [१*] राजसमृद्धलाशयसूत्रनिवेशे परिक्रमणे ॥२८॥ द्वावजशतमममिलिकं
चान्म(न्व)[म*]हीध
- 26 महासेती । द्वावजशतमममिलिकं चान्मयादि(दि) कांकरोलीस्थे ॥२९॥ सेती संस्वाप्य तथा
साहूहहृषाध(च)हृप्पमुद्राणां ।
- 27 च(ह)त्वा इब्दूकगणं सक्पमुद्रादिकं तदार्थिभ्यः ॥३०॥ वरिद्व(द्वि)नपर्वतमयं — ७ तवा
राजोसहदेवत । उक्तं जगत्(स)म-

* The current form is *labhita* ; better read *vinidita*.

² Read *Dyala* for *Dapala* for the sake of the metre.

³ *Samdhi* has not been observed here.

- 28 [इं] निम्नोऽस्मिन्निकटतः पुरः कुक्करोते ॥३१॥ इत्पूस्ताहेन तवा भ्य(भ)क्तया निम्न पुरः स्थितो नृपतेः । धान्याग्रा(दो)प(न्य)नगार्ध(नर्धि)-
- 29 इजाय इत्वा(त्वा) प्रियो नृपस्यासौत् ॥३२॥ श्रीराणोदयसिंहसुनुरजवत्^१ श्रीमन्प्र(मत्प्र)तापः[*] सुतस्तस्म श्रीशमरेश्वरोस्य
- 30 तत्रयः श्रीकरज(कर्ण)सिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राजजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीवर्षसिंह एव कृतवान्बो-
- 31 सः भित्तोऽनेनित ॥३३॥ पूर्णं सन्तवश्चे धते तवति वा सत्पुर्णिमास्य(त्वे) दिने द्वात्रि(त्रि)शन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीरत्नसिंह-
- 32 प्रभोः । काव्यं राजयमुद्रसिद्धजलधेः[*] सुधद(ष्ट) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्राक्त(क्त) रणछोडभहुरचित राजप्रशस्त्याह्वय ॥३४॥ पुमं [॥*]
- 33 घासीझूल्करतस्तु या(या)वधवृधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सस्तवैश्वरकः कटो(टो)दिकुलजो लवम्पा- विनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तैलंगो-
- 34 स्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोन्मधुसूतस्तस्य इमे व(व)होस विष्णुपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्यासीन्मधुसूद-
- 35 नस्तु जनको वेशी च गोस्वामिनाऽनुन्माता रणछोड ए[व*] कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वय । काव्यं राणगुणीधवर्षनमयं [श्रीरांकयुक्त*] च-
- 36 तृधि(विं)शत्यास्य इहामवझूषमुदे सर्गोर्वसर्गो(व)तः ॥३६॥ बुहा^२ ॥ राणी कौडी रजपूत जेवइ ता जामो [?] । समुद्रं फे-
- 37 रव सुतः राजा तुहीज राजसी ॥३७॥ ऐको खोरंग काह मेयल मुगल मारिजे । राजो राये राह रजवट भरीयो राजसी ॥३८॥ बुहा(बोहा) [॥*]
- 38 संवत् १७१८ माहवदि ७ नीमर्षाव्वारो महुरत हुमोजी छतराठाकर^३ मेत^४ कमः करवा ॥ राजावत माहासीधजी रायसीध-

^१ Sandhi is not observed here.

^२ That is, *lakh*, a couplet. From here onwards the composition is in the local dialect. It begins with two *lakh*s which, however, do not conform to the metrical scheme. The text, however, is left uncorrected.

^३ The sense of these two *lakh*s in Marathi seems to be —

1. A great Rājput (body) is the queen who gave birth to a lion (*sihara*)—a son who could turn the ocean—and that is yourself, O Rājast.

2. You kill all these Mughals of Aurangzeb, O Rājā, then art the only way, as thou art, O Rājast, full of martial spirit. Duly Rājā Rājasmha, who is full of martial spirit, keeps the boastful Mughals of Aurangzeb under his control.

^४ *Khud* means so many, such and such.

^५ Same as Hindi *mil-ke* 'together'.

- 39 जी राणावत भाउती[ड]जी ।¹ बुडावत दलपतिजी मोहनसी[ध]जी । रावत मृणकरणजी
बुडावत केसरीतींघजी बुडावत भोक-
- 40 मसोधणी मोज(जा)वत तरसींघदासजी [मो]ज(जा)वत गरीबदासजी राठोड सीघजी राठोड
रामचंदजी राठोड हमीजी राठ(ठो)ड मोकमसीघ-
- 41 चित्तामरा(विप्रकार) ॥ साह रा(रा)मचंद्र बेघाणीसाह कतुपंचोली राम(न)हरामावत सा
मुकदवअवंवोली हरराम[सिध] जी लघु(लु) पंचो[ली] बाघ
- 42 गजवर मुकंद गजधर किस्वानमुत जगनाथ वरजणमुत सालो लघो असीहरजी
जगनाथमुत मेघोसगो [११^{१०}] संवत १७३२
- 43 प्रतिष्ठा(छा) हुडीन मुन(मुन) भवतु थीरस्तु मु(मु)स्व(न)वार मोहन[जी]मुत मु(मु)वधार
मुपजी मु(मु)भं भा... वतः

¹ The *varna* is shown here with two dots.

² A similar list of *varna* is found also towards the close of Sabs-ID, VI, VIII and IX.

resemblance between the forms of the two letters.¹ The Parlatiyā plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings (i. e., the house of Śālastambha) unmistakably as Haḍappōśvura which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarman and Balavatman were Haḍappōśvura and Haḍappōśvura respectively.

The inscription mentions a number of geographical names including those of a river and a hill. The adoration to the river-god Lohitya-sindhu (cf. *Lohitya-bhattāraka* also in the Tezpur plates), i. e., the Brahmaputra, is very interesting. The same river is also adored as *Lauhitya-vīridhī*, *Lauhitya-sindhu* and *Lauhitya ity-adhipatiś suritām* in the records respectively of Balavarman who was the grandson of Vanamālavarman, of Ratnapāla who was the son of Brahmapāla founder of the Pāla dynasty (the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings), and of Indrapāla who was the grandson of Ratnapāla.² The kings apparently held the river-god in special veneration. But more interesting is the reference to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra as a 'sea'. This seems to be associated with the tradition about the existence, in early times, of the Eastern Ocean (i. e., the Bay of Bengal) near Dēvikōṭṭa which is modern Bangorh in the Dimaipur District in the northern part of Bengal, and with the presence in the central region of Bengal of large *bāis* or lakes like the Chalon.³ Wide areas in the Myensensing District of Bengal (now in East Pakistan), through which the Brahmaputra at present passes, are spoken of as the 'sea' even today. It is a low-lying country which for six or more months of the year is under water; in that area, communication by boats of maundage varying with the stream and season is always possible. The coast line of this 'sea' may be taken to be passing through Bhurab-hāsār, Bājūtpur, Nikli, Dōmpārā and Tarāil and then towards the north-east. To the west of this line, the country is a bed of dead and dying rivers. Equally interesting is the mention of the Kāmākōṭṭa hill, on which the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgaūrī are said to have been installed. The same deities are also mentioned in the Guākuchi plates⁴ of king Indrapāla of the Pāla dynasty or the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings. The land granted by this charter is described as *Uttara-kūla Mandi-vishay-āntahpīti-Paṇḍari-bhūmīś-pakrishṭa-dhānya-deisahar-āpatika-dhūmī*, i. e., the land of an inferior quality yielding 2,000 [*drēpas*] of paddy out of the area called Paṇḍari (modern Pāṇḍuri Mauza in which the Raṅgyā station on the old Assam Railway is situated) in the Mandi district pertaining to Uttara-kūla. This *Uttara-kūla* (literally 'the north bank') was apparently a division of the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the description of the boundaries of the above land, the Guākuchi inscription mentions several times *Mahāgaūrī-Kāmēśvarayōś sutha* (or *dēva-sutha*)-*dāsana-Paṇḍaribhūmī*, i. e., the land called Paṇḍari which was a gift land belonging to the deities Mahāgaūrī and Kāmēśvara. The names of the hill Kāmākūṭa and the god Kāmēśvara would suggest that the goddess Mahāgaūrī was no other than Kāmēśvari otherwise called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā (literally 'the goddess with the name Kāmā') whose temple stands near Gauhati⁵ in Assam. According to the *Kālikā*

¹ Cf. *Kāmarūpa-nāma-śaśī*, p. 59, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 92, 117.

³ Cf. *pūrva kila Dēvikōṭṭa-mandir paśchimā (sic, pūrva) Pāraśādāśv-mēśī in Bīḥmapati-Rāyamukuta's Padakumbhikā* (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 201). For references to the sea bordering on the country of Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, see Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 201; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vāṅdevīāśv-ed.), Kishkindā-kāṇḍa, chapter 42, verse 30, etc.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-nāma-śaśī*, p. 126-27.

⁵ Cf. *The Śakti Pūthā*, pp. 12-13, 15.

Purāṇa,¹ Kāmarūpa was one of the four main Śākta Pīṭhas where resided the god Kāmāvara and the goddess Kāmāvari (installed on the Nīla-parvata). Another passage of the same *Purāṇa*² speaks of the hill, on which the Pīṭha was situated, as Kāmagiri, no doubt the same as Kāmākūṭa. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirṇaya*), a standard work on the Śākta Pīṭhas, also connects the Yōni-pīṭha with Kāmākhyā on the Kāmagiri.³

It has been suggested⁴ that the capital of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings, called Hapōsāvara in our record, was probably situated at Daka-Parbatīyā in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. Although nothing can be said definitely on this point, the find of the present record in that area seems to support the suggestion. Hapōsagrāma, which was the village granted by the charter under discussion, cannot be satisfactorily identified. It was situated in the Svalpa-Maṅgōka (literally the smaller Maṅgōka) *maṇḍala* (district) pertaining to the Uttara-kūla division which, as already indicated, is also known from other records of the ancient kings of Prāgyōtisha.⁵ Interesting in this connection is also the mention of another similar division called Dakṣiṇa-kūla, no doubt lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in Balavarman's inscription.⁶ The name Svalpa-Maṅgōka suggests the existence of another *maṇḍala* called Brihan-Maṅgōka or the bigger Maṅgōka; but nothing can be said in regard to the territorial unit with the exception of the fact that it lay to the north of the Brahmaputra. Akṣhidāhikā and Dirghāṅga, which are mentioned as boundaries of Hapōsagrāma and appear to have been names of villages, also cannot be located with any amount of certainty. The word *hetuka* in the name of the god Hētuka-Śūlin, a dilapidated temple of whom was rebuilt by Vanamālayarman, may be geographical or personal name referring either to the area where the temple was standing or to the man who was responsible for the original temple and the installation of the god. But it is difficult to be definite on this point, although persons named Hētuka are known from Indian literature.

Prāgyōtisha, famous in ancient literature, was the country, the heart of which lay in the modern Gauhati region of Assam. From the fourth century A. C., sometimes the name of the country is also given as Kāmarūpa, a designation possibly associated with that of the goddess Kāmā, Kāmāvari or Kāmākhyā.⁷ According to Chinese sources,⁸ the boundary between this country and Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal was the river Karatōyā, and to the east of Kāmarūpa "the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao." The territory called Uparipattana in the records of Vanamālayarman is not known from other sources. Since, however, the name seems to indicate literally 'the town above,' the region, which was apparently not far from Prāgyōtisha, may have been no other than the hilly eastern land mentioned by the Chinese and referred to above. In line 46, while showing his knowledge in the science of erotics, the author mentions the women of the Karmāṭa country which may be roughly identified with the Kannaḍa-speaking area of South-western India.

We are thankful to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who has kindly offered some suggestions for the improvement of the transcript and translation of the inscription.

¹ Chapter 64, verse 43: Kāmarūpaḥ mahā-pīṭhaḥ tatha Kāmāvarīṇi śūlin | Nīlāśa parvata-śrēṣṭhikāṁ nātham Kāmāvarīṇi nātham ||

² Chapter 18, verse 42: Kāmarūpī Kāmagirīṇi vyapaṭat-pīṭi-maṇḍalam.

³ Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 47: Yōni-pīṭham Kāmagirīṇi Kāmākhyāṇi tatra śrēṣṭhikā.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-Śūlin-śrēṣṭhikā*, introduction, p. 22n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 110, 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷ *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 15.

⁸ See Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 185-87.

TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1 *Śaigdhārā* ; verses 2, 18, 29-30 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3-6, 8-9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 31-23 *Īryā* ; verses 7, 12-13 *Indravajrā* ; verse 10 *Gītā* ; verse 14 *Paśantāślāḥā* ; verses 16, 25 *Mandūkārā* ; verse 20 *Rathodhātā* ; verses 21, 26-27 *Sāṅdulanikrīḍita* ; verse 28 *Upajāti*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham^o Syasti | Śrīmat-Kailāsa-bhūbhṛit-prithu-kauka-tilā-saṅchay-āṣṭhālan-ōtthair-
śār[air]-hēma-paṅk-āvila-tu-
- 2 hīna-jadaiḥ śikta-vaimāni-śrīhaḥ | ambhaḥ-kṛiḍā-prasakta-pravara-sura-vadhū-kōsa-hasta-
chutair-vvō nākō-
- 3 śa-dru-prasūnair-arnvita-salilō-vyāt-ss **Lōhitya**-sindhoh || [1*] Sa punāstu Pinākī vō yan-
nātyē svaraddhu-
- 4 ai-jalam | kīṇṇam rōchaka-vātēna tānakāprakarāyitam || [2*] Naraka-iti sūnur-āsīd-
Ādivarāhasya bhu-
- 5 vi tad-uddhārē | Aditōḥ kuṇḍala-haraḥ pratāpam=api yō Harār=aharāt || [3] Kṛishṇōna
tan-nihatya cha sri-
- 6 śhṭau^o Bhagadatta-Vajradatt-ākhyān | tasya antau tad-vanitā-karuga-vilāpa-hṛita-
hṛidayēna || [4*] Saṁprāptō Bhagadattō
- 7 śrīmat-**Prāgyōtiśā**-ādhimāthatvam | vanam-itarō=pi tad-ētya prārādhayaḍ-īśvaran=
tapceḥ || [5*] Tushṇō(śhṭō)na
- 8 tēna tasmai dattam-**Uparipattan**-ādhimāthatvam | Prāgyōtiśā-ādhirāyām kālēna ta[d-a*]-
nvayasy-āpi || [6*]
- 9 Tasy-ānvayē-bhūt-kṣhōtīpāla-manli-māṇikya-rōhi-sphurit-āḥri-pūḥaḥ | Prāgyōtiśā-ā-
- 10 śāḥ kahata-vairi-vīraḥ **Sālastambha** ity=ukhata nāmadhōyāḥ || [7*] Sat-pūreva-nṛpati-guṇa-
sampaḍ-augha-rāg-ānu-
- 11 rājita-dig-antaiḥ | **Sālastambha**-pramukhaḥ[ḥ*] śri-Harsh-āntair-mmahāpālaiḥ || [8*]
Divan-ārūḍhāir-ādyasya^o bhūbhujō-ā-
- 12 ka-vairi-vīrō-bhūt | bhātā śaurya-tyāgair-a-samō nāmn-**Ārath**-iti nṛpāḥ || [9*] Ści-Jīva-
dēvi-sa[m*]jñā rājñi
- 13 hṛiday-ānug-ābhavat-tasya | va(ba)hu-jana-vandyā mahatāḥ prabhāta-sandhy-ēva tōjasō
jananī || [10*] Tasyān-tasya tu
- 14 rājñāḥ autō-bhavan-nṛpa-ānō-rcūt-āḥri-yugāḥ | śri-Harjarō anṛ(nṛ)p-āndraḥ śrīyā
svayam yāḥ samapagūḍhāḥ || [11*]
- 15 [Dharmma-pravāḍēśhu*] [Yudhishṭhītō yō Bhī]mō-ri-vargō sa[matē] cha Jīva[ḥ] | śkō-
py-anōkair-iti sad-[gu]ḥ[ḥ]v-āḥ

¹ From the original plates now preserved in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, and impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

^a Expressed by a symbol.

¹ The word *variables* has been used here in the sense of *variables*.

⁴ The metre of verses 8-9 is *Dryd*. But both of them are defective from the metrical point of view.

* A word like *yutraya* seems to suit the context better than *dyayaga*.

Second Plate : First Side

- 16 ghair-nih¹śśha-Kuntī-tanayatvam-śśih || [12*] Śōpājan-ārāñjita-mānamasya s-ś[r]ahy-ēva vakshah² paribh[ī]tya* | Vushō(śhōō)h ||*|| nih-
- 17 śśha-rāmājana-dēha-suchathata-ādāya samulāryam-ih-ājagāma || [13*] Varag-ādy-aśśha-guṇa-jātam-ayam-va(m-ba)bhāra patya-
- 18 r-mam-ātula-va(ba)lasya Rathāñgapāṇēh | tēn-āham-agra-mahishī jagatibhujō-sya bhūtā janē na khulu lāghavam-abhyu-
- 19 paimi || [14*] Iti yasya mahādēvi vigayayya manō-nug-ābhava-Lakshmi | Śrī-Maṅgal-ābhīdhānā pramadā-rata-uttaman-nri-
- 20 patēh || [15*] Tasy-āśśha-kahitipa-makut-ōdgh[ī]śha-pād-āvja(bja)-pīthasy-ādibhū(bhū)-t-sūnur-nīpa-guṇa-mahāratna-mālā-vibhūśha[h*] |||| tasyām(syā)n-śśvayām-akhila-bhuvan-ānanda-
- 21 kō yah² śśś-iva śrīmān-khyātō jagati Vanamāl-ābhīdhānah² kahiti(t-ī)-
- 22 śah || [16*] Julanūbhi-taja-rana-mālā-sim-āvadhi-mēdīal-patitvasya | yōgya itī nāma dhātā cha-
- 23 krē Vanamāla iti yasya || [17*] Prachagō-ārāti-matābha-ghatā-dhvant-ōru-samhanam | divākarōyitam
- 24 yēna vidārya naga-bhūmīhu || [18*] Kshiti-tanaya-nripa¹-varīśa-prabhava-narēndra-āmal-āmva(mba)rē yēna | ophu-
- 25 tam-ēva m[ū]ṛgāñkāyitam-utsāry-ārāti-t[ī]mi*]r-ō(r-an)gham || [19*] Bhūri-dripta-ripa-vīra-vāhinī-saila-va-
- 26 jram-nru-vikram-śśmā | yēna rājakam-śśśham-asyatā śrīr-ākārī chāram-āka-lharipikā || [20*] Yasya pratāpa-bhūtyā
- 27 va(ba)lu-ripa-jayinō-pi mēdīalpālāh || [*] kēch[d*]-diō vijagrihuḥ prasabham-alam chāma-rāgy-anyē || [21*] Rājām-anyēśām
- 28 yē nātān-ājāv-īśhā[u*] nripā mumuchuh || (|) yasya ta ēva vibhūtyā bhūmīs-dūran-nipā vijahuh || [22*] Yair-abhimukham ripa(pō)-
- 29 pām-āghaṭitā matā-kari-ghatā-va(ba)ndhāh | tair-vikram-aika-bēt[r*]-yasay-ā[m*]-jalayah² kṛitā[h*] kahitipah || [23*] Dhūr-ōhē Nahu-
- 30 śhasya yēna patitam kāl-āntarād-ālayam sandham bhakti-nat-ākhū-āmara-vara-vrāt-ārchit-āhūrōh punah | Prālōyā-
- 31 chala-āpāga-tuṅgam-atula-grām-ōbha-vīśyājanair-yukto[m*] Hētuka-śślīmah² kahitibhujā bhaktiā nava[m*] chakrūhā² || [24*]

Second Plate : Second Side

- 22 Yasy-Ānanta-dyutim-atimā naga-lōkē hasanti | diā-nūgūnām īvasita-janitām śśkuc-āllā-cha dikahu

¹ The word *nripa* would suit the metre better.

² There is an ornamental design at this place to cover the space at the end of the verse.

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

ii.a.

16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30

ii.b.

32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44
46 46

32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46



Seal



(From a photograph)

Third Plate

- 47 *tri-Haṣṭapēśvarāt* = paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramāśvara-parama-
bhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirāja-
- 48 *tri-Vaṇamālavarṇmadēvaḥ* kuśalā || *Uttara-ku(kū)lā Svalpa-Maṇḍōka-maṇḍala-*
prāṭiva(ba)ddha[m] pūrvvē Akahālāhikā | dakṣhiṇa-pā-*
- 49 *rvvō Chaṇḍikā-puṣhki(śhka)ri(ṇi)* | dakṣhiṇā Dīrghāśga(h*) | dakṣhiṇa-paśchimō vaṭa-*
vṛkṣa(h) | paśchimō vāṇu-viṭapa(h*) | paśchim-ōttarō śś-*
- 50 *hmat | uttarō vṛi(ṇi)hād-āh | uttara-pūrvvē Dhavaḥ-puṣhki(śhka)ri(ṇi) | śvam-aśṭa-amā-*
paryantaṁ-a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśān Ha-
- 51 *pōsa-grāmaṁ* muktī-śpurikaraṁ kṛtvā || Tyāgi sarya dhanuḥ par-ōpak(ṛitīmān sādhuḥ
satāṁ amnataḥ śāstr-ā-
- 52 *rih-ānupī(ni)ta-tṛipta-dhīḥ |* kaliyugē tṛitaryāḥ* sa śka-grīhō* vād-ābhyāsa-ratnō-cha śāma-*
charaṇaḥ Śāṇḍilya-gōttrō mahā-
- 53 *n bhāṭ(ṇṇō) Jōjjatāḥ(ta) ity=abhāt(bhūd) guṇa-nidhiḥ sanmā(mā)nitō rājabhūḥ ||[26*]*
Taṇyai(sy=ai)tō guṇa-śālino ni-
- 54 *ja-kula-praṇyōt(ta)-dikṣa-kṛi(kri)yō(vā) jātāḥ satva(ttvā)-hit-āika-datta-manasaḥ(sa)=*
Chūḍāmaṇiḥ-Dōṣabhā [|*] Gargga*=gha**
- 55 *tato-py-a(py-a)dāra-charitāḥ(taḥ) Śambhu(h*) samātāḥ utāḥ nō bhinnāt-cha paraṇparaḥ(m*)*
vinayinō dharmma-kṣay-āśāśka-
- 56 *yā || [27*] Tattat-āgrajāya pradadau dvijāya grāmaṁ hi Chūḍāmaṇayō praśṭevāḥ(sya)||**
Hapōm-nāmānam-i-
- 57 *ha prayatināt pā(pu)ṇyō-hani pēti-maṇā narēndrah || [28*] mātā-pitṛōr-ātmanas-cha*
puṇya-yasō-bhivri-
- 58 *dāhayō* atah saruvair-anunantavyam-iti | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhū(h*) Śagar-*
ādibhi(h) yasya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)mih(mis=)*
- 59 *tasya tasya tadā phaladh(iam) || [29*] Ba(Sva)-dattāṁ para-dattām-vā(tām vā) yō harōt-*
(ta) vaau[m]dharōṇ(rām) sa vishā(śhā)yāṁ kṛmir-bhūtāḥ pṛiṭibhi(h*) saha*
pachyatō ||[30]*

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success! May it be well (with us)!

(Verse 1) May that sea which is the Lohitya protect you;—(the sea) which wears the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers that rise from its striking the multitude of big golden rocks belonging to the glorious Mount Kailāsa (and) that are icy cold (and) mixed with golden mud;—(the sea) the water of which is reddened by the flowers of the trees (in the garden) of the lord of paradise, which are fallen from the hands and the (braids of) hair of the best heavenly damsels engaged in playing in the water.

* There is an crucial design here between the two *diṇḍas* apparently used to separate the prose portion from the following section in verse.

* The *diṇḍa* is superfluous.

* Possibly the reading intended in *trayyā* as *śk-āgrajāḥ*.

* As the first half of the stanza ends here, a *diṇḍa* is necessary after *grīhā* which is not required to be joined in *śandā* with the following word.

* The metre requires a short syllable in the place of *yo*. Was this intended name *Dibhāṭa*?

* The metre requires *śā-śm*.

* The word intended may also have been *pradāyām* (to go with *grāmaṁ*) or *pradāyāḥ* (to go with *narēndrah*).

* This passage may be taken as half of a stanza in the *Anuśṭup* metre.

(Verse 2) May (*the god*) Pinākin (i. e., Śiva) purify you ;—(*the god*), at whose dance, the water of the celestial river (i. e., the Gaṅgā hidden in the god's matted hair), being scattered by his exhaling breath, shines like the multitude of stars.

(Verse 3) A son, named Naraka, of Ādivarāha (i. e., the Primeval Boar or Vishnu in his boar incarnation) was born of the Earth (*goddess*) at (*the time of*) her rescue ;—(*the son*) who destroyed the prowess of Hari (i. e., Indra) as well in (*the affair of*) the carrying away of Aditi's ear-rings.¹

(Verse 4) After having killed him (i. e., Naraka), Krishna, his heart being moved by the lamentations of his wife, allowed his sons, named Bhagadatta and Vajradatta,² to go (*unpunished*).

(Verse 5) As Bhagadatta received the lordship of the glorious Prāgyjyōtisha (*country*), the other (i. e., Vajradatta) then, having repaired to the forest, propitiated Īvara (i. e., Śiva) by penance.

(Verse 6) The lordship of Uparipattana was granted to him (i. e., Vajradatta) by him (i. e., the god who was pleased) ; (*the god also granted that*) the sovereignty of Prāgyjyōtisha would belong to his descendants after some time.

(Verse 7) In his family was born one whose foot-stool was shining with the lustre of jewels on the heads of kings ; who was the lord of Prāgyjyōtisha ; who destroyed the warriors of the enemies ; (*and*) who bore the majestic name 'Sālabha'.

(Verses 8-9) The brother, by name Arathi, the (*very*) fire to numerous enemies (*and*) unequalled in valour and munificence, of the king (i. e., Sālabha) who was joined³ with the monarchs beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha, who had ascended heaven and dyed the horizon with the colour of the flood of the richness of merits of the good kings of old, became king.

(Verse 10) His (*Arathi's*) queen, bearing the name Śrī-Jvādāvi, became gratifying to his heart ;—(*the queen*) who was adorable to a great multitude of people (*and*) was the source of great splendour as the morning twilight is of strong light.

(Verse 11) The son of that king, from her, was the king of kings the illustrious Harjara, whose two feet were worshipped by the heads of kings (*and*) who was embraced by the goddess of fortune of her own accord :

(Verse 12) who was (*the very*) Yudhishthira in religious discourses, Bhīma to the host of enemies, (*and*) Jishnu (i. e., Arjuna) in fighting ; who, although one, acquired the sonship of Kuntī in its entirety (i. e., became equal to the three sons of Kuntī) by means of the mass of good qualities (*mentioned above*).

(Verses 13-15) The goddess of fortune, having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Vishnu whose heart was amused by the milk-women, (*and*) having gathered (*in herself*) the beauty pervading to the persons of all women, came here (*and*) became that king's queen gratifying to his heart, by name Śrī-Maṅgalā, the best of jewels that were women, thinking thus : ' He bears⁴ the mass of qualities in their entirety, inclusive of complexion, of the bearer of the disease (i. e., viṣṇu), my husband of unequalled valour ; for that reason I have become the chief queen of this king ; indeed I have not incurred disrespect in the world '.

(Verse 16) The son of that king (i. e., Harjara), the stool under whose lotus-like feet was touched by the crowns of all kings, was king Vanamāla by name, who was born of that queen ; who

¹ Cf. *Rāgavams Purāṇa*, X, section 59.

² The *Mahābhārata* (XIV, sections 75-76) makes Vajradatta a son of Bhagadatta.

³ See note on the text of this stanza.

⁴ For the 1st or Perfect Tense used here for the Present, see *Kāmarūpa-śāstra-śaṅkṣa*, pp. 183-4.

was famous in the world, beautiful (and) the delighter of the whole earth like the moon ; (and) who was adorned with the garland of big jewels that are royal qualities ;

(Verse 17) whose name the god of destiny made ' Vanamāla ' (literally, ' one wearing a forest-garland ') saying, ' (Verily he is) fit for the lordship of the earth bordered by the row of forests on the shores of the ocean (around it) ' ;

(Verse 18) who, having dispersed on the fields of battle the great mass of darkness that was the assemblage of the intoxicated elephants of the mighty enemies, shone like the sun ;

(Verse 19) who, having dispersed the mass of darkness that was the enemies, shone distinctly like the moon in the clear sky that was the king born in the family of the monarch who was the son of the Earth (i.e., Naraka) ;

(Verse 20) by whom, having destroyed completely with his sword of great strength the assemblage of kings who were the (very) thunderbolt to the hills that were the armies of the warriors of their excessively proud enemies, the goddess of fortune was made for a long time to enjoy only one husband (i.e., his own self) ;

(Verse 21) for fear of whose valour, some of the kings, though they were subduers of numerous enemies, fled impudently towards (different) directions while others readily took up the chowrie (to fan their conqueror, i.e., to become his servants) ;

(Verse 22) out of fear for whom, even the kings, who in a battle against (other) rulers shot sharp arrows, (themselves) left their territories far away (behind them) ;

(Verse 23) to whom, whose only weapon was his valour, those kings, who effected formations of the assemblage of intoxicated elephants against (other) enemies, folded their palms ;

(Verse 24) who was the king that bore the burden of Nahusha¹ by making new again, out of devotion, the palatial temple of Hātuka-Śālin (i.e., Śiva styled Hātuka) whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down through reverence :—(the temple), that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, was as high as a peak of the snow-mountain (i.e., the Himālaya), (and) was endowed with incomparable villagers, elephants and prostitutes (i.e., dancing girls styled *dhradīs*) ;

(Verse 25) whose excessively white (fame)² exceeds the radiance of (the jewel of) Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles³ raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (different) directions.

(Lines 33-47) From the illustrious Hapāpūvara which has the people of all the Varṇas (viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) and Āramas (viz. Brahmacarya, Gṛhasthya, Vānaprastha and Bhāiksha) well contented ; which is the abode of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men (or, merchants) and learned men ; the big main roads of which are crowded by the great kings who are seated on beautiful elephants and horses and in palanquins and are going and coming with a view to attending on the lord of the earth (i.e., Vanamāla) ; which has the whole of its space always obstructed by the armies of innumerable elephants, horses and foot-soldiers ; (and which has the river *Laṅkītā* running by it)⁴—

(the river) which has its water perfumed by the fragrance of the flowers fallen (into it) from the numerous creepers shaken by the hissing sounds produced by the host of serpents frightened by the cries of the peacocks resting in the woods of tall trees rising from the hills on both of its banks ; which carries the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising

¹ It seems to have been believed that Nahusha was a great devotee of Śiva.

² See note on the text of the stanza.

³ The reference seems to be to the milky-way.

⁴ See note on the text of the section in question.

from the smoke of the black sandal trees (*at the time of their*) being burnt by the conflagration of the forests near the garden in it (i. e., Haṭṭapāṭṭavara); which has its current filled by the waters that are pure owing to their constantly washing the slopes of Mount Kānuakūta having its head made an abode by the glorious Kāmāvara and Mahāgaurī-bhadrīkī whose foot-stools are beautified by the foliage that in the laps of the jewels in the diadems of all the gods and demigods; which has the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musks of the musk-deer that graze on the shoots of the Granthupatṭa plants in the forests on the hills on its two banks—leave (*some of the deer*) dead by themselves, there a herd of them killed by tigers (*and*) elsewhere some of them left by a group of wolves after having killed them and eaten up half of their flesh; which has its water scented (*as it is*) mixed with the musk unguent applied to the sides of the pot-like breasts of the girls sporting in the water while taking bath; (*and which has the lands adjoining both its banks adorned with boats*)—

(*the boats*) which have their (*upper*) part open and adorned with numerous loads like the prostitutes having their limbs visible and adorned with many ornaments; which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like the young girls; the speed of which is enhanced by sharp strokes (*of the oars*) as the passion of the women of Karpāta increases at violent sexual enjoyment; (*and*) which bear chowries like the prostitutes.

(Lines 47-48) That *Paramaharṣa Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Vanamālavarmadeva, who is a devout worshipper of Mahāvara (i. e., Śiva), meditates on (*or, is favoured by*) the feet of his mother and father, (*and*) is in good health;—

(Lines 49-51) having made (*the village called*) Hapṣagrāma, attached to the Svalpa-Maṅgūka district in Uttara-kāśa, unit for the entrance of policemen and poons (*or, regular and irregular troops*), (*and*) unendowed with (*the right to enjoy*) the tax on temporary tenants—(*the village*) as far as these eight boundaries: Akshidāhikā in the east, the tank of Chapṭikā in the south-east, Dīrghaṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-bush in the west, a Sālmali tree in the north-west, a big embankment in the north, (*and*) the tank of Dhavalā in the north-east—

(Verse 26) A great *Bhṛūta* (i. e. learned Brāhmaṇa), named Jājñata, was born in the Kali age, who was munificent, exceedingly truthful, kind to others, honest (*and*) respected by the good people; whose mind was contented by (*drinking*) the nectar that is the meaning of the scriptures; who was the sole repository of the three Vēdas; who was engaged in the study of the Vēdas; who belonged to the *charaṇa* of the Sāman (i. e., Sāmaveda) (*and*) the Śāṅgīya *gṛha*; who was a store of virtues; (*and*) who was esteemed by the kings.

(Verse 27) These sons were born to him, viz., Chūḍāmaṇi, Dōjōhā and Garga as well as the noble-minded Śaṁbhū —(*the sons*) who were endowed with good qualities; who illuminated their own family (*and*) were skilful in the performance of ceremonies; who applied their minds to the good of living beings; who were modest; (*and*) who were united and did not separate from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

(Verse 28) The king, having delivered his order (*and*) being pleased, now granted by ordering especially the village called Hapṣa on an auspicious day to the Brāhmaṇa Chūḍāmaṇi, the eldest among them (i. e., the four sons of Jājñata)—

(Lines 57-58) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself; therefore (*the gift of the king*) should be approved of by all.

(Verses 29-30) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

¹ See note on the text of the passage in question.

² This sentence is incomplete; its end can be traced in verse 28 below.

No. 21—TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I ; YEAR 2

(I Plate)

H. K. NABASINGHASWAMI, MADRAS.

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied by me during my tour in the Telugu Districts in the year 1949-50. It is engraved on a neatly dressed granite slab set up in front of the small dilapidated temple of Surabhśivara, the earliest among a group of temples situated at the confluence of the Guṇḍlakamma and a small rivulet called Rājavāgu, about a mile north of the village **Turimella** in the Cāmbam taluk of the Kurnool District. Besides the group of these temples which range in date from the 8th to about the 16th century A. C., the extensive site at this confluence shows marks of early habitation like large-sized bricks, partially exposed brick structures, varieties of potsherds and old coins occasionally discovered, as I am told.

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab, the broad side and its adjoining narrow side, the lines of writing running on from one side to the other and the entire inscribed surface occupying a space roughly a foot and half square. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannada script of the period. The damage sustained by the edges of the slab has resulted in a few letters of the writing getting obliterated, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved.

The **palaeography** of the record calls for some remarks, as it forms the main basis for dating it. This inscription, like most of the stone records of the early Chālukyas, does not furnish any details beyond the regnal year of the king to enable us to fix its precise date. Before taking up the question of fixing the date of our record, a few noteworthy features of its palaeography may briefly be recorded. The initial *ā* occurs twice in *śākhendra* (line 4) and *śākhumara* (line 6) and the vowels *u* and *ē* in *Uṣṇā* (line 7) and *Śruva* (line 8) respectively. It is worth noting that in *u* the ends of the line denoting the serif, instead of pointing upwards, point downwards as if standing for the *o* sign. But for this peculiarity, the form of this letter compares well with its similar forms occurring in the Aihole inscription of Pulakṣin II². The vowel *ī* is almost indistinguishable from the consonant *ś* except that the latter has a broader and more pronounced base than the former. The medial *ā* generally indicated by a downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side as in *rā*, *mā* (line 2), *lā* (line 3), etc., is in the case of *śā* denoted by a shaft at the top of the letter; cf. *śā* in *śāśāla* (line 7) and *śāśāra* (line 9). The Dravidian *r* has two forms; in one the circle forming the body of the letter is divided into four equal quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles as in *r* in *Śruva* (line 8), while in the other it is divided into three chambers by a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line as in *r* in *ṛ-ayina* (line 8), etc. The forms *bhūyām*, *tanūy-ayina* (line 6), *ādhiś(hāyūh-ayī* (line 8) are to be obviously taken as the honorific plural forms of the corresponding expressions in the singular as *bhūyāmānaya*, etc. In *varuṇadharām* in line 10, the use of both the class nasal *u* with *dha* in the conjunct consonant *udha* and the *anuvāra* in place of the one or the other may be noted. The curvè form of mute *m* occurs in *puruṣarāma* (line 4) and *śāśāra* (line 9).

Of orthographical peculiarities, the consonant following the *repha* is doubled in *śāśā* in *pramardha* (line 3), but not in *śā* in *śāra* (line 5); the form *varāma* (line 5) is used for *varāma* and the use of the *i* sign in *prii* in *priiśā* (line 1) is redundant.

¹ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50, Stone Inscriptions, No. 20.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, text lines 16, 18.

The language of the introductory portion of the inscription is Telugu and of the operative part of it is Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse *avadattām paradattām vā*, etc., attributed to Vyāsa. As in early Telugu records¹, we meet here with such archaic expressions as *Bhatarulāka*, *samratarambha*, *ḥṣa*, etc. The donative part of the record consists of a single sentence in Sanskrit which is neither accurate in its syntax nor precise in its expression, using the nominative singular *mātā* in place of the instrumental *mātṛā* and the expression *Bhaṭṭārakḥ*,² for *Bhaṭṭārakāya*. The object of the inscription is a gift of 150 units³ of land to *Gōvri-shāpa-Bhaṭṭāraka* by the mother of Ujēnipiśāha, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right-hand man of Goggi-Bhaṭāra, in the second augmenting year of the reign of *Satyāśraya Prithivīcalakha Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra* when Ujēnipiśāha was ruling over the *Ēra* *vāṅkaya* with the city (*nagara*) [Tur]i[ta]śāka as its capital (*adhishthāna*).

Among the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. The first was the son of Pulakēśin II, the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja and many other kings both of the north and the south, among whom were the Mālavas.⁴ There are as many as ten copper-plate grants issued by this Vikramāditya,⁵ of which some are spurious. But of stone records pertaining to his reign, strangely enough, there are incredibly few. Indeed the only stone inscription that could be definitely assigned to Vikramāditya I is the Dinnagudi record,⁶ for, it is dated in the 27th year of the reign of a Vikramāditya Satyāśraya who could be no other than the first of this name inasmuch as his namesake and great-grandson, Vikramāditya II, reigned only for a little more than a decade, 734 to 747 A.C. This inscription, it is worth observing, gives the latest date so far known for Vikramāditya I, two years beyond the date (680 A.C.) hitherto assigned to him. A close comparison, in the formation of individual letters, of this record⁷ with the Turimella inscription reveals certain interesting features. Apart from the similarity of the letters in general in both, a certain development in the palaeographic features of the Dinnagudi epigraph such as the later and more developed form, in place of the closed archaic four chambered shape, of *r* marks it definitely later than the Turimella record, later at least by a quarter of a century. In other words, the record under review is earlier than the Dinnagudi inscription by at least 25 years and therefore belongs to the early years of the reign of Vikramāditya I, to wit, his second year as the record itself states. That this is indeed so could easily be confirmed by a glance at the general get up and the forms of individual letters in this and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.⁸

¹ Above, Vol. XL, p. 249, and Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

² *Bhaṭṭārakḥ*, the nominative singular in Prakrit for *Bhaṭṭārakab*, would not fit in here; it should have been *Bhaṭṭārakam* to convey the dative or the genitive sense in Prakrit.

³ The word expressing units of measurement seems to have been omitted in the text after *śata-prāchāśā* before *śakābham*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 241. Most of the copper-plate grants of Pulakēśin's successors recount these exploits while describing the king.

⁵ Subsequent to Kielhorn's list (above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 5, Nos. 18 to 22), five more records have come to light and they are (1) the Madras Museum plate (C. F. No. 9 of 1906-07); (2) the Talamadachi plates (C. F. No. 8 of 1906-07; above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.); (3) the Gadval plates (C. F. No. 3 of 1909-10, above, Vol. X, p. 109 ff.); (4) the Savanur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 156 ff.), and (5) the Romanur plates (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff.). Of these the first is considered spurious.

⁶ No. 264 of 1929 of the *Rashtreeya Epigraphical Collection*; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 24, app. p. xxv. An inscription on a hero-stone at Annavaram-agraharām in the Nellore District has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this king (*Ann. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1933-34, p. 29 and plate). But the later developed forms of *j* and *ḥ* found in this record make such an assignment highly improbable. The record may, on the contrary, be assigned to Vikramāditya II in whose inscriptions the later forms of these letters occasionally appear.

⁷ Plate opposite p. 163 below.

⁸ Above, Vol. VI, plate opposite p. 6.

The inscription refers to a chief who is described as the right-hand man of Gogga-Bhatāra and the dear son of Ālakumara. He bears the rather unusual epithet *Ujainpīṣācha* (*Ujainpīṣācha-nāmaḥ-yāśaḥ*) which sounds more like a title than a name, a title probably acquired by him as a result of a terrorising campaign that he must have undertaken against Ujain (Ujjain). Who could this unnamed hero be? An inscription at Aihole in the Hingund taluk in the Bijapur District of Bombay State mentions a certain Ālekomara-Siṅga (i. e., Ālekomara's son Siṅga) as the founder of a temple.¹ This record which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya I. If this Siṅga, the son of Ālekomara could be identical with the unnamed son of Ālakumara² of our record, it would not be impossible that this Siṅga found an opportunity of following his ancestor in a campaign against Ujjain and of showing his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the seldom of the *Ēruva viśaya*. It may be recalled that it was Pulakēśin II who distinguished himself as the conqueror of Harshavaridhana of Kānyakubja. His conquests were by far the most widely spread and included among the conquered, the Mājavars.³ Whether Siṅga alias Ujainpīṣācha obtained the seldom of *Ēruva* as a reward for his valour from Pulakēśin II himself or from his son Vikramāditya I when the latter re-established his authority in the south after a temporary set-back following the defeat of his father, Pulakēśin II, at the hands of the Pallavas, is more than what could be said at this stage. As regards Gogga-Bhatāra who figures in the capacity of a master or high lord of Ālakumara's son, a chief of this name born of the Ohālukya family and bearing the title *Mahāśāyana* figures in stone inscriptions of the Mysore State.⁴ It is interesting to note that one of these epigraphs ascribes the title *Ujjainpīṣācha* apparently to this same chief.⁵ But all these records are assigned to the 10th century A.C. and therefore the chief mentioned in them must be different from Gogga-Bhatāra of our record.

Of the place names, [Tura]taṭāka is obviously the present Turimella, the head-pot of the record. Legend connects it with the mythical story of the sage Jamadagni and his celestial cow Surabhi. The later inscriptions at this village refer to the place as *Jamadagni-śrāma* and mention the temple as that of Surabhisāvara. The story goes that king Rātaratnabāhmanu chanced to visit the sage at his śrāma once with his retinue and was amazed at the mysterious powers of the celestial cow which granted anything that its owner wished for. Possessed with the desire to own this cow, the king demanded it of the sage and took it from him by force which resulted in dire consequences not only to the king himself but to generations of the Kshatriyas after him at the hands of Parasurāma, the son of Jamadagni. The word Turumella or Turimella (*tara*, meaning cow and *mella* corrupted into *mella*, 'drive'), as the village name goes, denoted the spot where the 'cow was driven'.⁶

The territorial division *Ēruva-viśaya* seems to find the earliest mention in this record. It was a small principality on the borders of the Kurnool, Nellore and Cuddapah Districts and was

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 286 and plate; text lines 2-3. Dr. Fleet remarks that this record might belong to the reign of either Vikramāditya I or Vikramāditya II.

² Among the early Temga-Chōles figures a Śaktikumara. Except for a vague similarity of this name to Ālakumara, there is nothing to suggest any relationship between them.

³ Among the successors of Pulakēśin II, neither his son Vikramāditya I nor the latter's great-grandson Vikramāditya II claims any campaign against the Mājavars. Vikramāditya and Vikramāditya no doubt fought with the kings of the north, but they do not specifically mention the Mājavars among them. The later Vikramāditya's pre-occupations seem to have confined themselves mainly to the south, especially to the Pallavas.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Mysore 38, 37, Vol. XI, Chitaldurg 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, introd. p. 9.

⁶ Mr. M. Venkatarāyaṇa suggests another derivation of Turimella from Turumella; Turumella would, in Telugu, correspond to Turumadaga and this may have undergone changes like Turumadagala, Turumella, Turimella and Turimella.

CHALUKYA

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CHALUKYA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I; YEAR 2

CHALUKYA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I; YEAR 2

DIMMAGUDI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA (I)

First Piece



Second Piece



the dominion of one of the branches of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who held sway over it about the beginning of the 15th century A.C.¹ Members of this branch attached the name Ēruva to their own names as a distinctive surname of their family to indicate perhaps their political sway over that territory, or, at times, to distinguish themselves from members bearing similar names but belonging to a different family. That their sway over this division could be traced to a considerably earlier period, almost co-eval with the record under review, is proved by an inscription in characters of the 8th century A. C. on a *septomaxyllā* panel at Turimella itself which mentions the name Ēruva-Mahādēvi.² It is not unlikely that this Ēruva-Mahādēvi was the wife of Ālakamara and the unnamed mother of the chief who called himself Ujānpiśācha and whom we have identified with Śiṅga, the son of Āḷkamara of the Aihole record. A few later records copied in this region furnish some more details regarding this ancient division. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati-dēva dated in Śaka 1161 refers to this tract as a Thrice-Seventy division with Krochchhagula as its capital.³ Later still, in Śaka 1324 during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, it is mentioned as Ēruva-nāḍu and as a division in Udayagiri-nāḍya.⁴ A copper-plate grant of a later date belonging to king Achyutarāya mentions the same nāḍu as situated in Kochcherlakūṭa-stana.⁵ It will be evident from the statements in these inscriptions that this division which originally covered a small area round about Turimella at the time of the record under review, later spread far wider, covering a considerable area of the western portion of the Nellore District from Kochcherlakūṭa in the Dard Division right down to the river Pennār.

The gift as well as its recipient deserve a few remarks. The unit of land usually expressed by the word *śūvaritana* that was generally current at the period of our record⁶ seems to have been omitted here. Another instance where this term is similarly left out occurs in the Dammata-Nandyāla plates of Puṇyakumāra.⁷ The recipient of the gift, Govindahāra-Bhaṭṭāraka is possibly identical with the god Surabhadhāra, for *śvarabha* is a synonym for *gā*, 'cow'.

TEXT

1. Ōm[¹] Svasti[²] śrīmat[³] Satyāśraya Śrī-Epi⁴thavi-
2. vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-
3. śvara-Bhaṭṭarajākun śrīmad-munata-pravaradhānamāna-vijaya-
4. rājya-saṁvatsarathlaj ā-chandra-tāra-parassāratā(th)
5. dvitīya-varshama-pravaratā¹¹mānam kānu [] Gaggi-Bhaṭṭaraja dakṣhiṇa-

¹ C. P. No. 8 of 1911-12; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

² *As. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1929-30*, No. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 40. The relevant portion of the inscription reads *Krochchhagula sakhadugān-Ēruva-māḍya-śobhadatam*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 58; the exact wording in the inscription is *Udayagiri-śajjamarādala-Ēruva-sāḍyā*.

⁵ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, C. P. No. 10, p. 37; last line 30—*Ēruva-saṁvatsarathlaj-Kochcherlakūṭa-stana*.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 102, the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I; *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 319, the Mahārāja plates of Puṇyakumāra, etc.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 775.

⁸ Represented by a symbol.

⁹ *Dakṣha* unnecessary.

¹⁰ The *ś* sign over the consonant is redundant. Read *Prithvī*.

¹¹ The syllable *ma* was omitted first, but was later introduced below the line between *sa* and *ma*.

- 6 bhujāyamānuṣṛ=ayina Ālakuma[ra]¹ priya tanayi(yu)ṁṛ=ayina
 7 Ujēnpiśācha-nāmadhāyi(yu)ṁṛa [Tura]²-tapāka-nām-ābhi-
 8 dhāma-nagar-adhī (r-ādhi)śhthāyutṛ=ayī Eṣuva-[yisha]³ymāb-ā[an] tasya
 9 mātā(īrā) dattam Gōvriśāhga-Bhaṭṭārāhā īata-paṇichāat kabētram []⁴
 10 Śvadattām paradattām vā []⁵ yō harēti(ṣa) vasuṁ⁶ndharā[m] []⁷
 11 abashphim(tim) varsha-sahaarāpi viśhthāyān jā-
 12 yatā krimih []⁸

No. 22—PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGH, OOTACAMUND

Sometime before February 1891, the late Mr. Man Mohan Chakravarti secured two copper-plate inscriptions, on temporary loan for examination and publication, from the Rāghavadāsa Maṭha at Puri, Orissa. The results of his study of the inscriptions were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 123-27. Both the charters were issued by a king named **Kulastambha** belonging to the **Śulka** family which Chakravarti identified with the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He even suggested the identification of the issuer of the charters in question with the Eastern Chālukya monarch Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III who began to rule about the middle of the ninth century and alternatively with the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I who ruled in the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. and the first quarter of the twelfth, although the plates were assigned by him on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century. The identification seems to have been suggested to him by the occurrence of the name of Kaliṅga in his transcripts of the two inscriptions. Chakravarti further observed, "The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has been badly transcribed....The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision". As the two inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself, Chakravarti transcribed only one of the two grants (marked by him as A) but quoted the text of six lines from the other charter (marked by him as B), which give details of the grant recorded in the latter. According to him the legend on the seal of A reads *śrīmān Kulastambhadēva* and that on the seal of B *śrīmān Rāṣṭambhadēva*. He also believed that both the grants mention Kulastambha's son or governor (*kōṭāṭā*), named Kachchhadēva, and that while A records the grant of the village of Kāṅkanura in the Uṭṭa-khaṇḍa subdivision in favour of the Brāhmana Madhusūdana, son of Vēlu, B records the grant of the village of Pajāra in the same sub-division in favour of the Brāhmana Vēlaka or Vēlu.

Unfortunately the facsimiles of the inscriptions were not published along with Chakravarti's paper and it was impossible for scholars to verify the correctness of his transcripts and interpretations of the two Puri plates of Kulastambha. But his identification of the Śulka family with the

¹ This letter is completely damaged on the stone.

² Both these letters are partly damaged on the stone.

³ These two letters are again partially damaged. A part of the lower portion of s and part of the sign attached to it are visible on the stone; so also the right half of ka is visible.

⁴ The stroke is redundant here.

⁵ The accusative is redundant.

Eastern Chalukya dynasty and of Kulastambha with Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III or Kulōttuṅga I has generally been discarded. On the strength of other inscriptions of the family, since discovered, we have suggested, while editing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha in this journal,² that Chakravarti's Kōḍālō-Kachchhadāva of the Śulki family never existed as the intended reading of the passage in question is undoubtedly *Kōḍālōkāt sa śa* (or, *dēva*³).

Recently we had an opportunity to examine the second (B) of the two plates, of which a few lines only were transcribed and translated by Chakravarti. A careful examination, however, enabled us to trace numerous mistakes in Chakravarti's views on the inscription. In the grant portion of the record, he read a passage as *karastara pla 10* and translated it as "with Karaha tree worth (or rent) ten pala". The actual reading of the passage is, however, *kara-sāna ru-pla 10* which shows that the inscription, like those mentioned in connection with the plates of Narādadhavalā,⁴ records a *kura-sāna* (i.e. a grant liable to pay a fixed revenue) for which the rent, apparently annual, was fixed at ten *Palas* of silver. Chakravarti therefore could not realise the nature of the document. It was also noticed that a large number of errors that crept in his transcript and interpretation of the other plate (A), which he fully transcribed and translated, could be easily eradicated with the help of the inscription under review. It will be seen that most of his suggestions (including the one relating to the mention of Kuliāga) in regard to the two records, which have so long been troubling scholars,⁵ can quite easily be proved to be wrong.

This is a single plate measuring about 9 inches in height, 5 inches in breadth and 0·1 inch in thickness. A circular lump of metal (nearly 2 inches in diameter and 0·4 inch in thickness), soldered on a semi-circular projection in the middle of the top side of the plate represents the seal, on which are counter-sunk the usual emblems of the Śulki family of Orissa. These emblems are much corroded, although the crescent above, the legend in the middle and the standing bear to proper right below can be made out. The legend seems to read either *śrī-Kulastambhādēva* or *śrī-Ragastambhādēva*. The preservation of the plate and of the writing on it (especially on its reverse) is not quite satisfactory. There is a break in the plate affecting the writing on lines 5-7 on the obverse and lines 24-26 on the reverse. The weight of the plate is 90 tolas.

In point of **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography**, the charter closely resembles other grants of the family including the Hindol plate (which belongs, as will be seen below, to the issue of the charter under review), edited above. Although nothing requires special mention in these respects, a word has to be said now in regard to the **date** of this record as well as of other inscriptions of the Śulki family. It has been shown in our paper on the Hindol plate that the Śulkis owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and that the Talcher plate of Ragastambha (grandfather of the issuer of the Hindol plate and of the present charter as well) is dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era. But relying on the suggested identification of the era of the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era, an earlier date was then assigned to Ragastambha and his grandson. It has, however, been shown recently that the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era falls somewhere about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.C.⁶ The Talcher plate should therefore be ascribed to a date about the middle of the first half of the tenth century⁷ and the inscription under review about the end of that century.

The charter begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *amṣi*, which are followed by seven verses forming the introductory part of the document. All the seven verses are found exactly in

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 167 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff. See also *JHAS*, 1932, pp. 4 ff.

³ Cf. Ray, *DIHI*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.

⁴ See below, p. 181, note 2.

⁵ As the era in question probably started from 831 A. C., the date of the Talcher plate (year 103) may actually correspond to 934 A.C. See *JHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 145 ff.

the same order as in the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha and grandson of Rajastambha. But the language of the verses in our document is slightly different from that of the Hindol plate. Moreover, the important verse referring to the son of Rajastambha and father of the reigning king Kulastambha is defective inasmuch as the foot containing the name of Jayastambha as found in the Hindol plate is omitted in the record under review no doubt through the inadvertence of the writer. There is, however, little doubt that Kulastambha who issued the charter under discussion as well as the other Puri (Rāghavādīna Matha) plate published by Chakravarti was no other than the issuer of the Hindol plate.

Another interesting fact worth noticing in this connection is that the text of the introductory part in our record closely follows that in the Bhimnagarigarih (Dhenkanal) plate of Kulastambha,¹ although, where this latter mentions Vikramāditya and his son Rajastambha, the present record mentions Rajastambha and his son (name omitted through negligence of the scribe, but known from the Hindol plate to have been Jayastambha). The Bhimnagarigarih plate represents its issuer, king Kulastambha, as the lord of all the Gōndramas with Śāṅkhajōṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom exactly as in the record under notice. Since the relation of Kulastambha, referred to as issuing the charter, with Rajastambha mentioned in the introductory part is not specified clearly in the inscription, the Bhimnagarigarih plate is generally believed to have been issued by Rajastambha who is suggested to have had Kulastambha as a second name. But we have elsewhere² remarked, "The Bhimnagarigarih plate represents Mahārāja Rajastambha as the *ātmaja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *ata* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Rajastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Rajastambha". The close resemblance of the Bhimnagarigarih inscription with the record under discussion in regard to both language and style, however, now appears to suggest that the corrupt introduction of the former epigraph actually intended to describe, as that of the present charter, Kulastambha, grandson of Rajastambha. It further appears that the text of the introductory part of the Bhimnagarigarih plate was copied without proper adjustment from a grant of Jayastambha.³

Verse 1 of our inscription, found in most of the Śaṅkī records, is in adoration to the god Girisā, i.e. Śiva, while verses 2-3 introduce king Rajastambha of the Śaṅkī family, favoured by the goddess Stambhādevī, as having constructed some temples probably for the god Sadāiva. Verses 4-5 describe Rajastambha's son whose name is inadvertently omitted, while the following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha, son of Rajastambha's son, as issuing the charter in question from Kōḍālōka.

The grant portion of the document which is in prose and follows the introduction in verses represents Mahārāja Kulastambha, called lord of all the Gōndramas, as in good health. A defective passage in the description of the ruler seems to attribute to him the feudatory title *samvāhigatapañchamahākubha*, although the change introduced in it may have been deliberate. Such deliberate modification of feudatory titles was often resorted to by subordinate rulers who claimed a semi-independent political status.⁴ The future rulers and the present and future administrators, associated with the *mapāḍa* (district) extending up to the Śāṅkhajōṭikī, are then addressed. The way in which the *mapāḍa* is mentioned suggests that it comprised either the whole dominions of the Śaṅkī or, at least, the central part of the Śaṅkī territories. The lists of the rulers and administrators include the *rājānaka*, *rājaputra*, *mahāśānta*, *viśayapati* and others. The charter then

¹ *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 401 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 100.

³ Cf. the text of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha in *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 406 ff.

⁴ Cf. the Mahala plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 232 ff.).

goes on to record the grant of the village of Paḍāra, attached to the Gāḍā *khaṇḍa* (subdivision), in favour of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Velluka who was the son of Āṇanti and whose original home was at Āviddhā. The village was given along with its boundaries and the space above the ground (*a-oddāta*); but it was not made a rent-free holding. It was given as a *kura-śāma* (i.e. land granted as a rent-paying holding) with a fixed rent of ten *Palas* of silver apparently per annum. It is not stated whether the village was sold or given away free of cost; but it was possibly purchased from its owner with the king's approval with the stipulation of an annual rent as in some other cases known from Orissan inscriptions.¹

The charter ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The language of these stanzas is extremely corrupt as in the case of the *braya-śāma* (the Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavalā) edited above.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, the location of Kōḍālōka has been discussed in connection with the Hindol plate edited above. It is probably modern Koala near Taleber in Dhenkanal. The expression "all the Gōndramas" or "the eighteen Gōndramas", as indicated elsewhere, was possibly used to signify the same thing as Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*. The Śaḍkha-jōṭikā has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region of Upper Orissa. The exact location of the villages Āviddhā and Paḍāra is uncertain.

TEXT:

[Metres: Verse 1 *Giti*; verses 2 and 4 *Upajāti* (*Indrañjirā* and *Upēndravajrā*); verses 3 and 5 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 6 *Upajāti* (*Vāṇīastha* and *Indravandā*); verse 7 *Śrughdhārā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² Svasta(ati |) Jayati sur-āsura-vidvad-³vidyādharma-makuta-
- 2 ghrīabha-charaṇ-āmvu(mta)ja[h |*] śasi(śi)-maṇa(ni)-mayūkha-bhāśi(a)ta-
- 3 piṅga-jatā-bhāra-bhāsurō Girīkaḥ || 1* | Stambhōśva-
- 4 ri(ri)-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasāde Śulki-kulś-bhūt-kali-
- 5 ūpa(h*) kalat-ārā(ri)h ||* | ścīmān(mān) Raṇustambhadēva⁴ pratītaḥ
- 6 sphurat-pratāp-ōdayaḥ⁵ tūpit-ārī(ri)h || 2 | Bhāsavī(d-vi)chitra-
- 7 ruohir-ōjva(jjva)la-chāru-śōbhau(bhai)ra-achau(achai)h Sadāśiva-pu-
- 8 r-ōgamaniya⁶-mārggadh ||* | dāvālaiyafr⁷-nūja-yaśō-dhava⁸-
- 9 dhavalūit-anēkūit-yōn-ātmanas-tri(s-tri)divam-udgamit-ōru-ki(ki)-
- 10 rtiit(riti)h || 3 | Taay-ātma-jō-bhū(j-*)jjagad-eka-vi(vi)rah ||⁹ | n yaśō la¹⁰

¹ See *JRS*, 1952, pp. 1-10.

² From the original plate.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The same seems to be the reading in the Hindol plate.

⁵ Better read "stambha śi" for the sake of the metre.

⁶ Read "daga-āpa", or better "daga-āpa" for the sake of the metre.

⁷ Read "ōpam-ni", or *pura-prapam-ni* as in the Hindol plate and other records.

⁸ Read *śa-ōgyar*.

⁹ The *atubara śama* here are redundant.

¹⁰ The second *paḍa* of the stanza is omitted through inadvertence. In place of the double *danda*, followed by the *atubara śa*, we have to read something like *ścīmān Jayastambha śi bhūtiśa* as in the Hindol plate, line 2.

¹¹ Read *yagad-eka*.

- 11 sat-khaṅga(ḍga)-nipāta-bhi(bhi)taḥ simantatō yānti(anti) raṇē dviśa¹ [1 4*]
 12 Yō rāja-chakra-tilakaḥ sva-guṇ-ādgu(ṇ-āmāsu)-pātau² da-kāminī(nl)-
 13 mukha-manōhara-karṇapūrāḥ [1*] śaṅgōchit³-āhita-vadhū-va-
 14 dan-āravindai(r-*)dēs⁴-āndhakāra-bhidurāḥ saśubhai⁵ śaśi(ś-ī)-
 15 va [1 5*] Taamāt-va(d-ba)l-śisārita-vairi-vārī(ri)taḥ [1*] parākram-ākṛā-
 16 ntā(ata)-mamasta-dik-taṭaḥ [1*] dāna-pravṛit-ārdu⁶-kara-pratīti-
 17 mātā(mān) dig-vāraṇ-ōndra-pratimō-bhavat-sa(t-su)taḥ [1 6*] Kōdālōka(kāt) chchha(sa)
 dāva-
 18 dvija-guru-charaṇ-ārādhan-āśa(sa)kta-chōtā[ḥ*] śrimām(mān) durvāra-vairi-pra-
 19 varu-kari-ghaṭā-kumbha-kupī(tā)ka-vāraḥ⁷ [1*] dātā satv-ai(ttv-ai)ka-nishḥhō ja-

Reverses

- 20 gati Pri(Pri)thu-sama[ḥ*] ya⁸ pāthivāśa(śhu) prati(tī)ta[ḥ*] ka(kri)chchhrē=py-amalāna-⁹
 21 khaṅga(ḍga)-prakaṭa-bhuja-valā-trāsitāśśa¹⁰-śatru[ḥ 1 7*] Sa-
 22 kala-Gōmātramōdhithaḥ¹¹ prama¹²-māhōśvaraḥ samudga-
 23 mīś-āśśha-śavda¹³-mahārāja-śri-Kulastambhadēva[ḥ kuśali*]
 24 Śaśkhajōṭi[ḥ]kā-valaya-parikaritaḥ¹⁴-paryantē ma-
 25 ṇḍalā-aminā(amin) bhāvi(vi)ṇḍō rājanka¹⁵-(rāja)putrā(tra)-mahāsāmanta-
 26 nagar¹⁶-anyān-api yathā-kālādḍhaṅga[n]ḍō¹⁷ viśayapati-nidhika¹⁸-
 27 rīṇaś-cha sa-karṇa-kalāpa(pān) yathāhrīn¹⁹ vō(bō)dhayatiḥ(ti) kuśala-

¹ Read *dviśantaḥ*.² Read *pātān-dik*.³ Read *śaṅgōchit-ā*.⁴ Better read *dōś-ā*.⁵ Read *śaśubhai*.⁶ The *śavda* is superfluous.⁷ Read *pravṛit-ārdu*.⁸ Read *pāthiv*.⁹ This *ya* is redundant.¹⁰ Read *amāna*.¹¹ Read *bala-trāsit-āśśha*.¹² Read *Gōmātram-ādhithaḥ*.¹³ Read *paruma*.¹⁴ Better read *śamadhigata-paścha-mahāśabdo* or *śamadhigatāśśha*.¹⁵ Read *parikṛti*.¹⁶ Read *rājanka* or *rājāśa*.¹⁷ Better read *śamāramādy-ādhayanti-nyān-api*.¹⁸ Read *lāl-ādhayanti*. Chakravartī reads this expression as *lālā(tī)nyānapi* in Plate A and takes it to refer to the Kālīya people.¹⁹ Read *viśayapati-nidhikarīṇaścha*.²⁰ Chakravartī reads: *rīṇa śaśa karṇa kalāpa pūṭhadrīn viśayantika kuśala*.²¹ Read *pūṭhāram*.

Obverse

2 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
4 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
6 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
8 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
10 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
12 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
14 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
16 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश
18 यववपलासुदमादि मालमयस्त्रिदश

Reverse

गतिप्रीतिप्रसादयत्तु ॥ २० ॥
 २१ ॥
 २२ ॥
 २३ ॥
 २४ ॥
 २५ ॥
 २६ ॥
 २७ ॥
 २८ ॥
 २९ ॥
 ३० ॥
 ३१ ॥
 ३२ ॥
 ३३ ॥
 ३४ ॥
 ३५ ॥
 ३६ ॥

- 28 'yaty-ādisa(śa)ti cha [i*] viditam=astu bhavatām Gōlō-khaṇḍa-
 29 'samvandhaḥ² Paḍārāgrāma[h*] saparikataḥ³ a-ōdē(ōdē)śa[h*] sa-
 30 'rva-vādha-virvarjataś=chatu[ḥ]aya-simā-valaya-parika⁴-
 31 'rta-paryantaḥ [i*] kara-sāśa⁵ ru-pla¹⁰ 10 Āviddhā-
 32 'vinigata-bha[ṭṭapū(pu)]tra-Vēllukasya¹² Āpa-
 33 nti-xutaḥ¹³ Taṭṭākānma¹⁴ saha[ṣṛā*]ṇi asva(śva)-
 34 mēddha(dha)-sana chaḥ¹⁵ [i*] gavā[ḥ*] kōṭi-prū(pra)dānēna bhūmi-
 35 hartā na en(śu)dhyati || yasya¹⁶ yāsa tasa tasya ta a-
 36 phalaṁ mā¹⁷ bhō phalaṁ saṅkā sa sva-dattā¹⁸ pālaniā-
 37 t sva¹⁹-pradām-vā jō harēti vasadharā [i sa vi]²⁰

No. 23—BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA ; REGNAL YEAR 8

(I. Plate)

D. G. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime about the middle of the year 1951, reports reached me that Mr. S. U. De, Curator of Archives, attached to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had found an inscribed stone in the vicinity of the well-known town of **Bhadrak** in the Balasore District of Orissa. I also learnt that the stone, believed to have been originally the lintel of the door of a temple, had been secured for the Orissa State Museum and brought to Bhubaneswar. I wrote to the authorities of the Museum requesting them to send me a few impressions of the inscription for examination ; un-

¹ Chakravarti reads : *gathāśanti viditam=astu bhavatām Gōlō-khaṇḍa*, but takes the name of the subdivision to be Ulōkhanda.

² Chakravarti reads : *sambandhaḥ Paḍārāgrāma sayori karataḥ sō dēśa sa*.*

³ Read *sambandha*.

⁴ Read *a-śva-simā*.

⁵ Chakravarti reads : *rāśa-sādā-virvarjata chatuṣṭaya sīmā laya parika*.

⁶ Read *śāśa-simā-jata-chaṭuḥ-simā-valaya-parikāṭi*.

⁷ Chakravarti reads : *rata paryantaḥ [karastara pla 10 Āviddhā*.*

⁸ The *śaśa* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *śaśa-simā-datta*.

¹⁰ I.e., *śāpya-pālani dāta*.

¹¹ Chakravarti reads : *vinigata Bhaja-patra Vēllukasya āpa*.

¹² The *śaśa* *śāśa* is preferred apparently because Vēlluka recovered the village (possibly by purchase) as a *śaśa*-share and not as a *śāpya*-free gift.

¹³ Read *śāśa*.

¹⁴ Read *śāśa*.

¹⁵ Read *śāśa*.

¹⁶ The reading intended is *yasya yasya gathā śāśa-simā-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ*. The first half of the stanza is undoubtedly omitted.

¹⁷ The intended reading is *Mā śāśa-phala-śāśa*, etc.

¹⁸ The intended reading is *śaśa-datta-phala-śāśa*, etc.

¹⁹ The reading intended is *śaśa-dattā para-dattā*, etc.

²⁰ The second half of the stanza could not be completed owing to want of space.

fortunately no impression reached me as a result of the correspondence. About the beginning of November in the same year, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra happened to visit Bhubaneswar in the course of a tour that side. He inspected the Bhadrak stone inscription in the Orissa State Museum and copied it. After his return to Gotacamund, Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal all the impressions of the above inscription for examination. He also permitted me to edit the record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. C. De for information regarding the discovery of the inscription. "I discovered the inscription", Mr. De subsequently wrote to me, "in the courtyard of the temple of Bhadrakālī in a locality about five miles from the town of Bhadrak in the Bhadrak Sub-Division on the 17th of March 1951. I noticed the stone buried in the earth and learnt that pilgrims used to wash their feet on it. Certain scars on the stone attracted my attention. I then dug it out and found the inscription. In the month of June we managed to bring the stone to the Museum. Its upper part is damaged as the villagers used to sharpen their axes on it. I was told that the stone had been brought to the Bhadrakālī temple from an adjoining village some years back. The temple of Bhadrakālī is an ordinary thatched cottage. So the stone was probably the lintel of some other temple."

The stone bears an inscription in three lines and is unfortunately broken here and there. The state of preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters in all the three lines have either completely or partially broken away, while some *akṣaras* in line 1 have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. This corrosion is apparently due to the stone being used as an axe-sharpener. The writing covers a space about 44 inches in length and about 7 inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are about 1.5 inches in height.

The characters resemble those of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, of which the test letters are *m*, *s* and *ḷ*. Of the three letters, *m* and *ḷ* in our record are almost as developed as in the Allahabad pillar inscription¹ of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. C.), although in one case *m* seems to exhibit an earlier form. The letter *s* has its earlier form found usually in the inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The form of *l* resembles that of the same letter as found in the Allahabad pillar inscription, while letters like *ā*, *u*, etc., show pre-Gupta forms. The letter *ṣ* resembles in form the same letter as found in some Mathurā inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.C. and reproduced by Ojha in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, Plate VI, i (cf. the fourth form of *ṣ*). In a few cases medial *ā* and *ī* seem to be written by lengthening slightly the top *uṭṭrā* of the consonant respectively towards the right and the left. The inscription exhibits the initial vowel *a* and the symbols for the numerals 3, 8 and 80. On grounds of palaeography, the inscription may be assigned to the period between the age of the Kushānas and that of the Guptas. I am inclined to assign it to a date about the second half of the third century A.C. This date seems to be supported also by the language of the record.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. We know that originally the epigraphic language of the whole of India was Prakrit, that Sanskrit is first found in North Indian epigraphs about the beginning of the Christian era and that it gradually ousted Prakrit from the field of Indian epigraphy. The suppression of Sanskrit by Prakrit in the epigraphic records of the lower part of South India took place as late as the middle of the fourth century A.C. In the early Prakrit inscriptions, double consonants are found to be represented by single letters; but gradually the influence of Sanskrit became noticeable in the Prakrit records, not only in their use of double consonants, but also in the occasional inclusion of Sanskritic sounds, words and passages. From a study of the Prakrit inscriptions of the various dynasties holding sway over South India, we find

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III), pp. III; and Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff.

that double consonants began to appear in such records in the third century A.C.¹ As our inscription shows the use of double consonant only in one case (cf. *ayya* in line 2, for Sanskrit *ārga*, instead of the earlier epigraphic Prakrit form *aya*), it may reasonably be assigned to the same third century. That it has to be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century is suggested again by the Susunia inscription² of king Chandravarman who ruled over South-West Bengal (adjacent to North-East Orissa in which Bhadrak, the findspot of our record, is situated) about the middle of the fourth century A. C. and was defeated by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The language of the Susunia inscription is Sanskrit and suggests that Prakrit was ousted from the inscriptions of that area at an earlier date.

The Bhadrak inscription begins with traces of a short horizontal line which appears to stand for the usual *siddham* symbol. This is followed by the word *Mah[ā]r[ā]ja*. The following two *aksharas* read : *sa*[i], although traces of the vowel-mark are not distinct above the second *akshara*. This is because the stone is broken here. What comes next has to be read as *Gaṇa*. The tops of all these three letters are damaged owing to the breaking away of a piece of stone as well as to corrosion about the upper parts of the second and third *aksharas*; but there is hardly any doubt about the reading. Then comes *Sam* 8. Traces of the *nasal* above *sa* are faintly visible; but the upper right side of the letter is completely corroded. The symbol for *S*, which here resembles the *ṣ* sign reproduced by Ojha from the inscriptions of the Kalsiāns age in his work, Plate LXXI, (cf. the third symbol for *ṣ*) is partially corroded, traces of the lost part being fortunately still slightly visible. The *daṇḍa* that follows the numeral is indicated here by a short vertical line. The first half of line 1, besides the *siddham* symbol at the beginning, thus reads : *Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇa* *Sam* 8, in Sanskrit *Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇa* *Sam* 8 (= *samvatsarā* *aṣṭamā*). The inscription is therefore dated in the eighth regnal year of a king called *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa*. The name cannot be read as *Gaṇa* as there is absolutely no trace of any *u-mātrā* attached to *g*. With the name of the king mentioned in our record, we may compare that of *Mahāśaṅkrapati śrī-Gaṇa*, known from the Harynagthal copper-plate inscription³ of king Harjatarvarman of Assam. In both these cases, *śrī* appears to be an honorific and not an integral part of the name. That the name of the king mentioned in the Bhadrak inscription is most probably *Gaṇa* and not *Śrīgaṇa* seems to be suggested by the fact that, unlike *Śrīgaṇa*, *Gaṇa* (literally meaning the god *Gaṇeśa* or an attendant of *Śiva*)⁴ is actually known to have been used as a personal name in ancient India. *Gaṇa* is the name of the author of the celebrated work entitled *Aśvāyuroda*,⁵ while the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ speaks of a *gōtra-kāra* named *Gaṇa*.

The second half of line 1 of our inscription reads : *[M]ahājap[ina] d[ā]m 3 daṇḍa*. The upper part of *mā* is corroded. Although the traces now visible would rather suggest a slightly earlier form of *m* than that of the other cases of the letter in the record, the *akshara* in question can hardly be read as anything else than *mā*. Parts of *na* are much corroded and the letter is really unrecognisable. *Mahājapa* (literally meaning 'a mutterer of the *mūla-mantṛa*, i.e., a particular sacred text or sounds') is a personal name, while the word *dāna* has been apparently used in the sense of 'an image of a god' as in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 87) and other works. Thus the above sentence

¹ For the points raised, see Sirsat's *Successors of the Satavāhanas*, 1933., pp. 87 and notes, 166; *IIIQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 38 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 501-2.

² *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 241-42.

³ See *Kāmaprasiddhantamūlā*, p. 51. Harjatarvarman flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D.; no one of his inscriptions is dated in the Gupta year 510 (529-30 A.D.).

⁴ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.; *Siddhantaśaṅkṛantī*, s.v.

⁵ Kiehl, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 405.

⁶ Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, I, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gaṇa*.

of the inscription says that a person named Mūlajapa presented three images for worship to (or installed them in) a particular religious establishment. The name of the establishment is not specifically mentioned in the inscription apparently because the inscribed stone was in view in the temple which housed the images. The temple was probably situated in the modern Bhadrak area which is the findspot of our inscription. Unfortunately the deity or deities represented by the images have not been named and cannot therefore be determined. We know that there was a practice according to which the installation of one or more images of one or more deities would be promised by a person in distress with the hope that he would be relieved of the suffering. Numerous such images, styled *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* in the records on later specimens, have been discovered. In the terminology of similar dedicatory inscriptions, the three images referred to in our record were the *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* of Mūlajapa who installed them in a temple in the vicinity of Bhadrak within the dominions of *Mahārāja śri-Gaṇa* in the eighth year of the latter's reign.

In regard to the reading of the second half of line 1, we have to admit that, since this part follows the regnal year, it is tempting to take *pa* (read *pə*) before the traces of a damaged sign (tentatively read *ae*) as a contraction of *pakṣe* and *dave* (read *dēva*) before *ṣ* is meant for *dīnāṣ*. In that case, however, we should expect immediately before *pa* the name of one of the seasons (viz. *grīṣma*, *varṣā* and *kṛmanta*) or less probably that of a month. But the reading *mūla* is fairly certain, although the sign read as *ja* may possibly also be *ṣ*. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out here the name of a season or month in spite of the fact that one of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* bears the name *Mūla*. The name *Jyēṣṭhamūla* is sometimes applied to *Jyēṣṭha*; but *mūla* is never used as the name of a month.

Line 2 of the inscription begins with *vapa 80*. Before this, there are traces of a letter partially broken away along with a piece of stone. Judging from the beginning of the first line of the record, marked by the traces of the *śiḍḍham* symbol, it is apparent that one or two letters have been completely broken away at the beginning of the second line. A word ending in *vapa* and followed by a number would suggest an expression like *kulyavāpa*, *śhāvēvāpa*, *diṣyavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* or *nālikāvēvāpa* all of which were the names of some of the different land-measures of ancient India. Thus the section no doubt refers to eighty measures of land which was apparently granted by Mūlajapa in favour of the temple for the continuation of the worship of the three deities installed by him therein. The partially broken letter before *vapa* cannot be satisfactorily read; but it may be a damaged *ḍha*.¹ In that case the reading intended may be *āḍhavāpa*.

The rest of the second line of the inscription reads: *Maḥ[ṣ]kulapati-arya-Agnīśarmā Pānida vaḍidaṃ paḍicchidaṃ*. *Paḍicchida* is the same as Pali *paṭicchehita* meaning 'accepted,' while *vaḍida* seems to be the same as Sanskrit *vaṣṭa* meaning 'an apportionment', i.e., an apportioned piece of land in the present case. The sentence thus indicates that the eighty measures of land referred to were apportioned in a locality called **Pānida** and that the land was accepted by *Maḥ-kulapati-arya* Agnīśarma apparently on behalf of the temple or religious establishment in question. Agnīśarma was probably the head of the establishment or less probably the priest in charge of the temple. The epithets *arya*, 'venerable', and *Maḥkūlapati* point to his high rank. The expression *kūlapati*, which usually means the head or chief of a family, also indicates a sage who feeds and teaches ten thousand pupils.²

The letters of the first half of line 3 are either completely or partially broken away. The first five or six *akṣaras* are lost, while only the vowel-marks of the following two *akṣaras* (medial *i*

¹ [It looks more like *ha*.—B.C.C.]

² See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

in both the cases) remain. Only the upper parts of the next seven letters are visible and they suggest the reading: *adhivāsa Bhada*. The second half of the line, in which some of the letters are damaged, seems to read: *Apavasa* [*Mahāsara*] *Ghali Adasama* [I]. The last two letters, *sa ma*, suggest a Brahmanic name ending in the word *śarma* exactly as *Agisama*=*Agniśarma*. *Adasama* may be Sanskrit *Aśaśarma*. It is thus possible to think that this name is preceded in the record by other names, viz. *Bhada* (Sanskrit *Bhadra*), *Apavasa* (possibly Sanskrit *Apavaraha*), *Mahāsara* (possibly Sanskrit *Mahāsāra*) and *Ghali* (cf. Sanskrit *Khalin*). The possibility of the existence of the word *adhivāsa*(*śi*)*ka* in the damaged first half of the line would suggest that it was preceded by the name of the locality where the persons mentioned resided. But what their relation was with the grant recorded in the inscription cannot be determined with certainty. If they were merely witnesses to the transaction, they were probably residents of a locality near the gift land at Pāṇḍa.

Mahārāja Gana, during whose reign the inscription was engraved about the second half of the third century A.C., is not known from any other source. He seems to have been a ruler of the ancient Utkala country bounded by the rivers *Vaitaraṇī*¹ and *Kanuki* (ancient *Kapiśā*)² and lying between the lands inhabited by the *Vaṅgas* and the *Kaliṅgas*.³ He was probably an independent monarch like the kings of *Pushkaraṇā* (modern *Pokharna* on the *Damodar* in South-West Bengal), who are known from the *Susunia* inscription. As already indicated above, king *Chandravarman* of *Pushkaraṇā* was overthrown by the Gupta emperor *Samudragupta* about the middle of the fourth century A.C. Whether the Utkala country was also conquered by *Samudragupta* about the same time is as yet unknown. The *Sumaṇḍala* plates⁴ of the Gupta year 290 (569 A. C.), however, show that imperial Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in *Kaliṅga* and presumably also in Utkala. Although it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe the conquest of *Kaliṅga* and Utkala to a particular Gupta monarch, it is possible to suggest that the event took place before the death of *Kumārāgupta I*, grandson of *Samudragupta*, in 455 A.C., as the successors of that monarch do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the annexation of such far off territories. These conquests should better be attributed to *Samudragupta* or to his son *Chandragupta II* *Vikramāditya* described as *kr̥ṣṇa-prithvī-jay-artha* in one of the *Udayagiri* inscriptions (cf. also the reference to his *dig-vijaya* in the *Moharuli* inscription).⁵ As however Utkala is not mentioned in the *Allahabad* pillar inscription in connection with the victorious campaigns of *Samudragupta*, the second alternative seems preferable.⁶ Whether the rulers of *Āryāvarta*, mentioned in that record as overthrown by the Gupta monarch, included a ruler of Utkala cannot be determined.

We have said that the eighty measures of land granted by *Mālaśapa* were apportioned in a locality called *Pāṇḍa*. The place may not have been far away from *Bhadra*, near which the inscription has been found. I have not succeeded in identifying the locality.

TEXT*

1 [Siddham]⁷ [I*] Maḥ[ā]r[ā]ja-sir[ī] Gaṇasa sa[ṁ] 8[I] [M]ūlaśap[ā]na d[ā]vā 3 dat[ā]

¹ Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 2; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179.

² Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38; above, loc. cit. Utkala came later to be known as the *Āṇḍra* country no doubt after the name of an allied tribe of that name. The *Āṇḍras* may have originally inhabited parts of Northern Orissa.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 272, 275 ff.

⁶ In this connection, it may be noted that the *Moharuli* inscription attributes to *Chandragupta II* the conquest of a country on the Southern Sea.

⁷ From the impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Chakrav.

* Expressed by a symbol which is faintly visible

- 2 [ādhā?]vapa 80 [1*] Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya² Agisamēnab(ua) Pām[dā]ḥ³ vaḍidaṁ padichhidam [1*]
 3Li [adhivāsa(c)i]ka Bhada? [Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Ajaṣama⁴ [1*]

TRANSLATION

May there be success ! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious *Makārāja* Gaṇa. By *Mūlajaya* are given 80 idols (and also) 80 [ādhā?]vāpas (of land). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Pānida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agnisarman), the *Mahākulapati* Bhada (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apararsha?), Mahāsa (Mahāsāra?), Ghali (and) Ajaṣama (Ajaśarman), residents of....

No. 24—HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIHURAJA ; YEAR 3

(1 Plate)

MORRESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This copper plate grant is from the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, where it has been deposited for the last 27 years. It is reported to have been found in the possession of a Brahmin at **Hingni Berdi**, a small village on the bank of the Bhīmā river, near Dhond in the Poona District. It was obtained by Śrī P. R. Alegaonkar who passed it on to Prof. Datto Waman Potdar for the purpose of decipherment and publication. At the request of the latter, Mr. P. M. Chandurkar read a short note based on this record before the Sixth Annual Session of the B. I. S. Maṇḍala in 1926.¹ As the reading given by him is not altogether satisfactory, I re-edit the plates here with the kind permission of the secretaries of the said institute.

The set consists of two sheets of copper, each measuring about 5 inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The weight of the two plates is 14 tolas. In the upper margin of each plate there is a small roundish hole, about 2/10 inch in diameter through which a copper ring is passed for holding them together. The two ends of the ring are secured under a lump of copper which is flattened and bears on it the incised figures of an *akṣavalī*, consisting of eleven beads, a *lamanḍala*-shaped spouted vessel on its left and a *daṇḍā*² on its right, apparently the requisites of a *śrīmūṣṭi*. The ring weighs 1½ tolas. The inscription on the plates consists of 22 lines of writing, of which 9 are engraved on the second side of the first plate, 10 lines on the first side of the second plate and the remaining 3 on the second side of the latter. As the rims of both the plates are raised, the engraving has remained in a fair state of preservation.

The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabet current in the fifth and sixth centuries A. C. The record is very carelessly engraved and exhibits certain peculiarities which deserve close attention. We see mostly nail-headed or acute-angled letters in the first plate, while the second plate shows small circles or pin-heads on the top of certain letters. These

¹ The reading may possibly also be *dyo. Agisamēn*; but I am inclined to ignore the traces about the tail of 4 in both the cases.

² What I have read as *di* may possibly also be *ṣ* or *ja*, although that would hardly give any sense.

³ The first letter in this name may possibly be also read as *ṣ*.

⁴ Full-stop in this case means to be indicated by a slanting line.

⁵ *Śikṣāṭka Nibandhaṇa* Vṛtila (B. I. S. Maṇḍala), pp. 63-65.

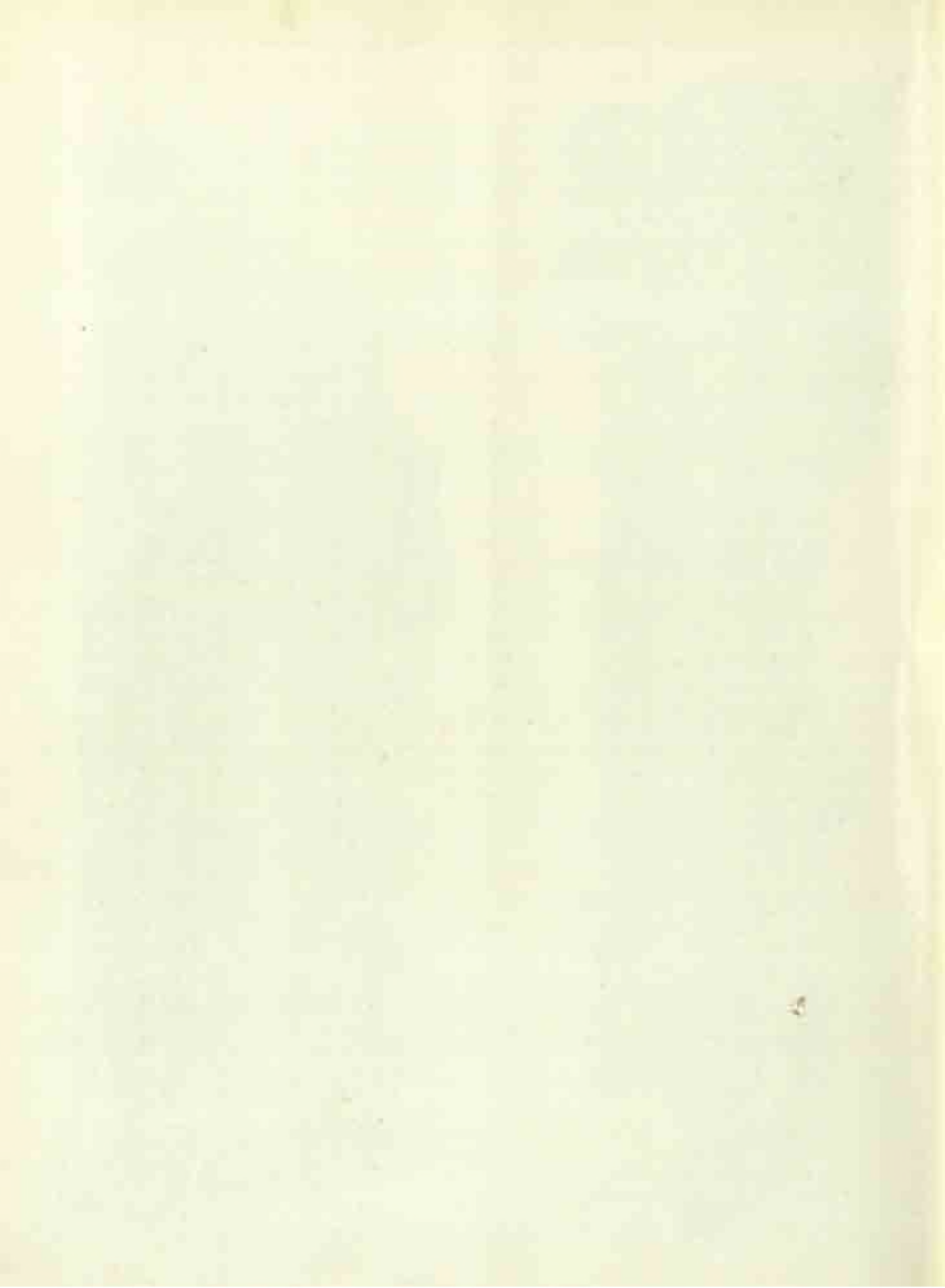
⁶ (What has been described as *śāṇḍa* represents possibly only a blade of *Seta* grass according to Mr. M. Venkataramayya. Ed.)

Left half



Right half





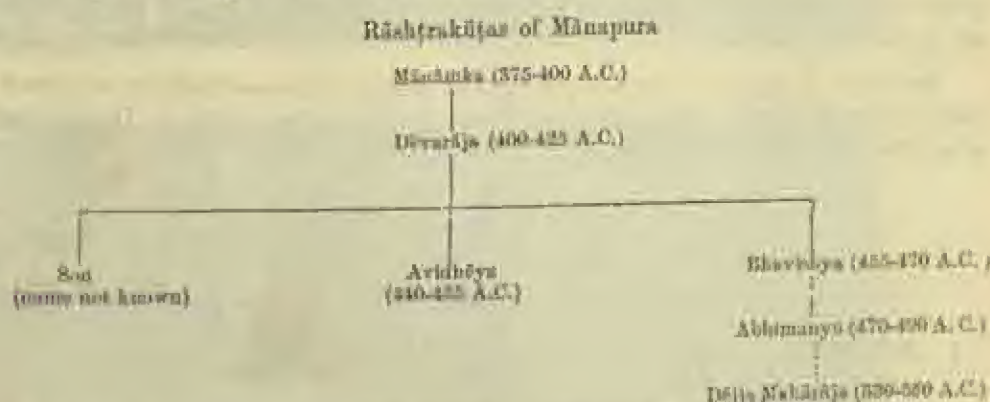
resemble closely the forms of letters found in the Añjanāri plates¹ of Prithvichandra Bhōgśākti. The writing on the second side of the second plate shows a very crude hand. It is strongly doubted if all the three sides of the two plates were engraved by one and the same person.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose and is full of mistakes, but the sense can be clear, if proper restorations are made in the text.

The inscription refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is styled *Rāshtrakūṭa* (*ṛṣarāṣṭr*:-*an-sarāṣṭra* in the initial portion. It is stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess **Syāvalādgi Mahādēvi**, the Queen-consort of Rāshtrakūṭa **Dēvarāja** and mother of **Māparāja**, donated an *agrahāra* called Kamalibhūṣaka to a Brahmin called Nannasvāmin, belonging to the Agastya *gōtra*, for the purpose of carrying on religious duties. In addition to this land a *daśāṅga* of *śūrya* bars (*śulāṅga*) of gold was given to the Brahmin with the consent of Rāshtrakūṭa **Vihurāja**. The grant was made on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the third regnal year of king Vihurāja.

The plates refer to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty thrice (lines 1, 9 and 16) and from the find-spot of the plates it seems certain that the family must have been ruling somewhere in Mahārāshtra. The royal persons belonging to this family are described in the usual panegyric and as such do not yield any historical information. King Vihurāja is mentioned twice and there is no specific reference to his period, except that the palaeography of the grant, which as stated above, places it in the 3th century A. C. In the absence of these details it would have been difficult to identify this king Vihurāja, as none of the branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty anywhere refers to him.

The mention of king Dēvarāja, however, affords some clue. Recently Principal V.V. Mirashi, in his article² entitled "The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura", has suggested that there was a minor branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty ruling in certain parts of the Satara District during the 4-6th centuries A.C. Hitherto only three copper-plate grants of this family have been found, viz., Uḍḍi-kasāṭikā grant³ of Rāshtrakūṭa Abhimanyu, Pāṇḍurangapalli plates⁴ of Rāshtrakūṭa Avidhēya, and Gokak plates⁵ of Rāshtrakūṭa Dējja Mahārāja. From the identification of the place names recorded in the first two of these grants, it has been shown that the members of this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty were ruling in the Māga *tāluka* of the Satara District. The genealogy and the approximate period assigned to them is given as follows :—



¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225-228 and plates.

² *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-40.

³ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff.

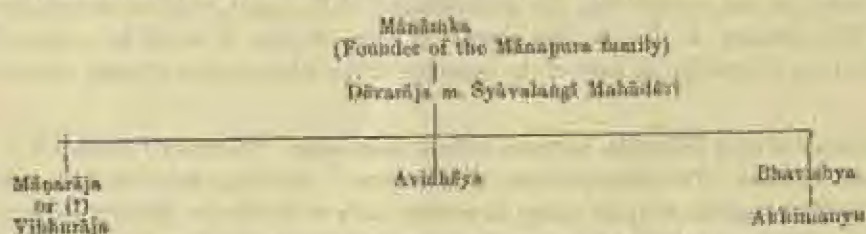
⁴ *Myosin Archaeological Report* for 1929, p. 197.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

⁶ DGA/53

Since the donor of the present plates is described as the wife of Dēvarāja, it seems plausible to suggest that the Dēvarāja referred to by them is no other than the second person mentioned in the pedigree given above, because the palaeography of the record does not go against the age assigned to that ruler by Prof. Mirashi. In the Uḍḍikavāṭikā and Pāṇḍurāṅgapallī plates, this Dēvarāja is stated to have had three sons, but the names of only two of whom, viz., Abhimanyu and Bhaviśhya, are known from the inscriptional data available. As the queen of Dēvarāja is also called the mother of Māparāja in the present inscription, it is clear that Māparāja is the name of the hitherto unknown (third) son of Dēvarāja and he was probably the eldest. And this is quite in keeping with the ancient practice of naming the child after his grandfather, because the name of the father of Dēvarāja is known to be Mānābhā, who founded the Mānapura branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The grant was issued in the third regnal year of king Vibhūrāja. His exact relationship with Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī is not explicitly stated in the record. But since the plates are issued in the early part of the career of that king, I believe that Vibhūrāja is an ally of Māparāja and that the plates were issued by the queen-mother Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī after the death of her husband Dēvarāja. Whether it was actually so needs further corroboration. In the light of the details at present available, the genealogy of the family can be reconstructed as follows:



The present plates were issued on the Vaiśākha pūrṇimāsī day in the third regnal year of king Vibhūrāja; but these details are not quite sufficient to verify the date of the grant.

The mention of golden bars (*varuṇa-lulāḥā*) given as *daśahīnā* is also very interesting. It cannot be said if these bars bore any marks as on the bent-bar silver currency, so frequently noticed in ancient sites like Taxila on the North-Western borders of India. At any rate, no currency of the above description is known to have been current in Mahārāṣṭra in the period in which the plates were inscribed.

For want of adequate data, the geographical position of Kamalībhāṅhaka mentioned in the grant cannot be located. It is likely that it was the name of some plot in Hinggi Berdi itself where the plates were discovered.

TEXT¹

First Plate

1 ॐ² स्वस्ति श्रीमता वु(?)लितशनुवाध³(?)ना राष्ट्रकूटेश्व-

2 राजामन्ववाधश्रियोलंकारेण श्रीमता महाराज-

¹ From the original plates and ink impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ I am not sure about the reading of this *śloka*. [Possibly *śaṭṭa-jāṭra-śaṭṭaśā* is intended. —R.C.C.]

i.
 2
 4
 6
 8

2
 4
 6
 8

ii.a.

10
 12
 14
 16
 18

10
 12
 14
 16
 18

ii.b.

20
 22

20
 22

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 3 विभुराजानुज्ञया¹ स्वकुशलैर्नभस्तलान्कारिणी(?) (प्या)
- 4 श्यावलङ्गीमहादेव्य (व्या) मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धवे आ-
- 5 त्मनश्च बलिचक्रवैश्यदेवाग्निहोत्रकृ (क्रि) योत्स[र्प्य]णा-
- 6 त्वंम (मा) चन्द्राकर्णवक्षितस्त्रि (स्त्रि) तिसमकालि (ली) नः पुत्रपौ-
- 7 त्रस्वामिभक्तार्थिह² हृदय[ना]दाभिमुखसमराभिये-
- 8 दं श्रीमाणराजस्य माथा सतीत्वाच्चोभयव-
- 9 नशीतमु(वंशोद्धू)तप्रभावत्या[व्यं]या श्रीमतो राष्ट्र[कूट*]देवरा-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 10 जस्य पण्या (ल्या) [रा]ज्यान्वयभोग्यस्सर्व्यादित्यविणि (ष्टि) परिव-
- 11 जितो चाटभटप्रवेश्ये (स्यो) भु(भू)म(मि)च्छ (च्छि) दन्यायेन
- 12 अगस्त (स्य) सगोत्रब्राह्मणाय नमस्वाम (मि) नै स्वहस्त-
- 13 धृत[भू]द्धारकोद[ने]के[न*] कमली भू[ह]काप्रा (प्र) हारस्य दक्षि-
- 14 [णा] सुवर्ण्यंशि (श) ल (ला) कायाः पञ्चाशत्ताम्रशासनन (ति) व-
- 15 द्वा [१*] वर्तमाने तृत (ती) ये स (सं) वत्सरे वंशाख[शु]क्लपौ[र्ण्ये]-
- 16 मास्म (स्या) रा[ष्ट्र]कूटेन महाराजविभुराजस्य [१*] यश्च[तत्*] [लो]-
- 17 पय (पि) प्य (प्य) ति म प[ञ्च]महापातकसंपुनतो भविष (प्य) ति [१*] प-
- 18 [ष्टि]वर्षमह[स्त्रा]णि स्वग्नि (स्यं) म (मो) दति भूमिद (दः) आच्छेता वा-
- 19 नुम[न्ता] च

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 20 ता[न्ये]व नरके व[से]त् [१*] बहु[भि]ज्जं[मु]षा [भुक्ता रा]-
- 21 जि (ज) भिस्ता (स्त) नरादिवि (मि) [१*] यस्य वि (य) स्य वदी (दा) [भू]म (मि)-
व (स्त) स्य (स्य)
- 22 त[स्य] [त]दा फलवि (मि) [ति] [१*]

¹ [The words *śākhāra* and *śrīmā* are obviously intended to qualify *Vibhura* wrongly compounded here. —B.C.C.]

² The letter *ś* is redundant ; read *śukla*.

³ This *śloka* is not necessary.

No. 25—AJMER STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAUMUND

While dealing with the stone inscription containing portions of the Sanskrit drama entitled *Hastakāśīkā*, composed by king Vigraharāja (1153-64 A.C.) of the Chāhamāna or Chauhān dynasty of Śākambharī, F. Kielhorn¹ deplored the strange vicissitudes of fortune that led the stones, on which the royal author made the products of his muse known to the people; to "have been used as common building material for a place of Muhammadan worship by the conquerors of his descendants." Portions of the above drama as well as of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, composed in honour of the Chāhamāna king by his court poet, *Mahākavi* Sōmadēva, which were edited by Kielhorn,² were copied from stone slabs embedded in the walls of the Āghāi-dīn-kā-Jhōṇṇī, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tārāgarh hill at Ajmer. The mosque, as is well known, was built out of the spoils of Hindu structures by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak (first Sulṭān of Delhi, 1206-10 A.C.) in 1200 A.C., while Sulṭān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.C.) subsequently beautified it with a screen.³ Impressions of another inscription on a stone slab from the same mosque were recently supplied to me by Mr. U. C. Bhattachārya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It appears that all these inscribed slabs had originally belonged to some temples or public buildings raised by the Imperial Chāhamānas, the materials of which were later utilised in the construction of the Āghāi-dīn-kā-Jhōṇṇī.

The impressions of the Ajmer (Āghāi-dīn-kā-Jhōṇṇī) inscription, received by me from Mr. U. C. Bhattachārya, had a printed slip attached to them. It assigns the inscription to the twelfth century and mentions it as exhibit No. 256 of the Rajputana Museum. It further says, "This inscription forms the beginning of a Sanskrit poem engraved on slabs. It contains invocation to Nārāyaṇa and various other gods and states that the Chauhāns belonged to the solar race". The description of the contents is, however, not strictly accurate.

The inscription under discussion covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9½" in height. There are altogether 37 lines of writing, each letter being a little above ½" in height. The engraving is neat and beautiful, although the stone is damaged in several places and some letters have broken away. As, however, the engraver is sometimes found to have avoided a damaged part of the stone (cf. the damaged space between *vāha*⁴ and [*so*] in line 2, between *vīta-eyāhī* and *gātā* in line 4, between *kamudā*⁵ and *śāśābhāja* in line 24), there is no doubt that the stone was defective in places even when the inscription was incised.

The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other records of about the twelfth century found in the same area, and nothing calls for special mention. As the mosque, to which the inscribed stone belongs, is known to have been built in 1200 A.C. with the spoils of local structures, it is possible to attribute the date of the record to some time between the accession of the Chāhamāna king Ajayarāja (circa 1110-35 A.C.) who is credited⁶ with the foundation of Ajayamāru, now known as Ajmer, and with beautifying it with many temples and palaces, and 1200 A.C. when the Āghāi-dīn-kā-Jhōṇṇī was constructed, that is to say, somewhere in the twelfth century.

¹ See *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff., *Göttinger Putschchrift*, 1901, pp. 16-30.

² *IA*, loc. cit.; *Göttinger Putschchrift*, op. cit., pp. 1-15.

³ *Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. p. 581.

⁴ *Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1071.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the passage *Om namō Nārāyaṇāya* [], preceded by the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning, the whole record on the stone is written in verse. There are in all 37 stanzas, all of which, with the solitary exception of the last verse, are consecutively numbered. Considering the want of space at the end of the last verse and the fact that the poem was probably continued on other slabs, it seems that the number of the last verse (i.e., 37) was put at the beginning of the first line of another slab. As is the case with numerous other epigraphic records, a short space at the end of some lines in our inscription (cf. lines, 2, 4, 6, 13, 15-17, 19-26) has often been covered by an unnecessary single or double *daṇḍa* usually endowed with a mark of cancellation.

Out of the 37 verses, which form the text of our record, the first 32 stanzas eulogise the god Viṣṇu. Ten out of these (viz., verses 12-21) refer to the ten incarnations of the god, viz., (1) Kūrma, (2) Mīna, (3) Kōla (Varāha), (4) Nṛsīṃha, (5) Vāmana, (6) Jāmadagnya (Parasurāma), (7) Daśarājatakṛt (Dāśarathī Rāma), (8) Kṛṣṇa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki. Verse 33 of the record introduces the Sun-god as the right eye of lord Viṣṇu and as the progenitor of the solar dynasty which is itself introduced in the following stanza (verse 34). The next two stanzas (verses 35-36) speak of the glories of the solar dynasty and mention certain ancient rulers of the Sūrya-vuṣha such as Ikṣvāku and Rāma. The concluding stanza (verse 37) introduces king Chāhamāna, mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna or Chauhan clan of the Rājputa, as a scion of the solar dynasty. The nature of the inscription supports the conjecture that it formed part of the introduction of a *līlāya*, the theme of which may have been certain achievements of a Chāhamāna king. The principal one of these exploits described in the *līlāya* may have been the construction of a temple in honour of the god Viṣṇu.

The inscription is not of exceptional importance from the historical point of view; but it has considerable interest as a literary composition of a Chāhamāna court poet of the twelfth century. The author's style, although it is not free from defects, is not poor. He has often shown his skill in employing *śloka* or double *śloka*.¹ In composing the 37 stanzas, he has employed no less than 14 metres, of which *Sārlūkarikṛīṭa* (13 verses) and *Vasutalikā* (8 verses) are used in more than half of the cases. The metres *Mālinī*, *Sībharīṇī*, *Anuṣṭubh* and *Upajīti* have each been used in 2 stanzas, while one stanza has been allotted to each of *Prithvī*, *Sragdhārā*, *Vaṁśasthavilā*, *Svīgatā*, *Harīṣī*, *Mandākrantā*, *Indracandrā* and *Upēndrasajjā*.

As regards the eponymous Chāhamāna being represented as a scion of the solar dynasty, it may be pointed out that this is in partial agreement with the tradition recorded in the *Prithvī-rājavarjaya* of Jayānaka (12th century) and *Hamīra-mahātmya* of Nayachauluka (13th-14th century), according to which Chāhamāna sprang from the *Sūrya-vuṣha*; but it can hardly be reconciled with the other imaginary accounts regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas, such as the creation of Chāhamāna himself or the Chāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasishṭha or by the god Indra.² The well known story of the creation of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Chāhamāna, Pratihāra and Chaulukya dynasties by the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Abu was unknown to the Chāhamāna court poets as late as the fourteenth century.

The reference to Kṛṣṇa as the eighth of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu is interesting. It is well known that the doctrine of the *avatāras* underwent several stages of development³ and that their number, originally unsettled, gradually came to be recognised as ten. It should, however, be noticed that, even as late as the twelfth century, the same list of ten *avatāras* was not definitely fixed for the whole of India. Thus the author of the record under discussion, who was a twelfth

¹ Cf. verses 5, 8-9, 11, 22-23, 25-26, 35.

² Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1053.

³ *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (The Classical Age), pp. 414 ff.

century court poet of the Lakṣmaṇas of Kṛṣṇa, regards Kṛṣṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, while the author of the Belāva plate¹ of king Bhōjavarmān (12th century) of Eastern Bengal, recognises the same divinity merely as *amābhūt-āvatāra*, i.e., a partial incarnation. Another contemporary author, Jayadēva, who was a court poet of king Lakṣmaṇasena (circa 1179-1205 A.C.) of Bengal puts Haladhara (i.e., Balarāma-Saākaraṣaṇa) in the place of Kṛṣṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu in the list of the ten *avatāras* in the *Gītāgōvinda*.²

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 5, 6-9, 12-13, 20, 37 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 2 *Prithvī*; verse 3 *Sragdhara*; verses 4, 5, 10, 14-15, 18-19, 21, 24, 32-33, 36 *Sāndilīnī-kṛīṭita*; verses 7, 17 *Mālinī*; verse 11 *Vamashavilā*; verses 23, 37 *Śikharī*; verses 25, 26 *Anuśubh*; verse 28 *Śaṅgati*; verse 29 *Upāśrayā*; verse 29 *Hariṇī*; verse 30 *Mandikāntā*; verse 31 *Takṣaṇī*; verse 34-35 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Siddham ||¹ Ōm namō Narāyaṇāya || Ādīdhanīyam-amatair-²api pātu yusmān-pād-āravindhā-yagalam Garuḍadhvajaya | viṇyasta-³śaustabhamānār-⁴uraś-⁵varubhya Lakṣmīr-nakh-⁶āṇḍa-khacitām bhagatē bhīṣaṇa yat || 1 || Jagaj-janana-pālana-pralaya-kōṭi-kārō mahur-mahā-danuja-nīki-
- 2 nāḥ vibhā-nigrah-ānugrahaḥ | vīhanāgspati-vālm[āṣ] bhujagac[ā]ja-talpē-⁷āyāḥ kṛiyā bhavatu vō bhuv-ābhvu[ḥ]nāidhi-karṇāmbhārō Hariḥ || 2 || Ōh-kārō dānava-⁸śrī-sarundaya-rudita-vra[ḥ]brahma-pārśyaṇāṇām kalp-⁹bhūt-āravdhā(bhā)-bhūta-¹⁰śanāta-jaladhara-¹¹krēṇi-lakṣ-¹²āṇkārak | pāp-¹³āhi-khēṇa-¹⁴ja-p[ā]-¹⁵
- 3 dā-nipatita-¹⁶anṅit-¹⁷śitthāpan-¹⁸āmoghā-matit[ā] jīyād-¹⁹yadhb[ā]ḥ[ā] [sa] Śrī-²⁰śaṅkhara-Maraṇi-pāṇḍa[ḥ]anya-praṇāṭaḥ || 3 || Mārdhni Śrī-kacha-kudābhayōr-nipatitā muktā kalāpāyāt lagnā tulpa-bhujadiga-puṅgava-tama nirmāṇa-²¹pat[ā]yātō | nābhī-nīraruhaya ²²anandhī-²³chari yā rājahamāya-²⁴
- 4 tē sū pāṇi-²⁵sthita-pāṇḍa[ḥ]anya-kirāṇa-²⁶ārṇi Hariḥ pātu [vā] || 4 || Vāta-vyādhi²⁷-yātō vāyav-²⁸at-guraṇ tūh[ā]ṇa-²⁹va[n-³⁰(a)]³¹ saṁtatāḥ saty-³²śakta-matir-³³jagatra(t-³⁴tra)-³⁵ya-bhātā kurvāt-³⁶daḥḥāṇāḥ khamāṇa(mān) | cātāḥkhaṇ gamayan-³⁷lhanamāyām-³⁸anandhāt-³⁹āvitāḥ dipa-bhāḥ(bhāt) śrīyāḥ-saṁtatāyā Patāṇapurneḥ dā-⁴⁰
- 5 vāḥ sū-⁴¹śiv-⁴²lāṇa vāḥ || 5 || Vakṣāḥbāḥāḥ-⁴³śekhṣāḥlita-⁴⁴kaṇṭhā-⁴⁵kūṇ[ā]-⁴⁶līptam[ā] pāṇi-⁴⁷sthitam-bhavarō Chakradharaaya chakradh[ā]kram | yudhēḥ-⁴⁸anāka-danujāmbhā-⁴⁹kaḥlōra-kam[ā]ḥa-⁵⁰śukhēd-⁵¹āvasakta-⁵²rudhīr-⁵³āughan-⁵⁴iva śrīyā vāḥ || 6 || Vilāṣita-vanamālō dipa-Vairōchana-⁵⁵śrī-vicatikṛd-⁵⁶anurāṇyat-Pannagāre-nikēmaḥ(mam) |
- 6 bhayana-janaka-⁵⁷vidyut-pūṇja-pit-⁵⁸ādiva[ḥ]rō vō ghaṇayatu ghana-kālāḥ [Kā]jāvō matigalām || 7 || Śīḥyāt-⁵⁹śandarāna-⁶⁰payōdhara-⁶¹krūṇam-⁶²udyad-bhīm-⁶³āhaya-prakā[ṭ]-⁶⁴āṇḍhaka[ḥ](ka)-⁶⁵putra-nāṣam[ā]m | stutyāḥ su-⁶⁶parvabhīr-⁶⁷alamkṛita-⁶⁸lhamma-pākāḥ Vyāsaaya kāv-⁶⁹ya-⁷⁰iva pātu Hariōr-⁷¹svapur-vāḥ || 8 || Aṅg-⁷²itī vītra-⁷³vidit[ā]-⁷⁴

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 14-6.

² Verse 12. Jayadēva's list of the *avatāras* corresponds to that given in a Puranic verse quoted in an eighth century inscription from Māmalapuram (*Bes.*, 187, No. 20, p. 5).

³ From *Impressions*.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The *śanda* is superfluous.

⁶ Some space is left unengraved after *epāḥ*.

⁷ The two *śanda*s are unnecessary.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

- 17 nīh[¹niśh]p[²]jīta-vrīshatā(śham) | kram-ōdgachchhad-Gāṅgā-pūthuka-mahānyam Mura-ripōh-ava-rūpadī sadipattiyai bhavata bhavatām Bhāratam-iva || 22 || Pātu vō dāitya-patibhir-mahā-sūnair-a-pījitāh | Harir-Indra-Hara-Vra(Bra)hma-Mahāsūnair-ap-ōjitat || 23 || Viśhōṣh-pūrīta-(pūmcha)janya-kahara- ||³
- 18 p[¹ro]dhūna-machdr-ācuvais-talp-āhi-śvasit-ānilāh prachalatām [nā]bhī-sarōṣe gatē | tra-
stān-Āvja(b)huvā t[¹ri]tiya-savanōn-āmoṣya-pāthē k[¹ri]tā prāgnodru(llu)dhika-payō-
dhijā-dh[¹ri]ta-padō bhūtyai pravō(bō)dhō-stu vah || 24 || Padmā-yuktāh sa-padmō-pi vrīshah-
āpi vrīsh[āya] yah | hat-ārit-ari-
- 19 sadipannō-py-mata vah śrōyase Harih || 25 || Sēvitat sura-ga[¹yal]h sa-suparyyat-chhāyay-
āt-ghanayā zamaṅiyah | sthānūtām dadhad-sladh[¹k]ritā-kāmah kalpa-vrīkha-iva pāta
Harir-vah || 26 || A-bhārō-yam nūnah yadi janita-khōdō-si tat-s[¹mu]kh[¹] [iya]jja trad-
vīrāmūtyai kshapam-a- ||⁴
- 20 pi vahāmō vayam-am[¹](m-inam) | Harir-jāt-śōcharyāh k[¹ri]ta-ant[¹]bhir-ājittāh pramuditair-
hasann-uktō gōpāir-iti jayati chitrad-giri-vara[¹](ram) || 27 || Anāratam yō dānōjīndra-
yōdud-vilōchan-ārdhakarapāya nūnah(nam) | v[¹](b)bhartā dhār-āmva(bu) Ha[¹](cōh)
karaathō lunātu dukkhāni ||⁵
- 21 sa namudakō vah || 28 || Na nava-jalada-tyāmanā yad-yad-na k[¹au]stuhha-ōbhūtām na jaladhi-
sutā-sōtkathitām yān-na yad-Garudā-dhivajrā(jam) | na yad-ari[¹](a)-gadā-śachh-ām-
libh[¹]jair-niruddha-karām Harēr-jayati gaditām tad-Vēdāntāh pravō(bō)dhamayati vapuh
|| 29 || Dāityān-nighnan-nanu-Va(Ba)hārī- ||⁶
- 22 k-ārayya-kutujah tapasyan-Śrī-sad[¹h]lāh-ōsarvam-ānubhayan-pālayan-vishapūni | tat-tat-
kūchit-saman-ātīśay-ōchchh[¹]rimkhalas-tēna tēna vyātānvānō jayati vapuhā viśva-
yamdyō Mukundah || 30 || Vā(Bā)huvudhattām bhavatām āriyam sa [Kath]ja-
dvishah Kēti[¹](ra)da-vrap-āmukah | vichī- ||⁷
- 23 vichitrasya dīnān-putrī-pūtasya dhīram jayati āriyam yah || [31] || Nīhkrā(Nīshkrā)mat-
Kamala-mukh-ānulu-nipatan-nētrasya gūtrē Harēr-udbhinnāh mha manmathēna bhavatah
pāntu āram-āmibhah-kaṇāh | matha-kshōpīdhur-āhati-vyātikarād-utthiya pāthōni-
dhār-lagnānām vim- ||⁸
- 24 la-tvīshāh dadhati yō muktā-maṅinām bhramam(mam) || 32 || Kaudhō v-ā[¹](ra)ra-pālapasya
kumud[ā]d-ātubhōja-lhājam āriyam nirmamātām pratibhūr-aurigādika-mukarasy-
āmābhōda-kā-ānilah | tārā-pārada-viprūhām hula(vahāh) kōkī-rata-prakriyā-sākhi
dakshigam-ī- ||⁹
- 25 kshapam Mura-ripūr-dēvō Ravih pātu vah || 33 || Taamāt-sa[¹](mā)shava(ha)na-dadhā-yōni-
[¹](a)bh[¹]ō-janasya akhalatah-ava-mārggē(rggāt) | vadūah sat-ār-ōdha-rasō nripagām-
anudgat-ainō-ghana-kīta-rasidhrah || 34 || Samutthitō-ākād-anarayya-yōnir-utpanna-
pennāga-kadam- ||¹⁰
- 26 va(ba)-śākha | ācharyam-āntah-prasarat-kutō-yatī vadhō-āhīnām śrīphalatām prayātī
|| 35 || Ādhi-vyōdhi-kuv[¹]itta-durgati-parityakta-prajā-tatra tā sapta-dvīpa-bhujō nripāh
samabhavann-ōkshvāku-Rām-ādayah | yśhām durjaya-dānavōndra-jayin[ām] tair-lan-
dra-nm- ||¹¹
- 27 khyair-makhāshv-āhūtair-upayāchitēshv-iva purojānā t[¹ri]ptāh[¹] suzāh || 36 || Taamān-
ath-ārī-vijayāna virājamānō rāj-ānurādhita-janō-jani Chāhamānah | sūtpūṣṇat-chandra
iva chadudrikayā triyāmām k[¹ri]tt[¹]y-ōjva(jiya)latvam-anayati-bhuvann-travin[ām] yah || [37] ||

¹ The two *dhā* are superfluous.² The *dhā* is unnecessary.

No. 26—TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIECAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of October 1952, I received for examination two copper-plate inscriptions from Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. I was informed that the inscriptions had been found in the old Daspalla State, now merged in Orissa as a sub-division of the Puri District, and that Mr. Satyanarayana Hajaguru, Assistant Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had prepared a paper on them for publication in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*. Mr. Acharya, however, was kind enough to permit me to edit both the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am extremely thankful to him for this kindness.

A.—Daspalla Plate of Dīcānanda : Year 184

This copper plate, as I learnt from Mr. Acharya, was found early in 1951 in the course of the re-examination of an old tank in the village of **Chikankhandi** in the Jorim Pargana of **Daspalla**. The Pargana is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi while the town of Daspalla lies on the left bank of the river. The plate was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Dasarathi Mishra who is a teacher of the M. E. School at Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division.

The inscription is written on both sides of the **single** plate measuring $10^{\circ} \times 7.45^{\circ} \times 1.3^{\circ}$. A bronze seal, having the shape of an expanded lotus and measuring 3.25° in diameter, is soldered about the middle of the proper right end of the plate. It resembles the seal attached to the charters of the family to which the issuer of the grant under discussion belonged. The border of the pericarpal portion (about 2.21° in diameter) of this lotus-shaped seal is raised. In the hollow thus formed, the seal proper is countersunk. The central part of the space on the surface of the seal is occupied by the legend in one line: *śrī-Dīcānandadevaya*, the subscript *y* in the last *akṣara* being considerably lengthened towards the left so that the entire legend looks as doubly underlined. Above the legend is the figure of a couchant bull to proper right, with the emblems of a conch and a crescent above it. Below the legend there is the representation of an expanded lotus. The seal is fixed to the plate by means of two knobs running through holes made in the usual projection of the plate. These are covered by a lump of metal forming the back of the seal. Some eight or nine lines of writing about the middle of the plate on both its sides are shorter owing to the encroachment of the lower part of the seal. The plate together with the seal weighs $143\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

In respect of **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography**, the present record closely resembles the published charters of the family to which its issuer belonged. In a few cases (of. *śrīnanda* in line 11, *śrīn* in line 23) the superscript *r* reminds us of a similar form of it in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.¹ The charter is dated in the year 100 60 4, i.e., 184 (the symbol for 100 resembling the *akṣara* *la*) of an unspecified era which appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. This era is now often identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. C. and in that case the year 184 of our inscription would correspond to 792 A.C. But it has been noticed that the palaeography of the inscriptions dated in the era in question points to a considerably later epoch for it. As will be seen in our discussion on Śatrubhādja's plates edited below, the beginning of this era now seems to be nearly two centuries later than that of the Harsha

¹ See above, pp. 2 and 49.

era. This would suggest a date about the beginning of the eleventh century A. C. for the inscription under discussion and such a view seems to be supported by palaeography. The use of numerical symbols instead of figures appears to point to a date not considerably later than the tenth century.

The charter was issued by king Dēvānandadīva II of the Nanda or Nandōdabhava family of Jayapura in the present Orissa State. This ruler is already known from his Baripada Museum, Jurerpur and Narsingpur plates,¹ none of which, however, bears any date in an era as the record under review. The seal of king Dēvānanda is found attached to the Talmul plate² of king Dhruvānanda who belonged to the same family and was apparently a successor of Dēvānanda II. Like the present charter of Dēvānanda, Dhruvānanda's record is dated in the year of an era. This date is usually taken to be the year 293; but, as we have suggested above,³ it may be really 103. This conjecture seems to be supported by the date, year 184, no doubt of the same era, when Dēvānanda II, who appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dhruvānanda, issued the charter under discussion.

The Baripada Museum plate of Dēvānanda II and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda have quoted the same introductory verses. These verses, with the omission of only one, are also quoted in the Jurerpur plate of Dēvānanda II. All these records begin with a prose passage referring to Jayapura which was the capital of the Nanda or Nandōdabhava kings of Orissa. The verses that follow speak of the following rulers: (1) Jayānanda, (2) his son Parānanda, (3) his son Śivānanda, (4) his son Dēvānanda (I), and (5) his son Vilāsatūga. The above verses are followed in the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur plates by a prose passage which introduces king Dēvānanda (II) as the issuer of the charter in question, while the same passage substituting the name of Dhruvānanda for that of Dēvānanda (II) is found in the corresponding section of the Talmul plate. It was therefore quite natural to suggest that both Dēvānanda (II) and Dhruvānanda enjoyed the *virata* Vilāsatūga and were the sons of Dēvānanda (I).⁴ But the introductory verses of the charter under discussion clearly state that the reigning king Dēvānanda II was the son of Vilāsatūga. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the *Sandhivigraha* of the Nanda king, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family, which is full of errors of various kinds. It seems that verses describing the reigning kings are omitted through confusion in the above records of Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda.⁵ The correct genealogy of the Nanda or Nandōdabhava rulers of Orissa from Jayānanda, founder of Jayapura, to his fifth descendant Dēvānanda II is thus supplied by the record under review. But the relationship between Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda still remains uncertain. Dhruvānanda seems to have been either a younger brother or a son of Dēvānanda II. The genealogical tree of the Nandas of Orissa may therefore be drawn as follows.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 223 ff.

² *JBORs*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 76, note 2.

⁵ Dhruvānanda appears to have utilized an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already.



The Narsingpur plate of Dēvānanda II is a spurious document containing only certain fragments of two genuine charters of the Nanda king. As noticed above,¹ the fragments of verses found in this spurious record suggested the existence of some genuine grants of Dēvānanda having a set of introductory stanzas which were different from those known from the published records of the king. Happily this conjecture has now been justified fully by the discovery of the present inscription. The introductory part of the charter under discussion consists of ten stanzas none of which is found in the common introduction of the Baripada Museum and Jagerpur plates of Dēvānanda and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda, although fragments of most of them can be traced in the spurious Narsingpur plate of the former. Lines 1-3 and 8-19 of the Narsingpur plate contain fragments of the verses forming the introduction of our charter in the following order: 1, 6, 7, 8, 4, 5 and 6. Lines 16, 18 and 19 of the same plate contain respectively the numbers 4, 5 and 6 which, as we have already pointed out, were meant to indicate the end of the fourth, fifth and sixth verses of some genuine records copied in it. It is now seen that the number 4 is put there actually after the concluding passage of the fourth verse of the present charter, while 5 is placed among certain passages of the fifth verse and 6 between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth stanza apparently through confusion.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham. Verse 1 describes the city of Jayapura, capital of the Nandas, while each one of the following six verses describes respectively the rulers Jayānanda, his son Parānanda, his son Śivānanda, his son Dēvānanda I, his son Vilāsatunga, and his son Dēvānanda II, although the description of the reigning monarch Dēvānanda II continues in the following three stanzas (verses 8-10). This introductory part of the record contains hardly anything besides conventional and vague praises of the rulers described. Next follows a prose passage (lines 22-26) introducing again king Dēvānanda II as desirous of making

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 331.

a grant. This description is substantially the same as found in the Baripada, Museum and Jurerupur plates of the same king and the Talmaul plate of Dhruvānanda and has been already discussed by us.¹ As regards the slight modification of the language in our record, it may be noted that the king is here called *samadhigalapāñchamahālabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamahatīraka-Nanda-Mahārāja-Rājaka-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* instead of *paramahatīraka-samadhigala-pañchamahālabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* as found in the other charters. In connection with the second passage quoted above, we remarked that "the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a *Paramahatīraka*) may be intentional" and suggested that the rulers of the Nanda family may have "originally owned allegiance to the Bhāmas-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline". It will be seen that the epithets applied to Dēvānanda II in the present record (cf. lines 3-4 of the spurious Narasingpur plate) are similarly ambiguous as they may be taken to be a mixture of both imperial and feudatory titles, which is often found to have been adopted by subordinate rulers to indicate their newly achieved semi-independent status.²

Lines 26-33 of our inscription record the grant of a village called **Indōddā** situated in the **Jlōṇḍā** *vishaya* of the **Airāvatta-maṇḍala**, made by the king by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of Yaśōdatta, son of Māhola, for the increase of his own merit as well as his parents'. The donee was resident of Vapiggōtrā; but his family is stated to have hailed from a locality called Rāhiyavada. He is described as *sūtra-gēhin*, *śāstr-śpādhyāya* and *śāyasha*, while verse 16 in line 33 of the inscription seems to suggest that he was the *Sadhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) of king Dēvānanda II. The fact that Yaśōdatta's *pitra*, *śuraṇa*, *lākhā*, etc., are conspicuous by their absence in his description may suggest that the donee of our record was not a Brāhmana and that his epithet *Kāyastha* possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste. But he is stated to have been not only a *sūtra-gēhin*, i.e., 'a virtuous householder', but also a *śāstr-śpādhyāya*, i.e., 'teacher of the *śāstra*', although what *śāstra* is particularly meant is not clear. Since Yaśōdatta seems to have been a minister of the king, it is not impossible to think that he was a teacher of the science of politics. If these suggestions are acceptable, the inscription under review gives us valuable information regarding the crystallization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of Kāyasthas as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.³

Lines 33-38 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another stanza saying that the *prastāvi* or eulogy (apparently referring particularly to the introductory verses discussed above) was composed by Yaśōdatta who was serving king Dēvānanda II as *Sadhivigrahin*. Line 39, with which the document ends, gives the date, year 184, and says that the eulogy was engraved by Lōgyāka.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the name **Airāvatta-maṇḍala**, which appears to have comprised the kingdom of the Nandas, is believed to be preserved in that of modern **Ratagarh** within the Ranki Police Station in the Cuttack District, while, Jayapura, capital of the Nanda kings, has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District. The name of the district called **Jlōṇḍā** reminds us of modern **Jilnda** in Dauphine. It is difficult to identify the villages of **Indōddā**, **Rāhiyavada** and **Vapiggōtrā**.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 429.

² Cf. Bhattacharya's List, No. 1535, etc. In the charter under discussion, the king is called *mahāsāmantādhipati-vandita-paramahatīraka* (i. e., a paramount king worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates) or *mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamahatīraka* (i. e., a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his overlord).

³ The word *śpādhyāya* means a teacher or preceptor in general. Sometimes it is used to indicate a sub-teacher who gives instructions for wages only in a part of a Veda. An *śpādhyāya* is often regarded as inferior to an *śāstrin*. Cf. *Munasingh*, II, 141.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 373.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Śṛṅgāharā* ; vv. 2, 4-10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Mālīnī* ; vv. 11-13, 16 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 14 *Sālīnī* ; v. 15 *Pushpitūṣṭā*.]

Oboverse

- 1 Siddham² ||[*] Svasti prōttmūga-mādyat-kari-karṣṭa-taṭa-prasavad-dāna-tōyauḥ saṁsikta-
prīṭya-mārgād-ghana-samaya-
- 2 vāla-prāpta-vṛpti(ahṭi)-prachārāḥ | viprāṇā[di] veda-śāstra-dhvanī-janita-sukhāt-sarvva-
lakṣmī[di*] dāvā(dhā)nād-ratnāḥ(taḥ)-prākūra-bhi-
- 3 tti-prachura-Jayapurāt-sārthakāt-sarvvaḥ-aiva || [1*] Āsin=Nanda-kul-śdbhavaḥ kahitātala-
khyātō vīnu(ṣṇ)ddh-ānvayō bhūpālair-nata-pāda-
- 4 padma-yugalaḥ sat-kīrtti-lakṣmīyā vṛtāḥ | vā(bā)huvōr-vvikrama-lavdha(bdha)-śuddha-vi-
bhavō vidyā-vinītō mahān-rājā rājita-lōka-³
- 5 va hi Jayānandō jan-ānanda-krīt || [2*] Sakala-guṇa-nidhānaḥ khyātāḥ(ta)-saum-ō(my-ō)-
nmatō-yaḥ para-hita-nirat-ātmā lōka-mā-
- 6 [r]g-ānuvartti | vigata-Kali-kalāṅkaḥ⁴ tasya sūnaḥ prasiddhaḥ kahitipani(tī)r-atulō-bhūch⁵-
chhōp-Parānanda-nāmā || [3*] Ātyant-ō-
- 7 uta(una)ta-śatru-pakṣa-timira-pradhvaṁsakṛpō-nirmūlaḥ so[r]vv-āśā(śā)-paripūrag-aika-
chaturah saṁtyakta-dōṣa-śārayaḥ | tasy-[5]-
- 8 bhūt-tanayaḥ prasiddha-mahimā mītr-ōdayō bhāsurō bhūbhīḍ-bhāsur-iv-āpa[raḥ] praka-
titaḥ arimūra⁶-Vivānandaka-
- 9 ḥ || [4*] Sūna-tasya nīrasta-śatrunikara-tājō-nidhānaḥ sadā lakṣmīyā lakṣaṇa-lakṣita-
[h*] kahitūbhujām-agerasah
- 10 sunderaḥ | jātāḥ sacchhariṭō vinīta-nipuṇō bhūpāla-chūḍāmaṇir-Dēvānanda-nripō-ti-su(ṣu)-
ddha-matī-
- 11 māna(mān) khyātāḥ kahāmā-maṇḍalē || [5*] Sa[rvva]-prāṇahritām-ahhāṣṭa-vishayā chin-
tāmaṇiḥ sarvadā nītau
- 12 Śakra-gurūḥ prajāsu nrīpatir-Vaṇuḥ⁷ auputrō mahān | pratvyā(tyā)y-ārjana-sacchayē cha
Dhanadāḥ sad-vikra-
- 13 mē Sūdrakaḥ⁸ taamād-ēva Vñāsatuṅga-narapō-py-ēkō-py-anēkaḥ aṭha(eṭhi)taḥ || [6*]
Mādyatkuṅjara-phu-ku-
- 14 mbha-dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayaḥ kahmāpāl-ānani(ta)-mauli-ratna-nikara-pradyōtī-āṅghri-
dvaṇaḥ | tyāgat-

¹ From the original plate.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read *kalāṅka-ratnaḥ*.⁴ Read *bhūch-ahhāṣṭa*.⁵ Read *arimūra-Chhāṣṭa*.⁶ Read *nrīpatir-Vaṇuḥ*.⁷ Read *Sūdraka-taamā*.

- 15 r=nyakkṛita-Karṇa-varṇana-katha śrīmāṇ=ku(n=ku)l-ālaṅka(ślkr)itō **Dēvānanda-nṛpō-**
ti-sundara-vapuṣ=atumaṇḍō-bhūn=mahān
- 16 || [7*] Bhōbhṛit-pakaka-samasta-rakṣaṇa-parō gāmlhūrya-lavdb-ā(bdh-ā)spadā bhā(bhā)evad-
ratna-vi[tā]ma(na)-satva(ttva)-nilayō Lakṣmī-sudha-sarī-
- 17 bhavaḥ | tulyō=ya[m] jahadhēr-manōhara-mahā-matt-ōha-vāji-pradō **Dēvānanda-narēva-**
(śva)rō-[ti*]vimalaḥ svachchh-āsa(śa)yō
- 18 h-aīva saḥ || 8*] Nānā-ratna-parīkṣaṇō kīla manāk-trāsa-kramō dṛṣyatō varṇānām=iha
lōpa ēva kuthitaḥ sū(śā)-
- 19 strō cha zavd-ārayō¹ ni[h*]avatva[dī] muni-puṅgaṇḍu nīyatān n-ānyatra suṁbhāvyatō
tasmīna (amin) bhūbhūji pā[ritih]v-āndō(ada)-Pṛi-

Reverse

- 20 thuvat-sarī(eśvamā)ṇō sadā [9*] Prāṇāy-āhala-kānta-kānti-vīlasat-kunda-prabhā-sparśh-
hīnā bhūsvat-pūṣṇa-āraṇ-mṛigāṅka-ruehīnā
- 21 nitya[m] manōhārīṇāy | asy-ōchehair-dhavalikṛitam tri-bhuvanaṁ sō(śō)bhō-yasō(śō)-rāsi-
(śi)nā **Dēvānanda-nṛpa[s*]-trilōka-vijayī jīyā-**
- 22 ch=chirani sarvadā || [10*] Jāvalyamāna-pratāp-ānala-pulśit-ārāti-chākra(ra)-mūrti[h*]
sapta-samudra-sa[m*]bhārānta-kṛitiz-yath-ōchīta-sthā[n]-āvaśthāpi-
- 23 ta-varṇa-chatuṣṭayaḥ satpūrit-āś(śō)śha-praṇayijana-manōrathaḥ sarva-sajjana-
jan-ānanda-dhīr rakt-āmva(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-ka-
- 24 ladhanta-ślōkīkā-chāmara-pralamvi-(mbi)ta-prāntadēsa-vinyasta-mayūra-cha[ndr]ikā-nikara-
śi-(si)ta-chachhata-āvabhāsamāna[h*] sitadhātu-
- 25 maya-gōdha-si(śi)kharikṛita-lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhva[śa]h*] mahā-ma(mā)hōva(śva)ra[h*]
mātā-pitri-pā[d-ā*]mudhyāta[h*] samudhigata-puṣṇamahāsa(śa)vdā(bda)-ma-
- 26 hāsāntādhipati-vāṇitaparāmabha[ṭ]āraka-Nanda-{ma}hārāja-Kāyaka-śri-**Dēvānanda-**
dēvaḥ kusa(śa)li | **Airāvatta-maṇḍala-sa-**
- 27 mva(mba)udha(dīha)-**Jūlōḍḍā-vishayō** bhaviśhyād-yathākālā-bhāvino rāja[nyā*]kātrō
(n-rā)-japutrān-Vrā(n-Brā)hmaṇa-puṅgā[n*] sāmāntā(ata)-nīvāś-jan[ā]-
- 28 n=adhikārīṇaḥ sa-karṇān-ānyā[m*]ja-cha chāṭa-bhāṭa-vallabha-ṣṭīyā[n]-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinah
sarvān-yathārham māṇayati vō(bō)dhaya-
- 29 tā kusa(śa)layaty-āliṇa(śa)ti ch-ānyad-vidiṇa(ta)m-asu bhavntām-ōtad-vshaya-samva-
(mba)nāhō(dīh-**Ḍ**)-pōḍḍā² grāmō-yam sa-jala-ethala-ya[yō]-
- 30 gō(gaḥ) sa-garīt-āvaskā(śka)ra-prajñāyamāna-chatuḥ-śma-paryantō Rāhiyavaḍa-śmā³-vinir-
gata-Vaṇiggōtrā-vāsa(ata)vyāya sa-
- 31 tva(ttva)gōhi-sā(śā)strōpādhyāya-Kāyastha-Yasō(śō)dattāya Māhola-patrāya mātā-pitrōr-
ātmanā-cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhividdha-

¹ Read śabd-ārayō.² Originally *śē* with a rather long top-*śē* was engraved in place of *śēḌ*.³ The intended reading seems to be *grāma*.

23

—

5

10

12

14

—

14

[illegible]

51

100

1

86

836

- 32 yō tāmra-sā(ā)manikṛitya pa(pra)datṭō-¹amāthir-ataḥ tāmra-sā(ā)ana-pradurea(rā)ndā-
 dv-āmat-kā(r)jy-ānurōdhād-yathākāl-ōpa[ḥu]-
- 33 [yamāna-phalaay-āsyā kair-²api paripanthibhūr-na bhavitavyam || Mā bhūḍ-a-phala-³śukā
 vah para-datṭ(ṭt-ō)ti p[ā]rth[ī]vā[h | *] sa⁴ vā phala-
- 34 nityā para-datt-āmpānam⁵ || [11*] Sva-dattāḥ paramdattā[m vā*] yō harēta vasundharāth-
 (rām |) sa viśvāyām kṛmiz-⁶bhūtvā pitṛibhi[h] saha pachyatē || [12*] Va(Ba)hu[bhīr-
 van]-
- 35 dhā dattā rājabhiḥ Śagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) ||
 [13*] Sāmānyō=ya[m] dharmma-⁷śū[rj-uripāpā[m]*]
- 36 kālā kālā(lā) pālā(la)niyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvān-⁸ātā[n*] bhāvinah pāṛthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō
 bhūyaḥ prā[rī]ha[ryat-āha Rāmā|| [14*] Iti kama[h*]-
- 37 dal-āmra(mbu)-vindu-lōlām ori(āri)yam-annchūntya manahya-jivitaṁ cha sakalam-idam-
 ndāhṛitaṁ cha va(bu)ddhvā na hi puru[ḥa]h para-kī[r]itayō vīlō-
- 38 pyāḥ || [15*] Sandhivigrahaḥ rājō Dēvānandasya nirmmitā | prasa(ā)otih⁹ param-ōḍārā
 Yasō(ā)ḍattāna śrīmata || [16*] Jō(Jyō)shtha-
- 39 sudi 5 Samva(Sarhva)t 100 80 4 yā utkīrṇa(rṇā) Lōgayākūna ||¹⁰ Siddhas¹¹

B.—Daspalla Plates of Śatrubhāṣja Tribhuvanakulana : Year 198

According to information kindly supplied to me by Mr. P. Acharya, this set of plates was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Krushna Chandra Misra who is a clerk in the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector of Daspalla. Nothing is known about its exact findspot or the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The inscription is written on **three** plates, of which the first and third are inscribed only on the inner side. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates measure 6·7" × 4·75". The hole in the plates for the seal-ring to pass through, which had been made apparently before the plates were engraved, is 4" in diameter and is 75" inside from the proper right margin of the plates. The copper ring which is 37" in thickness and 2·7" in diameter has its joint covered by a hump of bronze, on which the seal (1·5" in diameter) is counter sunk. It resembles the seal found with other charters of the family to which the issuer of the present record belonged. Its upper part is occupied by the figure of a lion to proper right, having its face to front, its left paw raised and its tail curled above its back. Below the above emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śri-So(Sa)trubha-* (2) *ājayasya*. The three plates together weigh 197 tolas; but, as they vary in thickness, their individual weight is not the same. The weight of the first plate is 49 tolas and that of the second and third plates 27 and 31 tolas respectively. The ring with the seal weighs 38 tolas. Thus the weight of the three plates together with the seal-ring is 145 tolas.

In respect of **palaeography, language, orthography and style**, the inscription under review resembles very closely other charters of the Bhāṣja kings of Vaṣṭjalvaka, two of which have

¹ Read *sva-datt-ghalam-tanastam*.

² Read *ānupānā*.

³ The *śukā* had been at first omitted but was later inserted.

⁴ This sign of punctuation is preceded by a *śarpa* like mark that forms a part of it.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

been recently edited in this journal.¹ But unlike the known records of the family, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings issuing the grants in question, the present charter bears the date in the year 198 (written according to the decimal system of writing numerals) of an era. As already indicated above, this era seems to be no other than that used by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and their feudatories in dating their charters. The chronology of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas has so long remained a disputed problem. But as the exact date of the present record can be determined almost with precision, it seems to throw welcome light on the above problem. We shall see below that the issuer of the charter under discussion flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The epoch of the era in question may thus be assigned to a date in the first half of the ninth century A.C.

The charter was issued by a Bhañja king of **Vañjulvaka**, whose name is given as **Śatrubhañja II**² alias **Tribhuvanakalasa**. He is stated to have been the son of **Śilābhañja** and great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**. As it stands, the description of the issuer's ancestry in our grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of the king's grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *praputra* is a mistake for *pautra* so that **Vidyādharaḥhañja** was really the grandfather of **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa** or that the name of the grandfather of **Śatrubhañja** was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. But the more important fact about this genealogy is that, while **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa** (issuer of the charter under review) and his father **Śilābhañja** are as yet unknown from any another source, **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, grandfather or great-grandfather of **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa**, is already known to us from several of his own records as well as of his son **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II**.³ I have elsewhere⁴ discussed the genealogy and chronology of these Bhañjas. It has been shown how **Raṇabhañja**, who was the great-grandfather of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. I have also shown how the successors of **Raṇabhañja**, viz., his sons, **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa I** and **Digbhañja**, and **Digbhañja's** son **Śilābhañja II** and grandson **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, had all very short reigns so that a Brahmana named **Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva** is known to have served all the four kings while a goldsmith named **Durgadēva** not only served all of them but also **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II**, son of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of **Stambhadēva** and **Durgadēva** probably covered about half a century, the reign of **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II** may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century. **Śilābhañja**, father of the issuer of the charter under review, may not have ruled. **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa**, as he was the grandson or great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, may have flourished about the second quarter of the same century. In any case, the date of our inscription does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. Certain dates in the latest decades of the second century of the era in question (cf. **Dāvaṇanda's** plate dated about and the grants of the Bhauma-Kara queen **Dagdimaḥadēvi**) are written with numerical symbols instead of figures according to the decimal system and the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived considerably long after the end of the tenth century. Moreover the major part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled from Jaipur for about two centuries (i.e., upto about the year 200 of the era, so that the date of the present charter, year 198, fell about the latest days of Bhauma-Kara rule), appear to have been included in the empire of the **Śaṃvavabhāṭa** during the rule of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 202 ff.

² The first king of this name in the family was **Śatrubhañja Gaṇḍhata** of **Dhittipura**.

³ See **Bhaudarkar's** List, Nos. 1300-02.

⁴ *INQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 233 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274 ff.

and *anujñāta* (witnessed) by *Vāguli Ratna*. The document is stated to have been written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Śaṅkara while the plates were engraved by the *akṣasālīn* (goldsmith) Napa, already known as the engraver of the plates of another king of the family, named *Nettabhaṣa* III *Tribhuvanakalasa*, which have been edited above.¹ The charter ends with the date, year 198.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Vaṇḍulvaka* is well known from many other records of the family, although its exact location is as yet unknown. The *Ramalava* district and the villages of *Kōṅkaṭrā* and *Santōṣhamādhava* are difficult to identify. The *Bhājugaṛma* *Khaḍuvāvalli* in *Madhyadēśa* (roughly identical with the modern *Uttar Pradesh*) cannot be identified.

TEXT*

[Metres : V. 1 *Mālinī* ; v. 2 *Śārdūlanīkrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Gītī* ; vv. 4-9 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10 *Pushpīgītā*]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Ōm Svasti [1*] Jayata kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikahōbha-dakham eva-ki-
- 2 raṇa-parivāṣa-anrjitya-jitṇṇ-ēndu-lēkham(kham)) tribhuvana-bha(va)n-ānta(r)-dy(ō)-
- 3 ta-bhāvat-pradīpaṇa kanaka-makā(sha)-gaurāṇi vibhru-nētraṇi Harasya[1*]
- 4 Śē(Śā)ḥ-āhēr-iva-yē phagāḥ pravilasanty-mibhāsvaḥ-īndu-trīṣaḥ prālē-
- 5 y-āchala-ānūga-kōṭaya iva tvagati(ati) yā-ty-umataḥ | nṇity-āṭō-
- 6 pa-vighattitā iva bhujā-rājanti yē Śā(Śā)mbhavā=tē sa-
- 7 ry-āgha-vighātīṇa[h*] surasri[t*]-tōy-ōmmayaḥ pāntu vaḥ || [2*] Svasti | Viṣa-
- 8 ya-Vaṇḍulvakāḍ-asti³ Śrī-vijaya-nīlaya[h*] prakṣa-ṇa-guṇa-gaṇa-grasta-sa-
- 9 masta-ripu-vargah [1*] Śrī-Trī(Trī)bhuvanakalasa-nāma-[tā*]jā nirbhūta-kali-kala-
- 10 sha-kalmasha[h || 3*] Śrī-Vidyādharaḥḥaḥjadēvasya prapantrah⁴ śrī -Śi(Śi)[lā]bhaḥja⁵

Second Plate : First Side

- 11 dēvasya sutah paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuhṛyātō Bha-
- 12 ṇi-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-Śrī-Sa(Śa)trubhaḥjadēva[h*] kusa(ka)-
- 13 || Ramalava-vishaya-Pāchīma-khaṇḍa-yathānīvāsi-sa-kuru-
- 14 ṇa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādī-janapadān yathārṇi(rṇaṇi) mānayati vō(bō)dha[ya*]ṇi

¹ See Vol. XXVIII, pp. 278 ff.

² From the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The letter *sa* had been at first omitted and was later inserted below the line.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in some records of the family the word *asti* forms the first word of the third stanza while in others (as in this case) it does not form a part of the verse.

⁶ The intended reading may be *pantrah*.

⁷ The *akṣara* *śā* had been originally omitted but was later engraved below the line.

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B. CH. CHHABRA
Reg. No. 885 HE (C) 52-459

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ दशरथ उवाच ॥

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SEAL OF A - DASPALLA PLATE OF DEVANANDA, YEAR 184



SEAL OF B

- 15 samādissā(śa)ti [cha | *] viditam=astu bhavatām sarvata[ḥ*] śivam=a-
 16 amākaṁ(ka)m=anyat ātada(tad)-śahaya=samya(mla)dāha-Kōṅkaśrā-grā-
 17 ma[ḥ*] chatu[ḥ*]-śi(ś)mā-parichichhina(nnaḥ) mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛdha-
 (dāha)-
 18 yā śalila-dhārā-pura[ḥ*]śa(śa)rēṣa viśiṣṭā Maṇḍgalla¹-gōtrāya
 19 Vaidhavya²-pravaraṣya Vājasena³-chatapāya Mādhu⁴-śākḥ-ādhyāya-
 20 ni Mādhyadēśa-pratīva(ka)dāha-bhata[ḥ]grāma-Khaḍgavāllī-vinirggataḥ(ta)-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 21 Santūṣhamādhava-vātaavya-bhaṣa[ḥ]Madhuan(sū)danasya naptā[ḥ]bhaṣa[ḥ]Nīla⁵-
 22 kaṭṭhasya suta(tāya) bhaṣa-Ājapālāḥ⁶ Viśn(ān)kha(va)-samkrānti-pañchanīyā[ḥ]Ra-
 23 vi-dinā Mpi[ga*]śura(rō)-nakshatrēṣa grāmō-yam⁷ tāmva(rara)-śāani(nī)krītya prada-
 24 ta[ḥ]yāvata(vach)-chandr-ārka-tā[ḥ]kaḥ ā(a)-cha(chā)śa-bhaṣa-pravṛṣṇa sarv-āvā(bā)-
 dhā-
 25 varjitēn-ākaraṭvēṣa hōṇjādōbhi[ḥ*] dharmā-gauravāt pratipāla-
 26 niya[ḥ] | *] ā(a)mat-kula-kramam-udārhadōbhi⁸ ānāś-cha dānam=i-
 27 dam=samad=anumōdanīyaḥ(yam |) uktaś-cha dharmā-śāstrāśuḥ(śu |) Va(Ba)hubhir-
 vasa-
 28 dhā dattā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*] | yasya yasya yadā bhūmīś-tasya
 29 tasya tadā phalam(lam | ā) Mā bhū(d-a*)-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datā(tt-ē)ti pārthivā[ḥ] | *]
 30 eva-dānāt-phalam=ānantya[ḥ] para-datā(tt-ā)nupālāś[ḥ] || 5*] Sva-dattā[ḥ] para-

Third Plate

- 31 dattām-vā(ttān vā) yō harēta vasundharāś(rām |) sa viśvābhāyāś krīmīr-bhu(r-bhū)tvā
 pūti-
 32 bh[ḥ*] saha pachyati(tō) || 5*] Sātyaś yajña-hūtiāś eb=aiya yat-kiśch[ḥ]d[ḥ*] dharmā-saṁchaya-
 [ḥ*] |
 33 śrīdha-āṅgalēṣa⁹ śimāyā harapēṣa prana(śa)sya(śya)ti || 7*] Sa(Śha)śh[ḥ]i(śb[ḥ])-varaha-sa-
 34 hāstā[ḥ] evargē vaṁti bhu(bhū)nidat | ākshēptā eb=ānumantāś cha tānā(ny-ā)va

¹ Read *Maṇḍgalya*.

² Read *vyādhāyā-pravaraṣya*. The Maṇḍgalya *śiṣṭa* has three *pravaras*, viz., *Āngura*, *Bhārmayāśva* and *Madgala*.

³ Read *Vājasenya*.

⁴ Read *Mādhyandina-śākḥ-ādhyāyāś*.

⁵ Originally *śiṣṭa* was engraved.

⁶ Read *śaḥ-Ājapālāś*.

⁷ The context does not require this expression.

⁸ Read *śākhādhār-āngulīkaś*.

⁹ Read *śrīdhāyāś śimā*.

- 35 narakam vrajēt [|| 8*] Nandanti tasya pitarah pravalganti pātāmā(ma)h[ā]b [||*]
 36 bhu(hhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(ta)h sa nas-trātā bhavichyati [|| 9*] ||
 37 kamala-dal-ānu(mbu)-vindu-lōā[m*] iri(eri)yam-amohintya mannahya-jivitañ-cha [||*]
 38 sakalam-īdam-udāhṛtañ cha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-ki(kī)rtitayō vilōpyā-
 39 b [|| 10*] Lā(Lā)ñchhitau Śrī-Prithvīmā(um)hādēvyā [||*] ā(a)numatañ Bhṛta(tṭa)-Rājādasya
 [||*] pravēṣitañ prati-
 40 hāra-Prabha(hhā)karōga [||*] ā(a)ñjāntam Vāguli-Ratnēnu [||*] Utkirpṣaṭ(ṛṣam) ā(a)-
 kṣaṣālinā Nepāna [||*] ||
 41 khitañ Sandhivigrahi-Śāṅkarōga || Samva(Samva)t 198 [||*]

No. 27—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA ; YEAR 896

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

In September 1940, three sets of copper plates were unearthed from a field at the village of Paoni, about three miles from Bilaigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. One set was passed on to the then *zamindār* of Bilaigarh. It belongs to the reign of the Kalachuri king Pratāpamalla¹ and is dated K. 969. Another set which fell into the hands of a *sādhu*, was subsequently recovered by the same *zamindār*. Proceeding on this information furnished by Pt. L. P. Pandeya, the plates were secured for examination in April 1945 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, through the good offices of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Raipur.² With the kind permission of the former, I edit the inscription³ here.

The set consists of two oblong copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring passes through a hole cut at the centre of one of the edges of the longer sides of the plates. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and their rims are slightly raised to protect the writing. The plates measure 11½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth each approximately. The inscribed faces of the plates contain marginal decorative designs on three sides save the upper one. The diameter of the ring is about 1½ inch. The ring is flattened at the top and given the shape of a round thin disc. This disc comprises the seal which has marginal decoration all around. In its upper half is carved in relief a crude figure of Gajalakṣmi in the usual fashion. The lower half contains the following legend engraved in two lines in Nāgarī characters; 1 *Rāja-sīma*-2 *Prithivideva*. The seal measures two inches in diameter. The weight of the two plates together is 137 *tolas* and the ring with the seal weighs 8 *tolas*.

The inscription consists of 36 lines which are distributed equally on the two plates. The average size of the letters is ¼ inch. The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The *daṣṭas* and other punctuation marks are used in their proper places; for instance, to mark the halves and ends of verses, etc. The *anagrasa* sign is generally indicated; e.g., -*anagrasa*-*bhū*

¹ This epigraph is edited in this journal, above, pp. 57 ff.

² For more details about the discovery of these copper plates see above, p. 97 n. 5. It is not known what happened to the third set referred to above.

³ This is registered as G.P. No. 50 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for 1945-46, p. 12.

in line 3. The sign for *q* is invariably the one made up of three vertical strokes, the first being curved at the lower end. *Y* as the second component of a conjunct letter looks more like *p*. The use of *h* proper is detected in two places, viz., *bahān-* in line 6 and *bahāva* in line 13. This *h* is almost like *p* except that its box is more angular at the bottom.¹ In regard to orthography, with the exception of the two instances noted above, *h* is invariably substituted by *n*. *S* is used for *ś* in some cases; e.g., *sudhyati* and *pramati* in line 34. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled, there being a few exceptions; e.g., *Kārtavīrya* in line 3, *śau(śau) rya* in line 6 and *cūrya* in line 27. The language is Sanskrit and the composition, except for the salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, is in verse. There are 24 verses in all and they are duly numbered.

Like other inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the epigraph opens with an obeisance to Brahman and recounts the genealogy of the family commencing with the sun god. Prithvidēva II, son of Ratnadēva II, is the last king eulogised (verse 11), and to his reign the record pertains. Verses 1-10 with the exception of one narrating the exploit of Kārtavīrya against Rāvaya,² which is omitted, are identical with those in other charters of the family.³ Next comes the description of a distinguished family of learned Brāhmaṇas of the Vatsa *gōtra* (verses 12-15). Three members of this family are described; viz., Hārūka, his son Jimūtavāhana, and the latter's son Dēhūka. In regard to Dēhūka we are told that he was a master of the *Sākaśākhari Vidyā* and that learning the secret of this lore from him, the famous feudatory chief Brahmadēva vanquished all his enemies on the fields of battle. The object of the epigraph is to register the gift of the village Paridaratalāi situated in the Ryāḍi *maṣḍala*, made in favour of Dēhūka by Prithvidēva II (verse 16). Verses 17-22 contain the usual exhortations for the protection of such gifts and the imprecation. The charter was drafted by Mallāpa son of Śubhankara, who was learned and had earned reputation on account of his many compositions (verse 23). The copper material was put into shape by Vāmana. The record was written on the plates by the son of Kirti and engraved by the son of Lakṣmīdhara (verse 24).

The date as cited in the last line (line 36), is *Saṃvat* 895, evidently referring to the Kalachuri era. After these numerals are engraved the three *atśharas*, a word, the significance of which is not clear.⁴ In line 27 there is a statement to the effect that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse. If we take 247-48 A.C. as the beginning of the era, K. 895 would correspond to 1144 A.C. In this year there was a solar eclipse on December 26, Tuesday, in the *Pārgamānta* month of Māgha. We may note the occurrence of solar eclipses in the *Pārgamānta* month of Āśvāḍhā in the following two years, viz., on June 22, Friday, 1145 A.C., and on June 11, Tuesday, 1146 A.C. The Rājīn stone inscription of this king's reign is dated K. 896, Māgha *śu. 8*, Wednesday, and this date has been shown to correspond regularly to January 3, 1145 A.C. by Kishhorn.⁵ In view of the identical Kalachuri year cited in these two epigraphs, it seems reasonable to assume that December 26, 1144 A.C. is the date of the present inscription.

Verse 11 narrates an historical event relating to Prithvidēva II, when it states rather poetically that, by crushing Chakrakōṭa, he made the illustrious Gaṅga king feel frightfully anxious, since the

¹ Compare similar form and use of *h* occurring in the Daikou plates of this same king, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 146.

² Ibid., p. 153, verse 3.

³ Compare for instance the two sets of Amodi plates of Prithvidēva II, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, 406 ff.

⁴ To venture a conjecture, the expression *amīś* may be taken to be a contraction for *Āśvāḍha* or *Āśv. marga mīn-dīś*. But this presumption would not solve the difficulties in the calculation of the date.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 123. In the Rājīn inscription Māgha *śu. 8* is mentioned as *rathāśānt*. The significance of this name, as noted by Kishhorn, cannot be explained satisfactorily. We may incidentally note another tradition according to which this *tithi* is termed *Bāliśamānt*; *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 64 and 67.

only measure of safety now left to him was to cross the waters of the sea. From the Rājīm stone inscription noticed above, it is known that Prithvidēva II conquered the country of Bhramaravādra,¹ otherwise styled Bhramarakōṭya and identified with Chakrakōṭya or modern Bastar District.² The same victory must evidently have been referred to in the above verse.³ The Gaṅga king who is said to have been terrified by this conquest which he apparently considered to be the precursor of the Kalachuri king's expedition against his own kingdom, might be Japāvara, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga, mentioned in other inscriptions of the family.⁴ Another piece of historical information is contained in verse 15 which incidentally alludes in general terms to the victories of the renowned feudatory Brahmadēva. This chief is obviously identical with his namesake figuring in the Ratanpur stone inscription of this king.⁵

Two places are mentioned in the record. One is the region called Evaḍi-maṇḍala wherein the gift village was situated. I am unable to identify this tract. The other is the gift village Paṇḍaratalā. It appears to be fairly certain that this is identical with the present-day Paṇḍaratal in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the Raipur District.⁶

Lastly, we may note the relationship between the writer and the engraver of this inscription with those of the two sets of Amodā plates of this ruler. The scribe of the latter, as stated therein, was Śrīvatsarāja, son of Kīrtīdhara,⁷ of the Vāstavya family.⁸ It is not unlikely that the son of Kīrtī of the present record, whose proper name is not mentioned, was identical with this Śrīvatsarāja. In like manner it is probably that Lakshmidhara who engraved the first set⁹ of Amodā plates was the father of the engraver of the present inscription.

TEXT¹⁰

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 10-22 and 24 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2 and 5 *Upajāti* ; 3, 9 and 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 4, 6, 7, 10, 13-15 and 23 *Vasantatilakā* ; 11 *undākrāntā*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धं¹¹ [॥*] ॐ नमो ब्र(ह्म)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणं(णम्) ।
भाषप्राह्मं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ह्म)ह्म-
- 2 ने नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतद्वेसरमंव(ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य
पुत्रो मनुरा-
- 3 दिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभद्भुवि कात्तवीर्यः ॥ २ ॥ तद्वशप्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ह्याताः क्षितौ द्वैह्या-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187.

² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-79 ; Vol. XXVIII p. 151.

³ Chakrakōṭya, as the name of the country, has been derived from Chakrakōṭa, its chief town. It may be compared with Chakrakōṭarāshtra mentioned in the Tāmār inscription ; above, Vol. X, p. 39.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 257.

⁶ *List of Villages in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 120.

⁷ This Kīrtīdhara is apparently identical with his namesake of Jamdhās-grāma, who wrote Barhīḍ plates of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

⁸ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 411 and 414.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

¹⁰ From the original plates and impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

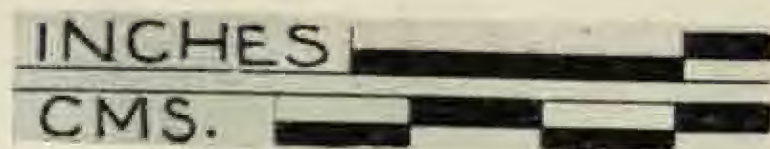
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[illegible]

Figure 1

[illegible]

Seal





From a Photograph

- 4 स्तेषामन्वयभूषण रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानुसचित्यशाः स(श)-
स्व(स्व)त्सतां तोस्य-
- 5 कृत्प्रेमान्स्वर्गगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमानसौ कोकिलः ॥ ३ ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भ-
विभंगसिंहा-
- 6 पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)यंपराश्च तस्य । तत्रायजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसी-
त्पास्व(स्व) च मंडलपतीन्स-
- 7 चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥ ४ ॥ तेषामनूजस्य^१ कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निशपितारिराजः ।
जातोऽन्वये द्वि-
- 8 ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियातनांभोरुहपावर्णेन्दुः । ५ ॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो
जा-
- 9 तः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकज-
वतानि विकासभांजि ॥ ६ ॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विद्वोषकारकृष्णाञ्जि-
- 11 तपुष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)ह्युगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्विभुवने विनिहत्य
श-
- 12 वृन् ॥ ७ ॥ मोनल्लाख्या प्रिया तस्य धूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृप-
श्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो
- 13 बभूव ह ॥ ८ ॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमूद्रवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवोसुतः शूरः सख्यन-
वाच्छि(छि)तार्थफल-
- 14 इः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वेषामुचितोर्ध्वने सुमत्सतां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कटकः पस्य-
(श्व)त्कान्त-
- 15 तरांगनांगमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः
श्रीमा-
- 16 न्यमाहूतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्वश्रुतीश्वरशिरोविहितांहिसेवः सेवाभृतां
नि-
- 17 धिरसौ भूवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १० ॥ पुत्रस्तस्य प्रवितमहिमा सोऽभवद्भूतीन्द्रः
पृथ्वीदे-
- 18 वो रिपुनृपशिरःश्रेणिस्तार्हिण्यः । यः श्रीगणं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रतोदोपम-

^१ These two lines denoting verses go with the asterisk as in the previous line.

^२ The asterisk as in the expression *and* here is obviously lengthened for the convenience of metre.

Second Plate

- 19 इतिचिन्ताक्रान्तं जलनिधिजलोत्सर्गधनैकाभ्युपाये ॥ ११ ॥  ॥¹ गोत्रे
वत्सामुनेरनल्पमहिमा हा-
- 20 रुकनामा पुरा विप्रोऽभूद्भवनप्रियः श्रुतिविदामाद्योजवबोन्नतिः । यस्यासौ(शो)-
भियशोभि-
- 21 रम्भ(म्भ)रतलं कर्पूरपास्तित्वं श्रीखड्गवमोदरैरिव सदा लिप्तं समस्तादपि
॥ १२ ॥ जीमूतना-
- 22 हन इति प्रथितस्तदीयः पुत्रः पवित्रितचरित्रि दधच्चरित्रं(त्रम्) ।
आसीदसीमगुणगौरवगु-
- 23 फितबीः श्रीरेव यव च मुमोत निजं चलत्वं(त्वम्) ॥ १३ ॥ देह्लुक
इत्यभवदस्य मुतो मनीषी वे-
- 24 दान्ततत्त्व(त्व)निपुणा विपणा यदीया । स्फूर्तिः स्मृतावनुपमा महिमा
च अस्य विश्वोपकारचतुरो(रा)
- 25 चतुरोन्नतस्य ॥ १४ ॥ सा(शा)कभरीमनुपमां भुवनेषु विद्या ज्ञात्वा यतो पुधि
विजित्य समस्त-
- 26 सकृन् ॥² यं व(व)हृददेव इति विश्रुतमांडलीको जानाति निज्ज्वरगुह(रु)-
पममेकमुच्चैः ॥ १५ ॥
- 27 पंडरतलाड³ग्रामं स्वातमेवडिमडले । पृथ्वीदेवो ददौ तस्मै सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १६ ॥
- 28 ति(वि)रस्त्वंभक्तहृत्सेन यावद्धते महीमहिः । तावताश्रमिदं पाल्यमेतदन्वय-
जन्मभिः ॥ १७ ॥ का-
- 29 ज्ञान्तरेपि यः कश्चिन्नृपोऽमात्योऽथवा भवेत् । पालनीयः प्रयत्नेन धर्म्मोयं मम तैरपि
- 30 ॥ १८ ॥  ॥³ व(व)हृभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य त-

¹ The floral figure and the double *dashas* here are significant. They show that one topic is over, viz., the genealogical account and the protest of the king.

² A top *dash* is engraved above this verse³ which has perhaps to be ignored. Or it may have been used to make the letter long *ē*.

³ As in line 19 the floral design and the double *dashas* here indicate that the topic dealing with the grant is over.

- 31 स्व तदा पत्न(नम्) ॥१६॥ पुज्यदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष पुरंदर । सहो
महीभूता श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 32 च्छ्रेयो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥१७॥ स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत् यमुधरां स
विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितु-
- 33 भिः सह सज्जति ॥१८॥ तडागातां सहतेण वाजपेयस(श)तेन च । पवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-
- 34 हर्ता न मु(शु)च्यति ॥१९॥ ताम्रप्रस(श)स्तिरचनेयमकारि तेन श्रीमत्सु(शु)भंकर-
मुनेन च(व)दृशु-
- 35 तेन । श्रीमल्लणेन कविकैरवपद्पदेन भूरिप्रव(व)धरचित्ताश्रयं तम(स)त्पदेन ॥२०॥
पटितं वा-
- 36 मनेनात्र लिखितं कीर्तिसूनुना । लक्ष्मीधरमुनेनेदमुत्तोरणं ताम्रमुत्तमम्^१ ॥२१॥
संवत् ८६६ समिते ।

No. 28—TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

P. H. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

While surveying the epigraphical sources for my work on Jainism in South India,² I had to go through the Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country critically. In the course of this study I noticed certain peculiar features regarding the religious history of Jainism in this region, which had a characteristic development of its own. One of them is the evolution of the Yakshi cult. With a view to illustrating this particular point I select here two typical inscriptions³ and try to explain their significance briefly.

INSCRIPTION I

This inscription is engraved on a boulder of the hillock called *Āṇḍimatai* near the village *Chōlavāṇḍipuram* in the Tirukkovilur *taluk* of the South Arcot District, Madras State. It was copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in the field season of 1936-37.⁴ The boulder containing this inscription leans against another boulder thus forming

¹ This verse makes it clear that the record was first written on the plate with ink or similar material and then engraved.

² This volume comprises a detailed survey of the Jaina inscriptions collected from the three main regions of South India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnāḍ and Kārnāṭaka. The book which is now in an advanced stage of printing is being published as the third issue of the series *Āryakya Jaina Granthamālā*, Shalipur.

³ My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to edit these records here.

⁴ It is registered as No. 231 of the year's epigraphical collection.

a cavity which may be considered to be a natural shrine. On the inner sides of these two boulders facing each other are carved the figures of two Jaina deities, Gommatas and Pārśvañātha. "In the recess between them is found a loose slab about 4 feet high with a fairly archaic sculpture of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī cut on it in high relief."¹

The inscription comprises four lines. The letters in the first line of the record are bigger and the medial *i* signs of the *alphavus* *an*, *eri* and *li* are extended above their tops. In spite of the rough surface of the boulder the inscription is neatly engraved and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are Tamil of about the 10th century A. C. They stand fair comparison with those of the Tirukkōvalūr inscription of Krishna III, dated in his 21st year.² The tripartite form of *y*, which is sometimes hooped in the inscriptions of the earlier period,³ may be noted herein. The form of the letter *ti* in the expression *tētram* in the 4th line is peculiar. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the medial *e* sign, which is normally separated and placed before the main letter as in *che* in the same line, is joined to the bottom of the letter *t*, the left side loop of which is consequently dropped. *Svati* and *lei* in the first line are inscribed in the Grantha alphabet.

The language is Tamil. The epigraph states that the *tētram* was caused to be made by Śeṣaḷi Kōḷgarnāyur Puttaḍigaḷ. No date is mentioned in the record. We may, however, assign it approximately to the 10th century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. The epigraph reads thus:

TEXT⁴

1 Svati | 1* | Śeṣaḷi

2 Kōḷgarnāyur

3 Puttaḍigaḷ

4 *seyvāḷa tētram* | 1* |

The main component of the rather longish name of the author of the *tētram* is Puttaḍigaḷ. He appears to have been a person of some importance and the suffix *ḍigaḷ* denotes his respectable status.⁵ A good number of Jaina inscriptions similarly carved on the rocks of hills have been found in close association with Jaina sculptures in the Tamil districts.⁶ A study of these in comparison with the present one, the Jaina associations of which are quite marked, should leave no doubt in our mind in regard to the nature of the record under study and the identity of Puttaḍigaḷ who might be a Jaina devotee.

An expression of some interest in the epigraph requiring comment, is the word *tētram*. Its two familiar meanings are well known, viz., 1) worship and 2) a collection of devotional

¹ As. Ep. in S. I. Epigraphy for 1936-37, p. 61.

² Above, Vol. VII, inscription C, plate facing p. 144.

³ Compare the hooped form in inscription A and the tripartite one in B and C: above, Vol. III, plate facing p. 284.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ It is interesting to note that Putta is the Tamil version of the Sanskrit name Buddha. This does not necessarily mean that the individual should be a follower of Buddhism. Putthas is one of the terms denoting the higher status attained by an enlightened soul according to the Jaina philosophical concept. Vide *Panchatantra* edited by A. N. Dnyānā, Bombay, 1935, Introduction, p. XXXIV.

⁶ Compare for instance the Jaina rock inscriptions at Pañchapaṇḍavānāthi (above, Vol. IV, pp. 130 ff.) and the ones at Valluṁkai (ibid., pp. 140 ff.) ; Mad. Ep. Coll., Nos. 67, 74 of 1902.

songs in honour of Śiva, composed by Appar and others.¹ But here it appears to have been used in a somewhat different sense, viz., a group of sculptures for worship as indicated by the context.²

Having examined the meaning of the term *teṭṭam*, we may now ascertain its nature as designed by Pattaṭiṅga]. As seen above, the two boulders meeting each other with intervening space, have themselves improvised a natural shrine. Then we have to turn to the Jaina vestiges therein. These are the figures of Gommatā carved near the present inscription on one boulder, and of Pārśvanātha on the other, and the fairly big sculpture of Padmāvatī placed in the intervening hollow. From its very nature, size and the central position, the last of Padmāvatī assumes the principal role among these Jaina relics. We can now see the part played by Pattaṭiṅga] in the making of this *teṭṭam*. Being a natural formation, he, of course, had nothing to do in its creation. He simply housed the figures of Gommatā and Pārśvanātha on the adjoining boulders to represent the side deities and installed the main image of Padmāvatī in the intermediate spot. It is for doing these things that he takes credit in the epigraph as the maker of the *teṭṭam*. We may note here with interest the position of vantage enjoyed by Padmāvatī; for she is the *Yakshī* of Pārśvanātha and thus occupies a subordinate place in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.³

Happily, another similar instance has come to our notice. It is an inscription at Vaṭṭuraḷi. This record,⁴ which is styled 'A', is similarly carved on the rock of a natural cave, below a group of sculptures, and speaks of the foundation of the Jaina shrine (*maṇḍa*), evidently referring to the cave itself with Jaina relics,⁵ by the Gaṅga prince Rājamaḷla.

INSCRIPTION II

This epigraph⁶ is inscribed on a beam of the *śaṭhamaṅḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Ādinātha Tīrthaśāhara at Poanūr, a village in the Wandswath taluk of the North Arcot District. The inscription is slightly damaged and comprises two lines. The script is both Grantha and Tamil. The characters are late. Medial short and long *e* are distinguished. Medial *ai* is denoted by placing either single-looped two spirals or one double looped spiral behind

¹ Tamil Lexicon (University of Madras, 1929), p. 2069.

² As the precise significance of the expression *teṭṭam* used here is not certain, we may take into consideration other possibilities. According to the lexicographer *teṭṭam* also means 'statue, worshipped person in a house'. Further, it may not be unreasonable to connect it with the Sanskrit *dehātṛ*, in which case it would mean 'a shrine'. One of the word *dehātṛ* in the sense of 'a shrine' is found in an 11th century Kannaḍa inscription in the Ballari District: *SI*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 115. The expression *dehātṛ* is current in the Marathi language in the sense of 'a shrine for private worship'.

³ B. C. Bhattacharya: *Jaina Iconography*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 140-41.

⁵ This was one of the peculiar aspects of Jainism in the Tamil country, as I have noticed in the course of my survey of the Jaina antiquities. The hill crevices with natural caverns and rocky members had a great attraction for the Jaina teacher and the devotees who transformed them into sacred resorts and centres of religious practices. Besides the two places dealt with above, a large number of hill spots haunted with Jaina relics have come to light so far: see *J. A. Rep.* on S. I. Epigraphy for 1923, p. 3; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 136; *Mad. Rep.* Dec. 1927, p. 27, etc. From the association of the 'triple umbella,' which is a characteristic emblem of the Jina, with the rocky beds at Śekharaspaṭṭin in the North Arcot District (*J. A. Rep.* on S. I. Epigraphy for 1923-24 to 1925-26, p. 11), it can now be safely asserted that at least some of similar centres, popularly known in the 'Palahappiyāra' belt, found in a large number in many parts, were the centres of Jaina monks who were promoters of the faith in the Tamil country. For a detailed description of these centres see *Proceedings and Transactions of Third General Conference*, pp. 375 ff.

⁶ This was supplied by the Madras Epigraphist's office in 1929. It is registered as No. 118 of Appendix B of the year's collection and briefly noticed on p. 88 of the year's Report.

These facts are revealing. They show that the Yakshi had gained popularity among the followers of Jainism from very early times and that her images, like those of the Jinas, were installed independently in shrines created for the purpose and placed under worship. This should appear strange if we examine the original status of a Yakshi in the Jaina pantheon. A Yaksha and a Yakshi are the devotees of the Jina and their function is to attend on him. These are depicted in sculptural representations in small figures at the corners of the pedestals adorned by their masters, the Jinas.¹ It thus becomes clear that the Yakshi is a subservient deity and can claim no independent place for herself. The above epigraphical notices therefore go contrary to the original conception of the Yakshi and provide instances of the characteristic evolution of the Yakshi worship.

Inscription II contains reference to Hālāhārya, which name devoid of phonetic accentuation would be Ēlāhārya. Ēlāhārya was an eminent teacher of the Draviḍa-gaṇa and he is regarded as the innovator of the cult of Jvālāmūlī.² This deity, though a Yakshi in the beginning, was, with the passage of time, attributed mysterious powers including those of the fire-goddess. She was involved in the practices of Tantric worship and works like the *Jvālāmūlīkalpa* were composed around her. It is of interest to note that in an inscription at Sājam in the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State, the *Mahāyānas* of the place are described as performing mystic rites for propitiating this deity.³

No. 29—TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

(I Plate)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, OBTAINER and D. L. NARASIMACHAR, MYSORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at Talangere near Kasaragod, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the South Kanara District of the Madras State. It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1952-53 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikīṛṇita* metre and are engraved in Grantha characters. The rest of the inscription is in Kannaḍa characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A. C. The script does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, a (lines 3, 23), ā (lines 16, 21), i (line 7), ī (line 20), u (line 9) and ū (lines 2, 26). The shape of the long ā is particularly noteworthy. The form of final ī (line 6) may also be noted. The specimens of Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayādhiram Plates of Bhaṇa Vikramāditya⁴ and the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvīhoṣṭr inscription of Śaka 884⁵ and the Sogal inscription of the reign

¹ *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 92-93.

² *Pratichandras*, Introduction pp. 4 and 12.

³ Author's own epigraphical collection. This epigraph which belongs to the 12th century, is under publication in my *Jainism in South India* mentioned above.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 283 ff. and plate.

In the sentence *Uṛuma Jāgaraya makkabē-ṣe-ghaṣṭaḥ-allade quṣṭu-gāṇḍa makkabē-adihāṇam-allade allabē*, the second *allade* appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of *mā* (meaning 'or' and later on 'and') occurring in the sentences given below: (1) *nera mā annaṣe mā*, (2) *paṭṭe mā paṇḍi mā*, (3) *oṭ mā muni mē*, wherein the use of *mā* twice is analogous to that of 'either' and 'or' occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study: (1) *mā* (line 2) seems to be connected with *māṇṣi** and *māṇṣ* (Tulu) both meaning 'a hillock'; (2) *maḥ* from the contexts (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean 'brackish'. It appears to be related to the first member *uṣa* of the Tamil compound word *uṣa-may, uṣa-ara*, meaning 'salty or brackish soil'; (3) *chāṇḍāmi* (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit *chatur-ṣṭāmi*; (4) *ūṛuma* (line 25) has been translated as 'excellent'. This seems to descend from the Dravidian root *ūru* meaning 'to increase', by the addition of the suffix *-ma* used to form abstract nouns. As the final *-a* of the root is unstable and not radical the noun *ūṛuma* is directly formed, meaning 'increase, abundance'. It is in this sense that Pampa has employed the word in the phrase *vāṣaḍ-ūṛumaḥ*† and the reading here with short *u* in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading *peru* found in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of the meaning deduced above. (5) *Aṣṭāra* (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word *aṣṭakāra*.

The importance of this record to the student of Kannada prosody cannot be overstated. The *Śāṅkūlavikrīḍita* of the first verse and the *Kandas* following are quite familiar in Kannada metres; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called *stāḥa* by the composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgarajana has defined the metre and the definition itself is the illustration.* According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting of seven *Brāhma-gaṇa* plus one *gaṇa*, with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of the *Brāhma-gaṇa* (—, —, —, —, —, —, —) only two containing three syllables or *mātrā* are used here and the other two consisting of four syllables or *mātrā* are eschewed altogether. The iambic variety (—, —) though containing 3 *mātrā* does not enter into the scheme of *Brāhma-gaṇa*. The *stāḥa* of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st, 3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scansion of any of them: viz., the first line.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
Uṛu		kadya		toraya		adya		kalla		māya		ḍā
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The *tāḥa* or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra long syllable in the first foot:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Puñāra	poṣya	rappa	ḍāri	y-ṣaḍa	sira	bhāmi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Karṇāḍajendrya (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), I-134.

† Ibid., I-135.

‡ Pampa, *Chāṇḍāmi* (Kannada Sahitya Parishad ed.), VI-26.

* Kāṣṭha has spelt this word with a combined *u* and *ā* in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janna, a famous poet and composer of the Talangere inscription of 1197 A. D., has in verse 22 definitely used the word with a retroflex *-ṣa* in the rhyming place.

† Pampa, *Chāṇḍāmi* (Kannada Sahitya Parishad ed.), I-106.

‡ Chāṇḍāmiṇḍakī, Kāṣṭha Kallakūḍi edition, verse 238.

Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nāgavarma. Instances of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Pampa (941 A. C.):¹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Narayana	kaneṇ	talina	magula	raṇa-ka	tā na	kalja diṇ
	1	2	3			
	Pracina	ṛṇṇaḍa	puḷḷa			diṇ
	— — —					

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudānula (c. 1275 A. C.) has composed a *ṛṇṇaḍa* comprising 49 such couplets.² The following is a sample :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Janaka	tanaya	yāpa	ṇṇa	lang-a	tiva	harsha diṇ
	1	2	3			
	Mudaleu	pūra	raṇa			diṇ
	— — —					

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the rules regulating this metre ; his is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannada metres. The *ataśha* verse found here is the only one of its kind known so far in Kannada literature and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gautama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Śaradvat. Śaradvat's brother was Santana whose son was Kripa. After many kings born in the lineage of Kripa down to Śalya had passed away, Jayasimha, the great-jewel among the *Kadurigas*, is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the stake of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Putūr to Mōchabbarasi as *kanyādāna*, i.e., gift to a damsel. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile field by Mōchabbarasi. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. After the usual imprecation on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent Jōgarve and not on the male offspring ; and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasimha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasimharama whose inscription is found at Kariangala (Ammurajē) near Mangalore.³ He bears the titles *Somaśubrahma*, *Pādya*, *Mahānṛpādhirāja*, *Paramāśvara* and *Paramadhaṭṭārāja*. As these titles are usually associated with the later Ālupas, the chief Jayasimharama of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call

¹ Pampa-*Abhinava*, 133.

² Kumudānula *Rāṇṇaḍa*, IV—after 98.

³ *SI*, Vol. IX, part 1, no. No. 399.

him an Ālupa. Since Talangere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Kariāṅgala, the findspot of Ālupa Jayasiṅgarasa's record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasimha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgala record did. But, on account of the fact that the Kariāṅgala record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Talangere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Viṣṇuāditya¹ of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi the Ālupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered² it would appear that the Ālupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Ālupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kumbhama-Mahādēvī, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the *Jinabhaṣana* at Purigere constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Ālupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavāsi to visit the Ālupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III³ it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Ālavarahāḥa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Ālupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing.⁴ This was about 800 A. C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasimha is, as suggested above, an Ālupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Ālupas continued to be vassals either of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of their power after overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgala inscription, i.e., 11th century A. C., the Ālupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.⁵

Besides Jayasimha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., Mōchabharasi and Jōgavva. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasimha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how Mōchabharasi and Jōgavva were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that Mōchabharasi was either the sister or the niece of Jayasimha. If she is to be considered the niece, Jōgavva might have been the king's sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of *aliya-samīta* is in vogue even today in that area.

The only place mentioned in the record is Puttūr. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Talangere, the findspot of the inscription.

¹ Ep. Carr., Vol. VIII, Sh. 571, Ep. Carr., Vol. XI, Pg. 66.

² C. P. No. 49 of ARIN for the year 1943-4.

³ Ep. Carr., Vol. VIII, Sh. 10.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁵ A later Jayasimha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Dravida teacher Madhvachārya in the literary work *Madhvacārya* (Aṅga 13, verses 21 ff.). He was a ruler of Kumbhā. Madhvachārya is stated to have visited a place called Viṣṇumangala, about three miles from Kāṅaragōḍi, where Jayasimha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasimha of Kumbhā. Perhaps he was also an Ālupa chief.

TEXT

- 1 'Svasti Śrī []* 'Āśich=Chitraśikhagdishu tri-bhuvana-khyātō munir=Gautama=(at=sūnōi=cha
 2 Samdyutah Kṛipa itī bhīr[ta]=entah=Śantanōh []* tad-vamōyśhv=adhinā ga-
 3 *cāshv=amaratānī Śaly-ānta-bhadr-śāliha śrēṣṭhah=śrī Jayasūbha
 4 śha jayati kshatr-sika-chūḍāmaṇi [] [1*]
 5 Śrī chapa[ateya[ti] Vachana=Śrī Chatuśānana-virōmamam bhūtu Jaya-śrī-chāru-
 6 nātre-y-oda-nereś-ā-chandr-ārkkah virājīś Jayasūbhaś [] [2*] Vachana []* Kanyādāna-
 7 mām nina-
 8 g=ittar¹=endode pattu Mōchahbarasi santōsa[ti]-batt-int-endode | Kanda | Inn-appa
 bhōpur-ellam
 9 ninnarega[ti] dorege vātar=adarūnd=ārūn mannisad=ūrati guṇa-sarūpanna samant-ivud=
 enaga² kanyā-
 9 dānam [] [3*] Akkun=amdu [] Uśāham [] Ūra kaḍeya topaya taḍiya kariya kalla mōradim
 10 Pattāra poleyar=appa kēriy=ovajā nira-bhūmiyati sāra-bhūrahanga[=ōliy=olage neri-
 11 da kereyau=amhbōrnūhāshi tanna dhucadin=oppo mōḍis-iḥṭudam [] [4*] Vachana []
 12 'Nūmūrum=ollada kalkōḍa beṭṭam ayya-taḥam māḍiy-ōḷila maneyu namidana-
 13 vanavumam mōḍisi kereyati kappai tōpeya =pey=itt=ovajā nala-
 14 nath pōridum=āyāsadin makshētram mōḍisidud=ada munas³ mōḍe-
 15 y=ūkkuv=ovaj=appa-neladā bhūmiyan=olakoḍ=aga[an=aga]i-
 16 ai āanna chāvugāniga[=ariy= kanyādānam-gotta-bhūmiyati
 17 kālā-kāḷāntarado[=ārānum=i dharmamaman=alidu koḷal=āṇisida paṇcha-mahā-pāta-
 18 kaṁ tanna tāyam koḷal=enda *tashūna tandeyam-kondu *tashūna makkaḷa nettaram kuḷi-
 19 da pāsuruḥ Brāhmasparuma Kurukshētrado[=ajidi=ātana puguva nara-
 20 kamam puguva=akke []* i kanyādānamam koḷḷātan=alpāyushyanum=a-
 21 putrikannum=appan=akke [] Kanda [] Ārēdo[=akke dhātri-bhūrame-
 22 n=ārāntōr=āntara kayy-āntā hiranam=irad=ān, bōḷiden=ōradit[=e] kāvu-
 23 d=i vyavastheyin=ūrati [] [5*] Vachana []* Adēnt=amdoḍe []* Arasāḷga[=ūrati pokkamdu
 24 pullaḍakkam=ettuvoḍam[dam=]ēnānnuam-biḷḷidoḷa⁴ kolege sāltar=ent=appa
 25 drōhan-goydu haṇḍ-ūram-pokkoḍ=avanash mūru-divasam sarva-parihāram kōdu
 26 kaḷpurudu []* []rmm Jōghavvaya vāmādo[=pen-gūsuga[=allade gaḍḍu-gū-
 27 sugaḷa vāmākk=adīhāram=allade alladu pen-gūsuga[=illadoḍa⁵ gaḍḍu-makkaḷga⁶ =alkun-
 (ḷgub) []*

* Floral design.

¹ Metre : Śārdūlakṛīḍā. Lines 1-4 are written in Grantha characters.

² The medial 's' sign of it is written at the end of the previous line.

³ Read : =ntas=.

⁴ Read : =aga.

⁵ Read : int=ram=.

⁶ After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.

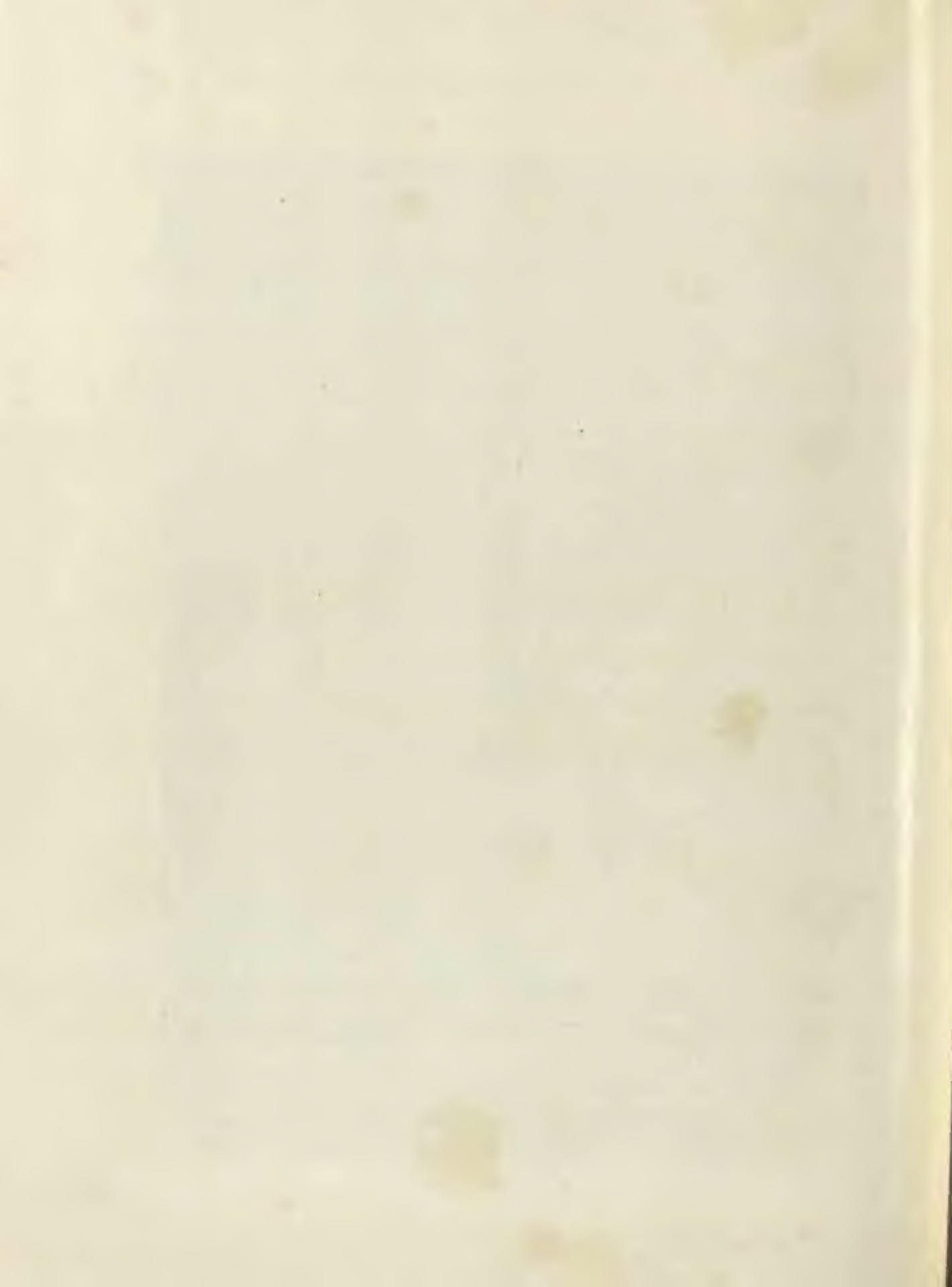
⁷ Read : āmma.

⁸ Read : *ofa.

⁹ Read : *ga.

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TRANSLATION

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitrakūṭhaputras¹ there existed Gautama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kṛpā, son of Śantanu who was the brother of Śaradvat, the son of Gautama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śalya had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasimha, the sole great-jewel of the Kahatriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-9. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken (her) fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up (her) resting-place in Chaturvāna (i.e., Brahmā) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun (endure); Jayasimha, having said to Mōchabharasi "I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl² (of the family)", she received (it), felt glad and said thus: "All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! (you) rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift (called) *kangādāna* a locality which none would value". He replied "Be it so".

Lines 9-11. The brackish³ water-logged land (adjoining) the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttūr (which was situated at some distance) from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees—(these too) the lotus-eyed (lady), by her own wealth had caused to be finely constructed;

Lines 12-23. thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired (to have), having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug (around) the land, comprising the brackish salty soil (used for) keeping bundles of grain⁴, made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of (endless) time, whosoever having destroyed this pious (damsel), desires to appropriate (it) for (himself), may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children (and) by destroying cows and Bellunagas in Kurukṣetra enters; may he who takes over (to himself) this gift to a damsel become short-lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth (in future), I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., prevents) those who carry away (the gift), to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 23-26. If it be asked how it is (the reply is): When the king's men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters (it) must be protected for three days after exempting him from all imposts and (then) sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jōgavṛa the right (of succession) goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issues it goes to the male children.

¹ These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marichi, Atri, Vasishtha, Atsira and Kratu.

² *Kangādāna* is a compound word which is usually taken to mean "making over an unmarried girl to a bridegroom in marriage". In this sense the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.

³ This seems to be the meaning of the word *caṇṭ*.

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of *mūḍa yikka*.

No. 30—TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

Two single copper plates of Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa were received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud, as exhibits for the Historical Exhibition organised on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress in December 1949. They were discovered some years back in a place near the town of Baud and were lying in the treasury. The exact place and the date of their discovery could not be ascertained. I propose to edit them here with the kind permission of Mr. A. Das, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud.¹

Of the two plates, one is bigger than the other, the bigger one, to be termed hereafter as plate A, measuring 14.2" × 11.3", and the smaller one, plate B, 12.7" × 9.8". Both of them are in a fair state of preservation. A circular seal of the form of a full-blown lotus is soldered at the centre of the left side of the plates. The counter-sunk surface enclosed within the rows of petals is circular in shape. The diameter of the counter-sunk space is 3.3" in plate A and 3" in plate B. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double-petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it, the legend *Tribhuvanamahādēvyā (vyā)* is neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript *y* in *vyā* is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the figure of a couchant bull with the symbols of the crescent, conch and sun above it. There are two floral designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull.

The characters closely resemble those of the Dhenkanal plate² of Tribhuvanamahādēvi and the Talcher plates³ of Śivakarādēvi (III). As a matter of fact, the Dhenkanal plate and our plate B were both inscribed by the same person, Harivardhana, while the Talcher plates were engraved by his father Rahasavardhana. On palaeographical grounds the plates may be assigned to the 9th century of the Christian era at the earliest. Both the plates are dated in the year 100708 (i.e., 158) of the era which is known to have been used by the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of both the plates is practically identical, except for the grant portion. The composition is a mixture of prose and poetry. The descriptive portion consists of fifteen verses in addition to the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. There are a few orthographical or grammatical mistakes and these have been corrected in their proper places. The words *gōhārī*, *jāpa*, *valitā*, etc., occurring in the grant portion, seem to be Sanskritised Oriya expressions.

The documents open with the description of the charms of Guhāvarapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Next follows the genealogy of the family. In the Kara dynasty there flourished a powerful king named Umaprasanna. His son was Śubhākara who erected many lofty *vihāras*. His son was Gayāda who was succeeded by Kusumahāra. Gōsvāminādēvi succeeded Kusumahāra who had left no son. The kingdom thrived under her rule, people lived in peace and prosperity. On her grandson, Lōpahāra, attaining majority, she retired making over the charge of the kingdom to him. Lōpahāra was blessed with two sons, Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra. The two sons succeeded their father one after another. But, both of them having died childless, Prithvimahādēvi (the wife of Kusumahāra), whose father was Svabhāvatunga of Kōsala and mother Nṛttamahādēvi, the daughter of Yaśovṛiddhi, ascended the throne, and was known to the world under the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. She is styled *Paramabhāṭṭarīkā*, *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramādevī* and *Paramamahārājā*. At the request of Śaśi-

¹ The plates are now preserved in the Orissa Museum.

² *JBOES*, Vol. II, pp. 419-27 and Plates.

³ *Mitra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 46-50.

lākhā, the moon of the **Vṛgaḍi** family of **Virāṭa** lineage and wife of **Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati** **Maṅga-lakulāśa**. **Prithvīmahādēvi** made the following grants in the year 158 for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc., to the deity **Umāmahēśvara** installed in the temple constructed by **Śaillēkhā** and named **Nānāśvara** after her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to **Brāhmaṇas** and for the maintenance of the family of the *dānapati*.¹

The grant in plate A consists of a village named **Kōṭṭapurā** together with the **Nānāśvara** *śalāpāṭaka* in the district of **Tamālakhaṇḍa** in **Danḍabhukti-maṇḍala** situated in **Uttara-Tōsalā**. The grant recorded in plate B is a plot of land called **Uttukūḷa-khaṇḍakshētra** in the district of **Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa** in **Danḍabhukti-maṇḍala** of **Uttara-Tōsalā**.

I may here point out that some portions of the text of the records under discussion occur in others as indicated below. Verse 6 of our plates occurs in the Talcher plate of **Śubhākara**dēva of the year 141.² Again verse 15 of our records occurs in the same plate with reference to the mother of **Kuśumabhāra** or **Śubhākara** III. The *brāhmaṇas* of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** as given in the **Dhantkani** plate³ and in the plates under discussion are identical and the issuer is called *Sindagauri* in both. The passage dealing with the boundaries of the gift land in the present plates is almost the same as that in the Talcher plates of **Śivakara**dēva III of the year 149.⁴

Mahākṣhapapālādīpika Rāpaka **Śrī Mallōka** acted as the *dātaka*, *mahākṣhapapālaka bhāgin* **Śakrasena** as the writer and *papāśpālaka* **Dēvadēva** as the heater in case of both the records under study. Plate A was incised by the brahmin **Ampitavaridhana**, son of **Īvaravaridhana**, while plate B was incised by **Harivaridhana**, son of **Rahavaridhana**. From the four copper plate charters of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty, viz., the two Talcher plates of **Śivakara** III, the **Dhantkani** plate of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** and our plate B, we learn that **Harivaridhana** was the son of **Rahavaridhana** and the grandson of **Rānavaridhana**.

These plates are very important for the study of the history of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty of **Orissa** as they bring to light many new facts. Firstly, they reveal that **Danḍabhukti-maṇḍala** was included in the kingdom of the **Bhauma-Karas** of **Orissa**. Secondly, they throw new light on the genealogy of that dynasty. Thirdly, they reveal that the later **Bhauma-Karas** were matrimonially connected with the **Sōmavanshī** kings of **Kōśala**.

The genealogy of the **Bhauma-Karas** obtained from the present plates and that obtained from other plates are given below for a comparative study.

Plates under discussion

- 1 **Umajjāstambha**
- 2 **Śubhākara**
- 3 **Gayāḍa**
- 4 **Kuśumabhāra** (I) (died childless)
- 5 **Gōvaramini** (relation with No. 4 is not mentioned)
- 6 **Lōṇabhāra** (grandson of **Gōvaramini**)
- 7 **Kuśumabhāra** (II) (childless)
- 8 **Lalitabhāra** (childless)
- 9 **Prithvīmahādēvi** alias **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** (wife of No. 7)

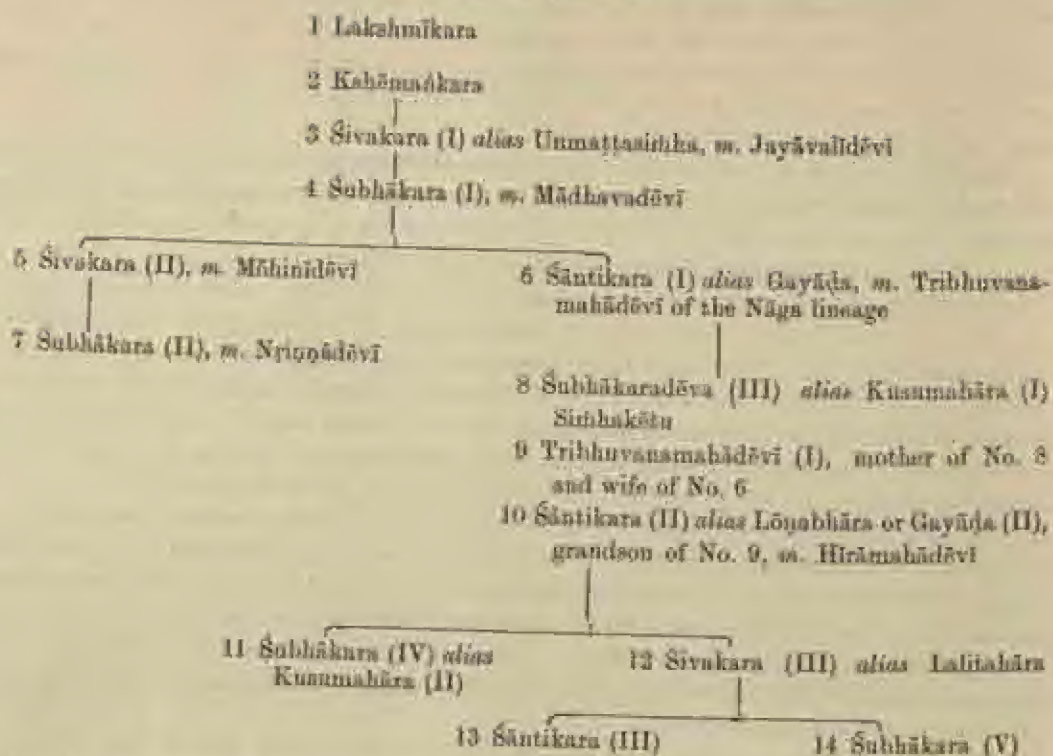
¹ I.e., a **Brāhmaṇa** in charge of all functions connected with the making of grant by the King.

² *Notes*, op. cit., p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Plates so far published



A study of the above two genealogies would show that there are certain points of wide and uncompromising difference between them. Firstly, it is stated in the present plates that Kuṣumahāra (I) died childless and Gōṣvāminī took upon her the burden of the realm until she made it over to her grandson Lōgabhāra. In the Taleher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there is no mention of Śubhākara (III) alias Kuṣumahāra (I) as having died childless. They simply state that after the death of Śubhākara (III) his mother took up the charge of the kingdom. In the Taleher plate of Śubhākara (IV) it is definitely stated, in the same way as in the present plates, that Tribhuvanamahādēvi made over the charge of the realm to her own grandson Lōgabhāra on his attaining majority. But in the Taleher plate of Śivakara (III) Lōgabhāra is not mentioned and so the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvi and Lōgabhāra is not ascertainable. It is simply stated that Gayāḍa became king after her (*taṣyā bāhūca arīpatir-Gayāḍaḥ*, lines 12-13). It would appear to mean that Gayāḍa was born to her; but it was probably meant to convey the sense that Lōgabhāra-Gayāḍa succeeded Tribhuvanamahādēvi. In the two Taleher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there are no details explaining the reasons for Tribhuvanamahādēvi's assumption of the government after her son; in the present plates it is definitely stated that Gōṣvāminī succeeded Kuṣumahāra (I) as he had died without leaving any issue (lines 8-9). So far it was believed that Tribhuvanamahādēvi assumed the reins of the government during the minority of her grandson Lōgabhāra. But that assumption is no longer tenable in view of the clear mention of the fact in the present plates that Kuṣumahāra (I) died childless. This fact conflicts with the relationship between Gōṣvāminī and Lōgabhāra since the latter is described in the present plates as the grandson of the former. Since Śubhākara (III), identical with Kuṣumahāra (I) of our plates, was childless, Lōgabhāra was either the son of a brother or sister of the former; otherwise he could not have been called the grandson of his predecessor. It,

however, appears more probable that Lōgabhāra was the son of a brother of Śubhākara (III). This brother had probably predeceased Śubhākara (III), after whose death his nephew became the sole heir. Tribhuvanamahādēvi ruled the kingdom on behalf of her grandson who was still minor at the time of the death of Śubhākara (III). This assumption alone can explain away the inconsistency of the facts stated above.

As regards the identity of Gōsvāminī it may be noted that she is stated in the present plates to have succeeded Śubhākara (III) *alias* Kusumahāra (I) and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōgabhāra on his attaining majority. In the Taleber plate of Śubhākara (IV), the mother of Śubhākara (III) is described as having succeeded her son and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōgabhāra. She was also known as Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Thus both Gōsvāminī and Tribhuvanamahādēvi were successors of Śubhākara (III) and grandmothers of Lōgabhāra. So they cannot but be identical. Gōsvāminī was probably the original name of the wife of Śāntikara (I) *alias* Gayāda and mother of Śubhākara (III), and Tribhuvanamahādēvi was her assumed name. This assumption is corroborated by the allusion to Gōsvāminī as having ruled in the past in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādēvi.

I may here point out that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate is not the wife of Śāntikara (I), as assumed by Pandit Mitra, for the following reasons. For one thing, nowhere is Śāntikara (I) called Lalitahāra. As pointed out above, the name of Śāntikara's wife was, in all probability, Gōsvāminīdēvi. Tribhuvanamahādēvi was an assumed name as is evident from the passage : *yā jagataḥ Tribhuvanamahādēvī-viśvātā* occurring in Śubhākara (IV)'s Taleber plate, the same passage being employed in the present plates with reference to Prithvīmahādēvi. Thus, both Gōsvāminīdēvi and Prithvīmahādēvi had the assumed name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The date of the Dhenkanal plate is clearly 160, as it is represented by the letter symbols *la* and *cha* which stand for 100 and 60 respectively.¹ Śāntikara (I)'s wife was the first queen in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to rule over the kingdom, and the reference to Gōsvāminī as having ruled the kingdom in the Dhenkanal plate proves that another queen had reigned prior to Tribhuvanamahādēvi of that plate; hence she must have been the wife of Śāntikara (I). That Gōsvāminī is not a fictitious figure but the grandmother of Lōgabhāra is proved by the plates under discussion. As stated before, the inciser of the Dhenkanal plate and the plate B under discussion is the same person, Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. In view of the above facts, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate cannot be regarded as the wife of Śāntikara (I). She was the wife of Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra. So it would be quite natural to identify Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal plate with Śivakara (III), the younger brother of Śubhākara (IV) *alias* Kusumahāra (II). Thus there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Śāntikara (I)'s wife was Gōsvāminīdēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi (I), Śubhākara (IV)'s wife Prithvīmahādēvi was Tribhuvanamahādēvi (II) and Śivakara (III)'s wife (original name not known) was also Tribhuvanamahādēvi (III).

After Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) their wives ascended the throne under the names Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The former was ruling in the year 158 and the latter in 160. This gives credit to the assumption that, after Śivakara (III) there was a quarrel for succession. Prithvīmahādēvi ascended the throne probably with the aid of her father Svabhāvatāṅga and, after her, Śivakara (III)'s wife became queen. Her claim was probably backed by her father Rājamalla. The hints of a state of chaos befalling the Bhauma-Kara family are there in the Dhenkanal plate (lines 9-10). Further, it is stated therein that Tribhuvanamahādēvi was approached by the ministers for her accession to the throne (line 20). These hints confirm the belief that there ensued a civil war for succession after Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra, and the two queens of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra ascended the throne one after another. Then came Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara

¹ *Baladev's Tables*, Pl. 15.

(V). Between the year 149, the date of the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III), and the year 180, the date of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi, we get four rulers, viz., wives of Kuṣumahāra and Lalitahāra, Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). Each ruled for about 8 years on average. This quick succession corroborates the suggestion of a civil war.

The most uncompromising point of difference between the two genealogies given above lies in that, while in the present plates Kuṣumahāra (II), i.e., Śubhākara (IV), and Lalitahāra, i.e., Śivakara (III), are said to have died childless, in the copper-plate grants of Dharmamahādēvi and Daṇḍimahādēvi, Śivakara (III) is said to have had two sons, viz., Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). This difference can be reconciled if it is assumed that Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V) were sons of Śivakara (III) by a second wife of his, the legitimacy of their birth being either not acknowledged by the queen of Śubhākara (IV) and by at least one of the queens of Śivakara (III), or was deliberately ignored. However, there can be no satisfactory solution to this mystery until further discoveries throw more light on the later history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Some scholars refer the dates in the Bhauma-Kara plates to the Harsha era. The date of the present plates calculated according to that era will be 764 A. C. But on palaeographic consideration this date will be rather too early. As already noted, the present plates can not be assigned to a date earlier than the 9th century. Similarly, if the Neulpur plate¹ is referred to the Harsha era and the numerical figures in it be read as 54, the date of the plate will be 660 A. C. The forms of the signs of medial vowels in this record, as also of some letters like *s*, *n*, *bb*, etc., are more developed as compared with those of the Ganjam plate of Mādhavarāja of G. R. 309. As such the plate can be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century at the earliest. R. D. Banerji assigned it to the latter half of the 8th century on palaeographic considerations. Thus the date arrived at by referring the plate to the Harsha era seems too early for it. Hence we may examine the possibility of referring the dates in the Bhauma-Kara records to a later period.

From the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara (I) we know that he was ruling over Northern Tōsalā. The same region was governed by Sōmadatta on behalf of Śaśāṅka, the celebrated king of Karmavarmā. Since the plates² of Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta are assignable to a date earlier than the Neulpur plate, it may be presumed that the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti was established subsequent to the rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta. In order to ascertain the time of the establishment of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā we have to find out the probable date of the end of the rule of the Datta family in that area.

Sōmadatta was a feudatory under Śaśāṅka. He or his successor, if there was any, must have remained in the feudatory status till the death of Śaśāṅka who is presumed to have maintained his empire to the last. We do not know for certain when Śaśāṅka's death took place; but, from certain references to his anti-Buddhist actions in Magadha as found in Hsuen Tsang's account, it is believed that Śaśāṅka died shortly before the year 637 A. C.³ So up to that date, or thereabouts, the Bhauma-Kara rule had not been established in Northern Tōsalā. After Śaśāṅka's death Bhāskarakarman and Harsha conquered his dominions in and outside Bengal. Harsha led an expedition against Kōṅḍola in 642 A. C. On his way to Kōṅḍola, he would not have left the Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti regions unconquered. The rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta in the Northern Tōsalā-Daṇḍabhukti region might have come to an end in this way. Whether Harsha appointed the Bhauma-Karas as his agents in that region or they acquired the kingdom with their might following Harsha's departure cannot be determined. But it seems fairly certain

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 1 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 197 ff.; *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. XI (1945), p. 1 ff.

³ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

that their rule was established in North Orissa region in 612 A. C. or thereabouts. Thus the era used in the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings probably started from the date of the establishment of their rule in Northern Tōsalā, that is, from about the year 612 A. C. The date of the Naulpur plate and the present plates calculated from 612 A. C. will be 895 and 890 A. C. respectively. These dates are quite in accord with those arrived at on paleographical considerations.

Svalbhāvatadga is mentioned as the father of Tribhuvanamahādēvi. He was the ruler of Kōśala, evidently South Kōśala, and belonged to the lunar dynasty. In the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti,¹ his father is said to have acquired the title of Svalbhāvatadga by his valor (*Sōmatkul-ājya-bhānuḥ Svalbhāvatadgaḥ nija-pauruṣhēṇa*). Svalbhāvatadga of the plates under discussion and of the Patna plates seems to be one and the same person; as such Prithvinahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi was the daughter of Mahāśivagupta Janamōjaya, king of Kōśala. From this we come to know for the first time that the Sōmavādīl kings of Kōśala and the Bhauma-Karas of Gahāśvarapājaka were matrimonially connected.

In regard to Maṅgalakakāśa, we have as far not come across any such name. We only know that some members of the Bhaṇja dynasty had surnames like Kalyāṇakakāśa, Amoghakakāśa, etc. In view of this we may tentatively assume that this Maṅgalakakāśa belonged to the Bhaṇja dynasty. It may be pointed out here that one Śatrubhaṇja had the surname Maṅgalarāja. Paleographically his Jangalapaṇḍa plates, in which the above surname occurs, are assignable to about the same period as that of the present plates. It is possible that the fuller form of the surname was Maṅgalakakāśarāja. Śaṅkikā, the wife of Maṅgalakakāśa, is stated to have come of the Vṛgaḍi family of the Virāṭa lineage. The village of Kainsari in Mayurbhaṇj is still known as Virāṭapura. "The Nāga family of Mayūrabhaṇja was known by the name Virāṭa Bhujāṅga, or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family.....the power of Vairāṭa Rājā of Mayūrabhaṇja dates from the seventh century A. D."² Kainsari was probably the capital of the Virāṭa dynasty of Mayūrabhaṇja. The whole tract from Kainsari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Virāṭa of Mayūrabhaṇja. The whole tract from Kainsari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Virāṭa family.³ Some descendants of the old Virāṭa family are still living and they call themselves Bhujāṅga Kshatriya. Vṛgaḍi might have been a section of the Virāṭa family. It is not improbable that marriage connections between the two royal families of Mayūrabhaṇja, the Virāṭas and the Bhaṇjas, were established in course of time.

I have not been able to identify the districts **Tamālakhapḍa** and **Dakṣiṇakhapḍa** and the village **Kōṭṭapurā**. I may only suggest that the first may be identified with Tamluk, head-quarters of a sub-division of the Midnapore District, and the second with Dakinmal (Dakshin Mahal), a pargana in the Contai sub-division. Tamluk and Dakinmal are mentioned as *parganas* in the Mughal revenue accounts.⁴ The Dandabhukti *maṇḍala* probably comprised the major portion of the Midnapore District.

¹ JPASS, Vol. I (1905), p. 14 ff. (Plate III A, line 4). I am indebted to Sri S. K. Hajra for this reference.

² JEHAS, Vol. I, p. 181 ff.

³ Vass, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhaṇja*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

⁴ Vass, *Tribhātā*, Vol. XVIII, p. 693.

⁵ Figs Report, Vol. II, p. 457.

⁶ JPASS, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 7.

TEXT

PLATE A

[Metres : Vv. 1, 6, 7 *Śāriṭālavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 23 *Snigdharā* ; v. 3 *Faṁlāsthavilā* ; vv. 4, 5 *Vaṁṣa-tilakā* ; v. 8 *Drutavilambita* ; v. 9 *Śikharīṣā* ; vv. 10-16, 18-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 17 *Mālinī* ; v. 22 *Paśupitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्त्पाशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितैः सर्वतः समर्प्यद्विरितस्ततोऽजरिमितैर्द्धा-
तूज्ज्वलैः पी-
- 2 लुभिः । गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवाधेमम्पागतैर्मृन्नामभयादिव जितिधरैः
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात् ॥[१*]
- 3 श्रीगुहेस्त्वरपाटकनिवासिजयस्कन्धावारात् ॥ अमीदृशे कराणा(णा)मकनितमहिमा-
जल्पसत्त्व(त्त्व)ः प्रतापी ।
- 4 [भूभ]तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गाकमणकुतरति श्रीमदुन्मदुसिहः । राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)ज्जितश्रीः
स्फुरदसिन्धुरोन्वातमाद्यद्विपक्ष-
- 5 समाभून्मातङ्गकुम्भोच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः ॥[२*] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य समाश्रयः[*]
श्रियः प्रशासदुर्व्वी क्षुशु-
- 6 मे शुभाकरः [१*] कलेरलङ्घ्यं मुकुताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिलामयं(यम्) ॥
[३*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंस(स)-
- 7 सेव्यो गवाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥(१) यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां
नेम्ः शिरांसि न धनूषि विरोधभाजां(जाम्) ॥[४*] तस्मा-
- 8 त्रिवर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरासीन्मृगः कुसुमहार² इति प्रतीतः । तस्मिन्नजाततनुजन्मनि
कीर्तिशेषे गोस्वामि-
- 9 नी चिरमुवाह घुरन्धरायाः ॥[५*] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यशः प्रकटितं जाताः
प्रजाः सुस्थिता भू(भु)क्ता श्रीरतुला किमन्वदुक्षित का-
- 10 यं सवास्मिन्निति । वोढुं प्रौढ इति स्वनन्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभारे भूवो
विन्यस्यातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा
- 11 हरे ॥[६*] तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपायमौलिस्फुरस्वूढोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहित-
सत्पादारविन्दद्वयः ॥(१)
- 12 तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे घर्मघनाविरोध-
सुमगैर्भोगैरनासक्तधीः ॥[७*] अथ स राज-

¹ Expressed by a symbol which is also regarded as indicating addition.

² [In the names *Kusumakara* and *Lalitākara*, occurring several times in both the plates, what has been read as *k* seems to be really *ka*.—D.C.S.]

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १० ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २० ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २१ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २३ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २५ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २७ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28



Obverse

३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६
 ३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८
 ५०

- 13 शिरोवहनोचितं कुसुमहारमुदारफलोदयं(यम्) । सुतमवाप ततो ललितश्रियं
ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्) ॥[१८*]
- 14 जगदीपे तस्मिन्करकुलविकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्माभोगप्रणविनि गते संश
मस्तो(ताम्) ॥[१९] सुतो तस्याधत्ता
- 15 कमलितराज्योज्जितवदो भुवं भूभृच्चूडामणिकिरणशोणाहिकमलो ॥[२०*] ततः
स्फारस्फुरद्वामध्वस्तारितिभि-
- 16 रौषयोः । वृ(वृ)षोदयकृतोरस्तसमस्तजनतापयोः ॥[२०*] देवादनाप्तप्रजयोः
प्रजानन्दविधायितोः । तरेन्द्रव-
- 17 न्द्रयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः ॥[२१*] सिताशुवशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः ।
राजः स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधि-
- 18 पतेः सुता ॥[२२*] सुतायां श्रीयशोवृद्धेयशोवृद्धिविधायिनो । श्रीमन्नृत्तामहा-
देव्या(व्या) कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा ॥[२३*] श्रीमत्कुसु-
- 19 महारस्य महादेवो महर्दिका । पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी त्रिरकालमपालयत् ॥[२४*]
स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवनधितयोन्नतिः ।
- 20 वा जगत्सु त्रिभुवनमहादेवीति विभ्रुता ॥[२५*] उदामदेहसोन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा ।
विधि(धे)विधानवैदग्ध्यशिदासीमे-
- 21 व भाति वा ॥[२६*] शशधरकरगौरोत्सर्पिकर्णूरधूलोपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमिभृच्चक्रवाला ।
कलकलमुखराध्यास्थान-
- 22 वेला यदोया मुरसरिदवातुजं नाटयन्ति(स्तो)व भाति ॥[२७*] परमवैष्णवी
मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधि-
- 23 राजपरमेश्वरो श्रोत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी ॥ उत्तरतोसलायां म्व(व)र्त्तमान-
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराज-
- 24 राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौ परिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपासि(शि)कस्थातान्तरिकानन्या-
नति राजप्र-
- 25 सादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातोयान् ॥ दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले तमालखण्डविषयेषु महामह-
त्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्वकपा-
- 26 लकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाह्निमा(हं मा)नयति वो(वो)धयति सम(सा)ज्ञापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम्(ताम्) एतद्विधयस-
- 27 म्व(म्व)डा॥(डाः) चतुःसीमापर्यन्तः[*] नालेश्वरतलपाटकसहितः कोट्टपुराग्रामः[*]
सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः सत-
- 28 शुवायगोकुटशीण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्ज्जिताञ्जले-

Reverse

- 29 खनीप्रवेस(स)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानस्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षतिसमकालं महामण्डलाधिपति
श्रीमङ्गलकलशस्य म-
- 30 हृदेव्याः ।¹ विराटवङ्गशो(वंशो)द्रुववागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशिलेखाया
विजयस्या स्वर्गीभूतनिजतात-
- 31 स्य श्रीनाम्नाभिधानस्य धर्म्मस्य स्वकारितश्रीनाम्नेस्वरनामायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य
भगवत उमामहेश्वरभट्टा-
- 32 रकस्य सततस्तपनमन्त्रपू(पु)ण्यदीपधूपनिवेशव(व)लिचरूपूजादिप्रवर्तनार्थं क्षण्डस्फुटित-
संस्कारणार्थं महाव्रतधारि-
- 33 णां तपस्विनां सदाकोपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभेषज्यार्थं पाटकमहितस्य ग्रामस्थैको भागः ।
एवं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां प्रासा-
- 34 द्वा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः । पादमू(मू)लादीनां जीवनभुक्तिपरिधानाद्यर्थं
तृतीयो भागः । तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो वा-
- 35 तपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्च) स्माभिस्तां(स्ता) अशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्म्मणाक-
रत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेवाऽस्म-
- 36 इति(इतिः) धर्म्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया ॥ सम्वत् १०० १० = कार्तिक-
शुदि ७ । उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशो(शा)स्त्रे [1*] व(व)हृभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राज-
- 37 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
[१६*] मा भु(भू)वफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
- 38 लमानन्त्यं परदत्ता(त्ता)नुपालने ॥[१६*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा(त्ता वा) यो हरेत्
वसुधरा(राम्) । स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
- 39 च्यते ॥[२०*] व(व)हृनात् किमुक्तेन स(सं)क्षेपादिदमूच्यते । स्वल्पमायुश्चता
भोगा धर्म्मा लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥[२१*] इति कमल-
- 40 दलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोता शि(धि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अखिलमिद-
मुदाहृतञ्च वृ(वृ)द्धा [न] हि पुरुषः परकीर्त्यो वि-
- 41 लोप्याः ॥[२२*] यावन्मौलोन्दुलेषोऽञ्जलितनुरसरिद्वौचिहारावलीभिर्भस्मस्मेरां स्मरा-
रेद्वैवलयतितरामंशुभिः क-
- 42 यकान्ति(न्तिम्) । आगा(शा)चकैकचूडामणिरपि तरणिर्वीतते यावदुच्चैर्देव्याः
श्रीसिन्दगीर्षाः प्रभवन्तु भू(भू)वने यासन् ताव-

¹ The dagger is superfluous.

- 43 देतत् [॥२३*] इतकोत्त महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीमन्तीका । लेखको
महाक्षपटलिकभोगी स(श)क्यो(से)नः । ता-
- 44 पितम्पे(म्पे)टकपालदेवदेवेने(न) । उत्कीर्णं तट्टकार(रेण) वमृतवद्धनेन इ(ई)श्वर-
वद्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ ग्रामस्य सीमा
- 45 लिख्यते । पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं शास्त्रोटकविटपेन स्तोकं
गत्वा किञ्चित्पश्चिमाभि-
- 46 मुखं मृगजानुना बलित्वा गोहेर्षा स्तोकं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां
यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि प-
- 47 श्चिमाभिमुखं प्रगुणेन पूरं गत्वा वक्रेण दक्षिणाभिमुखं बलित्वा पुनः
पश्चिमाभिमुखं न्यग्रोधवृक्षेण गत्वा शिला-
- 48 कुण्डजोटाईस्रोतसां स्पर्शगत्वा गत्वा कोट्टपुराचारं प्रविश्य तज्जलाद्धेन गत्वा
दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्त-
- 49 शिलां यावत् । ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं शिलाश्रान्ति]काप्रगुणेन शरक्षेपमानं
गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रो-
- 50 प्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं नरकाधारेण स्तोकं गत्वा
वि(वि)श्ववृक्षेण वक्रातिवक्रेण गत्वा प्रथम-
- 51 समुचितसीमां यावत् ॥

PLATE B

Obverse

1-24

- 25 सि(शि)कस्वान्तान्तरिकान्त्यान्तपि राजप्रसादितश्चाटभट्ट(ट)कालभजातीयान् ॥ दण्ड-
भुक्तिमण्डले दक्षिणस्त-
- 26 ण्डविषयेषु महामहत्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसायधिकरणं यथाह्लि(हं)म्मानयति
वो(वो)-

Reverse

- 27 धयति समाजापयति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)ड।।
(जम्) उत्तुकादाण्डक्षेत्रं तोपरिकट(रं) सोद्वेज(वं)
- 28-44
- 45 देवदेवेन । उत्कीर्णं तट्टकारहृरिवद्धनेन ।¹ रहसवद्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ खण्डकोटस्य सीमा
लिख्यते । पु(पु)र्वदिश्युत्तर-

¹ The text of these lines is the same as in lines 1-24 of plate A with negligible variations.

² The text of these lines is the same as in lines 27-44 of plate A.

³ The double is superfluous.

- 46 पूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा गत्वा गणेश्वरखातकपश्चिमात्वा गत्वा
वक्रातिवक्रेण दु(ह्)रं गत्वा पु-
47 अर्धदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा
स्तोकं गत्वा मृगजानुना शा-
48 खोटकोविटपेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे गोहेरिकां यावत् । ततः पश्चिम-
दिशुत्तराभिमुखं गोहेर्या
49 प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि
पूर्वाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा प्रगुणे-
50 न दूरं गत्वा प्रथमसंनु(सू)चित्सीमां यावत् - ॥¹

No. 31—NOTE ON TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

D. C. SIEGAR, OOTACAMUND

Mr. S. U. De's paper on the inscriptions in question has been published above.² We find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. De's suggestions. In the following lines, some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the Bhauma-Kara queen who issued the Dhenkanal plate.³

In the Hindol⁴ and Dharakota⁵ plates of Śubhākara III, both dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the said king is described as the son of Śāntikara I from *Mahādēvi* Tribhuvanamahādēvi who was *Triman-Nāg-śādhava-kula-lalāma-śharā*, i.e., 'born in the eminent family sprung from the illustrious Nāga.' All the three Talcher plates⁶ of the great-grandsons of this queen, viz., Śubhākara IV (one grant dated in the year 145, usually read as 141) and Śivakara III (two grants both dated in the year 149), clearly state that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Kurumahāra or Sindhakēta, i.e., Śubhākara III. The Talcher plate of Śubhākara IV further says that, when Tribhuvanamahādēvi's *napitā* or grandson, named Lōgabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II, became sufficiently aged, she abdicated the throne in his favour. The corresponding portion of the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which seems to be corrupt in the original and more so in the published transcript, does not specify the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvi and her successor Gayāja II, i.e., Śāntikara II.

The Dhenkanal plate, issued by Tribhuvanamahādēvi as a ruling queen, bears a date which looks like 100 but may also be read as 120.⁷ The queen, whose other name is given in her record as Sindagauri and who was the queen of Lalitahāra, is stated to have been the daughter of Rājā-malladhāra described as the ornament of the southern quarter (*dakṣiṇ-āśī-mukha-tīlaka*). It is further stated in the record that the queen ascended the Kara (i.e., Bhauma-Kara) throne after the circle of the *Mahādēvinimitta* (foundatories) had pointed out to her the case of an ancient queen

¹ I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Pandit Banamalar Acharya in editing the inscriptions.

² See pp. 219 ff.

³ *Minor Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff., 40 ff., 51.

⁷ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 21, note 3.

named Gōsvāminī and requested her to assume the reins of Government in the manner of that old ruling queen.¹ Mr. Misra identifies queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who issued the Dhenkanal plate with the Bhauma-Kara queen of the same name mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 103, 145 and 149, referred to above. Mr. De on the other hand thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate ruled in the year 100 immediately after Prithvinmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi who issued the Band plates in the year 158. We are inclined to favour Mr. Misra's identification as Mr. De's suggestion appears to be doubtful in view of the following facts.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gōsvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Had there been two other queens previously ruling in the family within less than half a century before her age and had one of them ruled immediately before herself, the reference to an earlier queen's rule by way of illustration was certainly uncalled for and meaningless. Even if such an illustration was necessary at all to induce a third queen of the family to the throne, it is no doubt strange that the ruling queen who flourished immediately before should have been passed over in silence and the case of another reigning more than quarter of a century earlier would have been cited.

Secondly, according to Mr. De, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the wife of Śivakara III who issued his grants in the year 149. If she was thus the mother of Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V, it is only natural to expect a prominent mention of her name in the grants of queen Dandimahādēvi who was the daughter of Śubhākara V. But her name is conspicuous by its absence in the later records of the family. This difficulty has been explained away by Mr. De who thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was a step-mother of Dandimahādēvi's father and that she, like Prithvinmahādēvi, did not recognise her step-son's title to the Bhauma-Kara throne. If such was the case, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate is expected to have been a partisan of Prithvinmahādēvi in her struggle with the lawful claimants of the throne and the non-mention of the latter's name in her record becomes doubly inexplicable.

Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādēvi, mother of Śubhākara III of the Bindol and Dharakota plates (dated 103), was born in the Nāga family and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Sindagaūrī of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country appear to suggest that the two were one and the same person. The name Sindagaūrī (i.e., Sinda-Gauri or Gauri of the Sindas) shows that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was born in the Sinda family while it is well known that the Sindas who originally belonged to Karpāṭjaka claimed Nāga origin.² We are inclined to believe that Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who was the mother of Śubhākara III and has to be identified with the ruling queen of the Dhenkanal plate, was the daughter of a Sinda king bearing the name or *bruda* Rājamalla.³ It has to be noticed that Prithvi-

¹ "Devi purāṇi dēvyā śrī-Gōsvāminī...chitram śhāritam-śyām rasam-sharī tat-adhūn-āpi pradhā tathe-
sra suchitam śhāry-sinām āriyatām lōk-ānugrahaḥ rekriyatām-vā(ām vā) prakram-āgata-Kata-rājya-śch" (B
III = *calhaṣam-śubhākā-māgala-purāṇi-śumukhām mahatā mahāśimanta-chakrānā mṛtāyānāṇā...am-
lāṣam-śrīgaurī* (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26, text lines 17-21). An alternative interpretation of this passage may
be that the queen's other name was Gōsvāminī and that she had ruled the kingdom for sometime as a previous
queen before the accession of her son (or step-son) Śubhākara III, although there is no indication in favour
of such a possibility in the inscriptions of the family.

² Cf. *Baudh. Soc.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 573 ff.

³ We have no knowledge of a Sinda-Nāga ruler named Rājamalla who flourished in the tenth century. But
the said name is known to have been popular in the Sinda family. An inscription of 1148-49 A.C. mentions a chief
named Irmadi-Rājamalla (i.e., Rājamalla the Second, showing probably that there was a Rājamalla I among
his predecessors) who claimed the Nāga lineage and enjoyed the *bruda* Sinda-Qōvinda that reminds us of Sinda-
Gauri. See *ARSIK* for 1904, p. 9 (cf. Nos. 58 and 60 of 1904); Kishore's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*,
No. 253.

mahādēvi in her Band plates not only assumes both the names as well as the epithet *Parvatasāh-jitā* enjoyed by the earlier queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi alias Sindagaūrī but refers to the latter not as Tribhuvanamahādēvi (as in the Talehar plates of her husband and the latter's younger brother) but as Gōsvāminī. The foot of the stanza applying the name Sindagaūrī to the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate has been actually appropriated by Prithvimahādēvi in the similar verse quoted in her Band plates. This attempt on the part of Prithvimahādēvi to pass herself as the shadow of and at the same time to distinguish herself clearly from the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi, whom she represents as Gōsvāminī, is not entirely unintelligible. This may have been partly due to her eagerness for strengthening her position against the lawful claim of the son of her husband's younger brother to the Bhāuma-Kara throne. Apparently, she claimed her position on the Bhāuma-Kara throne to be exactly similar to that of her earlier namesake although she felt the necessity of avoiding any confusion between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis. It is interesting to note that Prithvimahādēvi is silent in regard to Gōsvāminī's relation with her predecessor. The facts that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was induced by her feudatories to assume the burden of government by citing the instance of Gōsvāminī and that Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Band plates applies the name Gōsvāminī to her earlier namesake (apparently to make a distinction between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis to avoid confusion) appear to suggest that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was called Gōsvāminī II after an ancient or legendary female ruler of Orissa probably having nothing to do with the Bhāuma-Karas. It may be pointed out that the assumption of the name Sindagaūrī, pointing to an association with the Sinda Nāgas, by Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who is known to have been born in a royal family other than that of the Sindas, seems to be explainable only by the suggestion that she adopted it rather arbitrarily just to pass herself as the shadow of an earlier ruling queen of the Bhāuma-Kara dynasty. It seems therefore that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was the real and original Sinda-Gaūrī and that she flourished before the imitation Sinda-Gaūrī who issued the Band plates.

Fourthly, Mr. De thinks that the real names of the mother of Śubhākara III and the wife of Śubhākara IV, were respectively Gōsvāminī and Prithvimahādēvi and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi, although he cannot say what the original name of Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate, whom he regards as the third ruling queen of that assumed name, was. We find at least two difficulties in accepting this suggestion. The first is that, if the mother of Śubhākara III assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi when she ascended the throne after her son's death, she could not have possibly been mentioned by that name, as she really is, in the records of her son who preceded herself on the throne. In the second place, if Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhāuma-Kara ruling queen of that name, it is rather strange that she, unlike Prithvimahādēvi, did not feel the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes. This no doubt looks especially dubious when she is supposed to have been immediately preceded by another ruling queen of the same name, because the possibility of confusion in such a case was greater. If her real name was Tribhuvanamahādēvi, it must be regarded as a strange coincidence that she succeeded another Tribhuvanamahādēvi. But if her real name was different, she would have hardly chosen Tribhuvanamahādēvi as her coronation name, because that would lead to a confusion between herself and her predecessor on the throne. That the female rulers of the Bhāuma-Kara family had no special liking for the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi is shown by the fact that none of the four later ruling queens of the dynasty (viz., Gaṇimahādēvi, Daṇḍamahādēvi, Vakulamahādēvi and Dharmamahādēvi) assumed that name. If the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate flourished immediately after Prithvimahādēvi, she could have hardly called herself only by the name assumed by her predecessor without any attempt to distinguish herself.

Fifthly, the Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi give the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara family in which the long line of rulers from Unmattasinha (the second king of the dynasty) down to the ruling queen herself are named and, in the description of the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Gōsvāmīnī, they actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher plate of her husband Śubhākara IV. The Dhenkanal plate on the other hand mentions only Unmattakōsarin and Gayāda I (the second and fifth rulers of the family) in the reference to the past monarchs of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and gives the impression quite clearly that the issuer of the charter has to be placed in the earlier part of the genealogical tree. This no doubt goes in favour of the identification of the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate with the mother and successor of Śubhākara III who was the great-grandson of Unmattakōsarin (= sinha) and the son and successor of Gayāda *alias* Śāntikara I. If the Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 160, that is to say, shortly after the reign of Prithvīmahādēvi of the Baud plates, it is difficult to explain why the description of the Bhauma-Kara genealogy quoted in it does not resemble in any way the same as found in the Baud plates of the year 158 as well as the Talcher plates of the years 145 and 149. As already indicated above, the fact that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate does not mention Prithvīmahādēvi, who was her immediate predecessor according to Mr. De, but states that the queen was induced to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an earlier female ruler named Gōsvāmīnī is inexplicable and renders Mr. De's suggestion unconvincing.

One of Mr. De's arguments in favour of assigning the Dhenkanal plate to the year 160 seems to be that it was engraved by the brahmin Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana, while the two Talcher plates of the year 149 were engraved by the brahmin Rahasavardhana, son of Rāmavardhana, and one of the Baud plates of the year 158 by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. His identification of Harivardhana, engraver of the Baud plates of the year 158, with Harivardhana who engraved the Dhenkanal plate appears to support his contention assigning the latter record to the year 160. But considering the difficulties in ascribing the Dhenkanal plate to such a late date, which have been detailed above, as well as the fact that several records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty mention the Vardhana family of brahmins and the very name Harivardhana occurring in the Chaurai plate assigned to the year 73,¹ it does not appear improbable that the engraver of the Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved one set of the Baud plates.²

It may be noted here that the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhuvanamahādēvi I, surnamed Sindagaurī and Gōsvāmīnī (II), as given in the records of the years 145, 149 and 158, which have been discussed above, are not clearly described in the Dhenkanal plate. The Talcher plate of the year 145, as we have seen, says that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Śubhākara III but abdicated in favour of her grandson as soon as the latter passed over his minority. This gives the impression that the queen ruled for a short period during the minority of her grandson, although, in ancient India, minority was never a bar to one's accession to the throne.³ On this point the Baud plates, which are silent on the relation between Gōsvāmīnī (Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) and her predecessor Kusumahāra (Śubhākara III), add that Śubhākara III died without leaving any heir. It seems therefore that Śāntikara II, sur-

¹ Miers, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

² The two may also be one and the same person. The case is similar to that of Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuachandra, who engraved some, but not all, of the Eastern Ganga charters bearing dates between the Ganga years 28 and 91. See *IIQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 230; *JASRS*, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.

³ See *JRASBL*, Vol. XII, pp. 71 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

named Lōgabhāra and Gayāḍa II, may have been adopted as the son of Śubhākara III by the latter's chief queen sometime after his death and his mother's accession to the throne. Mr. De's speculation in regard to the relation between Tribhuvanamahādēvi I and her successor does not appeal to me.

In our opinion therefore the known inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara family reveal the existence of two and not three ruling queens named Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi I was the mother of Śubhākara III and ruled for some years after her son's death when her Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 120. She was the daughter of a Śinda king enjoying the name or *śiruda* Rājamalla. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was the daughter of the Sōmayadhī king Syabdhavatuṅga of Kosala (South Kosala) who, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ seems to be no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (circa 970-1000 A.C.²). It has also been noticed how Prithvinahādēvi secured the Bhauma-Kara throne in a temporarily successful contest against the lawful claims of the sons of her husband's younger brother with the active help of her father sometime before the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and how this fact helps us in locating the commencement of the said era about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.³ We have also shown how the Daopalla plates of Śatrukhaṇḍa of Vaiṣṇulvaka, who was a descendant of Raṣabhaṇḍa of Dhūṇipura (about the third quarter of the tenth century⁴) and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century, bear the date : year 188 (apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era). Vishnu-saṅkrānti, Pañchami, Sunday and Mṛgaśīrṣ-nakṣatra, suggesting March 23, 1029 A.C., and how this fact helps us in tracing the initial year of the era in 831 A.C.⁵ The date of the Baud plates of the year 158 thus appears to be 988 A.C.

The epithet *Vīrāṣaṇḍalābhaya-Vrāgaḍikakalāmahatāśīlākhā*, applied to the lady Śaśīlākhā at whose request the grants recorded in the Baud plates were made, seems to suggest that she was born in the Vīrāṣa dynasty but was married into the Vrāgaḍi family. Her husband Maṅgalakalasa therefore does not appear to have been a Bhāṇḍa prince of the Mayurbhaṇḍ region as suggested by Mr. De. The identification of Maṅgalakalasa, taken to be a Bhāṇḍa prince of Mayurbhaṇḍ, with Śatrukhaṇḍa Maṅgalasūja of the Jangalpāḍa plates is unlikely as the findspot and style of this record show that the chief ruled in the Ganjam region and belonged to the house of the Bhāṇḍas of Vaiṣṇulvaka.⁶ In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to connect him with the Bhāṇḍas of Mayurbhaṇḍ. The facts that the temple built by Śaśīlākhā was called Nānāśvarāyatana after her deceased father Nānna and that a village granted in its favour included a locality called Nānāśvaratalapātaka appear to suggest that both the temple and the gift village were situated in the same area of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* (modern Danton region of the Midnapur District, West Bengal). As Śaśīlākhā may have built the temple and arranged for the gift of land in its favour in the area under the jurisdiction of her husband who enjoyed the gubernatorial status of *Mahāsamantabāḥyapati* under the Bhauma-Karas, it is not improbable to think that Maṅgalakalasa was the ruler of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*.

¹ *JASL*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1903, pp. 116 ff.

² *CE. IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 207.

³ See above, . . . *JASL*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. . . . *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

⁶ *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 229-30.

No. 32—NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA : SAKA 1091

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDRY

These plates were found in the village of *Nandūrn* in *Bapatla taluk*, Guntur District, about fifty years ago and were forwarded by the Tahsildar of Bapatla to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, early in 1917. They were examined and numbered as C. P. No. 23 of 1916-17, and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1917*, pages 118-119. The following description of the plates appears in the *Annual Report*.*

"The plates are 5 in number and are hung on a big ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a *scot* which bears the legend 'Śrī-Tribhuvānādikūṣa' between two lines with the symbols of the sun, the moon and star, two parasols, the Chōla Tiger, *akūsa*, *lotus* and the *śaṁkha* (?) above, and the Chālukya bear, the disc (*chakra*), sandals, drum, double-cane, lamp stands and a few other unintelligible symbols below."

It is said that the ring was not cut when the plates reached the Epigraphist's office. The Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, observed, therefore, "it is curious how despite this the set is incomplete commencing as it does with No. 3, marked on the second side of the existing plate and stopping abruptly with the mention of the dinner, omitting the usual imprecations, etc." He, therefore, assumed that the plates had been examined sometime before that and that the now missing plates were lost on that occasion. I am, however, of a different opinion. The two outer plates must have been completely worn out and corroded on account of their extremely bad preservation. They would have crumbled down to pieces and powder at the first touch when they were discovered. The worn out condition of the writing on the inner plates must be due to the bad preservation of the plates. Whatever that might be, it is true as Krishna Sastri observed, "the information conveyed by the existing plates is very interesting, giving us, as they do, an account of the later Chālukya sovereigns who held sway over the Vēṅgi country down to the time of Rājārāja (II) and of their subordinates the Velanāṇḍu chiefs down to Rājendra-Chōḍa". The importance of the plates is further enhanced by the fact that it is the only copper-plate grant of the kings of the Velanāṇḍu family who controlled and guided the destinies of the Chōla-Chālukya Empire and the fortunes of the country of Vēṅgi for nearly a century and half, from about 1070 to about 1210 A.C.

I undertook the editing of these plates several years ago but continued preoccupation with other matters from time to time had prevented me from carrying out the work entrusted to me in 1927 by the then Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri. I now edit the inscription from the ink impressions supplied to me by him. As the ink-impressions are not clear in some places and as the original plates were not available to me for examination, the reading of the inscription in some portions had to be supplemented with the help of some lithic records¹ of the family found at Drākahārāma and other places.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the five plates which are roughly 9½" long and 5" wide, and rectangular in shape. The writing on the plates is very clumsy. Often the letters are found crammed into one another; they are also irregular and much worn out on account of the bad preservation of the plates. The number of lines on each plate is not uniform: the number varies from twelve to fourteen and even to seventeen lines. The available text of the inscription runs into 137 lines; out of them, however, the last two lines on plate F-b (lines 128-9) are wholly unintelligible.

* The *Annual Report* states that the original plates were returned to the owner through the Tahsildar. I have tried in vain to trace them.

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry is fairly good, though the language contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. Thus for instance: line 4 has *pañcha-Pāṇḍar-ākhaṇḍal-āpanāḥ*; line 9 has *prasaṅga-sarūḥ*; lines 14-15 have *collabhān-nirbhāra-garbha-śhārām*; and line 27, *subhastā*. The inscription is written in **characters** which are regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 12th century A.C. According to Dr. Burnell, such characters belong to what he called the "transitional period". The following **orthographical** peculiarities may, however, be noticed. Vowels *a* and long *ā*, short *i* and *u* and long *ī* occur in the inscription. The long *ā* is distinguished by a vertical stroke at the right side. Vowels *i* and *u* have reached their final forms, and are fully developed. No distinction is yet drawn between *e* and *ē* long. Both are written alike. There is no vertical stroke on the head of *e* to denote the long *ē* as we find at the present day. There is not much distinction between *ḍ* and *ḍh*; and final forms of *as*, *us*, and *is* are used in the inscription. The *vargaṇamārika* is substituted by the *amanāra* which is denoted by a *bindu* throughout. Sometimes words like *caṇḍa* and *dayitā* are written as *raṇḍa* and *dayitā*, which is apparently in accordance with the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words in the Krishna and Guntur Districts, where the sibilant *ṣ* is always joined with *g*. The scribe has not followed any principle in doubling the consonants.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Inūṁgarra** as an *agrahāra* to a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, on an auspicious occasion by king Rājendra-Chōḍa II, who is stated to be ruling over Andhra-maṇḍala as commissioned by Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II of the Chālukya-Chōḍa family (Lines 133-4). The name of the donee and the district in which the village was situated have been unfortunately lost on the missing last plate. The village Inūṁgarra granted in the record may be identified with Inūṁgarripāḍu¹, a village in the vicinity of Nandāra, the headspot of the present plates, in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur District. At the time of making the grant, Rājendra-Chōḍa is stated to be staying in his capital, **Dhanadapurī**, i.e., Chanda-volu in Repalle taluk, Guntur District. The **date** of the grant is given as Śaka 1091 (*śaka-saṁdā-vigata-chandra-gaṇitā*) and as the 23rd year of Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II (lines 133-134). The Śaka year which is an expired year corresponds to 1169-70 A.C.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part (lines 1-67) contains the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas, treating of Kulōttunga-Chōḍa I and his successors down to Rājārāja II as Chālukyas and not as Chōḍas. The second part (lines 68 ff.) describes the history of the Chiefs of Velanāṇḍu or, members of the Velanāṇḍi family, who enjoyed the position of subordinate kings under the Chōḍa-Chālukyas. There are many new statements in the account relating to the Eastern Chālukyas, which differ from what we know hitherto. Some of them may be explained as errors committed by the scribe who engraved the inscription on the plates. Thus, for example, Narēndra, i.e., Narēndramṇigaraṇḍa-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya II is called the son of Vijayāditya I, or Vijayāditya-Bhūttāraka (line 38), while in fact he was the son of Viśhṇu-varḍhana IV. In a similar manner a Viśhṇuvarḍhana is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya II, and is given a reign of thirty-six years (lines 39-40). This king must be Viśhṇuvarḍhana IV, the father of Narēndramṇigaraṇḍa, and not his son as wrongly described here. Apparently the order in the narration is confused. Again the son of Viśhṇuvarḍhana IV is said to be Kālī-Viśhṇuvarḍhana or Viśhṇuvarḍhana V, and is given a reign of half a year (line 41) while it is known from other records of the dynasty that he reigned for one and a half years, or twenty months according to some, and that

¹ Usually when a village is deserted and disappears for a period, the site is denoted by the term *pāḍu*; and when a new village springs up on the spot after an interval, it is called with the suffix *pāḍu* super added to the old name. So it must be with Inūṁgarripāḍu, (i.e. the *pāḍu* of Inūṁgarra, or Inūṁgarre).

he was the son of Narāyaṇapigaraḥ-Vijayāditya II and not of Vishnupārdhana V. It would seem that the engraver, while copying the grant on copper-plates, got confused and changed the order or sequence of the verses on the plate. He should have written verse 19 after verse 17; in other words, the proper order of the verses should be, first, verse 17, then verse 19 and lastly verse 18. If the inscription is read in this order the apparent confusion disappears. Krishna Sastri's observation,¹ viz., that "The reign of Vishnupārdhana IV is altogether omitted and a new Vishnupārdhana, a son of Vijayāditya (II), is mentioned with a rule of 60 years, followed by Kālī-Vishnupārdhana", need no longer be held as complicating the genealogical position. Another discrepancy is in respect of the reign of Dānārāja who is said to have ruled for 30 years (line 50), instead of 3 years. The reign of Vīra-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya VIII,² younger brother of Rājārāja I is altogether omitted. Yet another erroneous statement is that Kulōttunga-Chōla I is said to have ruled for twenty-five years (line 58) instead of fifty as known hitherto. Except for these errors the genealogical account is accurate. It is noteworthy that the historical account contains some new information about a few kings. Chālukya-Bhīma I is said to have destroyed his enemies on numerous battlefields, and to have built several temples of Mahādēva (Śiva) at sacred spots (lines 42-43). His son Vijayāditya IV who is well known by his surname Kollabhiṇḍa from the records of the family, is stated to have obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Virajāpurī, captured the city and went to heaven (line 44), a statement which may be taken to indicate that he died shortly after the battle, a fact not known hitherto. Virajāpurī may be properly identified with Jajpur (which is apparently a variant of Virajāpurī) the chief town of the Jajpur *taluk* of the Cuttack District, Orissa. It lies on the Vaitarani, a tributary of the Mahānadi situated about fifty miles due north-west of Cuttack. During the ancient period, it was a great and renowned *tirtha*, "a place of pilgrimage," according to the *Mahābhārata*.³ Virajā or Virajāpurī was for a long time a provincial capital of the Bhūma-Kara kings of Utkala and the Śāmaṇḍa kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kōṣala who bore the epithet, *Trikalāyādhipati*.⁴ Kollabhiṇḍa's son was Anuma I who is said to have performed many *Tulāpurnā-dānas* (gifts) year after year during his brief rule of seven years (line 44). Vikrama-Chōla, son and successor of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, is given the correct period of rule, viz., seventeen years (lines 60-61), which is in conformity with the regnal years recorded in some of the inscriptions of the Andhra country and in Tamil inscriptions as well. His son Kulōttunga-Chōla II is said to have reigned for fifteen years in succession (lines 64-65). Lastly, the relationship between Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājārāja II, which has not been hitherto correctly known, is clearly stated in the present record as that of father and son (lines 65-66).

The second part of the inscription contains a brief account of the Velanāṇḍi family. It gives a complete genealogy which in some respects supplements the account given in the Pithāpuram inscription of Velanāṇḍi Pithivēvara.⁵ The following genealogical table represents the information that is contained in the present inscription.

¹ *ASSIN*, 1017, p. 118.

² Dr. Fleet was not aware of Biddapa the issuer, who was also a Vijayāditya and therefore would be Vijayāditya VII. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 276.

³ *Aranga-Purana*, 83, v. 6.

Tullā Tulāpurnāda gatai mullā pūṇi-purnāchārāḍi (

Virajāṇi tirthamūḍaḍaḍa virajāṇi gullāḍi mūḍi)

⁴ *Akera*, Vol. III, p. 327.

⁵ *Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 121, text-line 17.

⁶ *Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.

Christy and I

Malla-hūṇa (Malla I)

(Obtained the rulership of Velanadu from Trivabhaka-Pallava with all the insignia of a subordinate king)

Malliyā (11)

(Servant of Narāndra, i.e., Narāndraupigārāja-Vijayāditya II)

Pidaxia

Курс II

Mallīya (II) = Koṭṭyapāmbā, or Koḷlaṣpāmbā¹
(Foremost among the subordinates of Chāṣukya-Bhīma II)

Barlya (II) m. Kappāmbhā
(Vamśakartā)

Котра

Mallorya (IV)

Kuṣṭha (1)
tained (Andravāra-
laya from Vima-
lāditya)

Ganda (1)

Page 10

Zurück

Fr...

(Commander-in-chief of
Vishpuyardhana, i.e.,
Rājārāṇa I)

Pañja (II) m. Guḍāhikā

Vedam.

Conto #111

Goñka I m. Sabbāmbikā
(Obtained *Shat-mahar-āraṇi-viśaya*
from Kulastunga-Chōla I by assisting
him on battlefields)

$$M_{\text{all}}(V)$$

250

Chōdo I m. Gendōbikō

Goḍaka II m. Saṁskṛitika.

(Set up golden pinnacles on temples which
looked like jagatambhas)

$$\text{Purification (IV)}$$

Rājendra-Chōla (II)

(Obtained the Andhra country surrounded by the sea on the east, Kālahaṣṭi on the south, Śrīśaṭa on the west and Mahēndragiri on the north, from Rājaraṇa (II) and ruled it as his subordinate. Destroyed Kolanāṣṭi Bhīma (i.e., *Māṇḍalikha* Bhīma of Kolana-nāṣṭi or Kolana-Bhīma and his entire family). Donor of the present record, dated Śaka 1001, 33rd regnal year of Rājaraṇa (II).)

¹ The present inscription is damaged at the place where the name is expected to occur. The name, therefore, is restored from other records of the family which give the nomenclature.

The account given in the Pithāpuram inscription differs slightly from the pedigree given above. The differences are discussed below. Besides the Pithāpuram inscription there are numerous other inscriptions on stone found particularly at Drākshārāma¹ in East Godavari District, at Siripuram² and Chābraṇ in Guntur District and other places³ which give additional historical information about the family. A stone inscription at Drākshārāma⁴ gives a genealogical account which not only completely agrees with the present record but gives additional information. The historical details found in these inscriptions have not been arranged so far in their proper perspective which I now propose to do.

The first known historical person in the Velanānti family, who may be regarded as the founder of the line in the rulership of Velanāṇḍu is Malla-bhūpa or Malla I. Velanāṇḍu or Velanāḍu is the name of the region now covered by the Rayala and Tentli *taluk*s of the Guntur District. The region acquired the name probably because it lay on the sea coast (*velā*), the Sanskrit word being pronounced as *vela* with short vowels by the inhabitants of that region during the early period.⁵ The term *Velanāṇḍi* is the genitive form of Velanāṇḍu (nominative form) and means "of Velanāṇḍu" in Telugu. Malla I, it is stated, received as a reward the rulership of Velanāṇḍu with the insignia of a vassal king from Tryambaka-Pallava who was pleased with him for military services rendered for a long time on battlefields. Malla I was probably a soldier of fortune, who came from the north in search of a kingdom, and thus acquired a small kingdom for himself. Several Durjaya chieftains, too, similarly claimed to have obtained from king Tryambaka-Pallava, military fiefs on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā river as rewards for their military services. King Tryambaka-Pallava, Trimayana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuvetti may not, therefore, be a doubtful historical person as some scholars opine; he need not be regarded as a mere fictitious person, brushing aside a large volume of historical tradition embodied in numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates and scattered all over the country. Elsewhere⁶ Tryambaka-Pallava has been identified with the powerful king Vijaya-Skulavarman IV, and allotted a reign period of thirty-five years (c. 490-495 A.C.). Malla I, therefore, would appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Malla-bhūpa I, until we come to Malliya II who is described as a renowned soldier. It is said that he was a follower of Narēndra, who may be identified with Narēndranagarāja-Vijayāditya II. Malliya II, it is stated, rendered great assistance to king Narēndra (on the battlefields) with the sharp edge of his fierce sword which was like a thunderbolt (v. 36 : lines 72-75). According to Dr. Fleet,⁷ Narēndranagarāja-Vijayāditya II reigned from 798 to 843 A.C. for forty-four years, while according to my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chāḍalayas*,⁸ the king's period is only forty years, from 808 to 847 A.C. Malliya II would thus appear to have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. In the lineage of Malliya II was born Pijuvurāditya, or Pijuvulāditya as the Drākshārāma stone inscription⁹ calls him. The son of Pijuvurāditya was Kriya (I), and his son was Malliya III. In the Drākshārāma inscription the name of Malla or Malliya is lost in the lacuna. It is stated in that inscription that Malla III (Malliya III) was foremost among the followers of Chāḍukya-Bhīma who may be identified with Chāḍukya-Bhīma II (933-945 A.C.). Malla III married Kollapāshā according to

¹ *SIJ*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1041, 1094, 1113, 1147, 1188, 1140, 1141, 1153, 1164 : 1182, etc.

² *SIJ*, Vol. X, Nos. 177, etc.

³ *SIJ*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 123, 124, 144, 181, 224, 239, 1200, etc.

⁴ See *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

⁵ [This derivation is doubtful.—Ed.]

⁶ *A History of The Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 231.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

⁸ *Journal of the Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 37-32.

⁹ *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

- * the present plates but the Drākshārāma inscription gives her name as Kōṭṭyapāmbā. The reading of her name as Kollapāmbā (line 77) in the present charter seems to be rather doubtful, for the second letter in the name is indistinct on the plate. It is probable, therefore, that her name as written there is Kōṭṭyapāmbā. There is a marked divergence in the genealogical portion between the account of the Pithāpuram inscription and the information given in the present plates. According to the Pithāpuram inscription,¹ the founder of the family was No. (1) Malla I, his son was No. (2) Eṭṭiyavarman and his son was No. (3) Kuṭṭiyavarman. The son of No. (3) was No. (4) Malla II surnamed Pḍuvarāḍitya and the latter's son was No. (5) Kuṭṭiyavarman or Kuṭṭiyavarman II, who was a vassal of the emperor, Vimalāditya (1011-1019 A.C.).² The Pithāpuram inscription thus omits three or four generations, and mentions all the princes from No. 1 to No. 7 Nannirāja in the relationship of father to son. Its information is thus rendered comparatively less probable and not so trustworthy. Its evidence may, therefore, be rejected in preference to the information furnished by the present inscription which agrees in full with the accounts given in the Drākshārāma record that belongs to a period much earlier than the Pithāpuram inscription. Malla III, who was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma II is altogether omitted in the Pithāpuram inscription. The Drākshārāma inscription is contemporaneous with the present record.

To return to Malla III of the present record. He married Kōṭṭyapāmbā (Kōṭṭyapāmbā) and had two sons by her, Eṭṭiya II who is described as *yēshātha* 'the elder' and *maṭṭāḍarṭā*, 'the progenitor of the family', and Kōṭṭya. Eṭṭiya II married Kappāmbā and had six sons by her, Malla IV, Kuṭṭiya, Gaṇḍa, Paṇḍa I, Nanna and Kāṇḍa, every one of whom resembled Shanyukha, the six-faced war-god. Kuṭṭiya, it is said, was a vassal of the emperor Vimalāditya, and received from him the rulership of the province, *Gudravāra-vishaya*. This prince is evidently the same as No. 5 Kuṭṭiyavarman II or Kuṭṭiyavarman, of the Pithāpuram inscription in which he is stated to have rendered assistance for a long time on battlefields to Vimalāditya who then having been pleased bestowed on him the territory, *Gudravāra-dvaya*, "the two provinces of Gudravāra" (vv. 16-18). The two Gudravāras may be identified with the Gudravāra³ corresponding to the *Gudrāvāra taluk* and with the Pallapa-Gudravāra⁴, 'low lying Gudravāra', corresponding to the *Kaikalūru taluk*, of the Krishna District. Nanna, the younger brother of Kuṭṭiyavarman, is described as a great hero and as a prince of praiseworthy character. It is said that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Vishnucandhana, i.e., Rājārāja-Narēndra or Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.). Nanna's son was Paṇḍa I whose wife Guṇḍāḍibikā resembled Kuntī of epic fame. While in the present record Paṇḍa I and Guṇḍāḍibikā are stated to have had five sons, Vedura, Gaṇḍa II, Gaṇḍa I, Malla V and Paṇḍa II who were like the five Pāṇḍavas, the Pithāpuram inscription, on the other hand, makes these five princes the children of Nanna. There is another discrepancy between the Pithāpuram inscription and the present record. Kuṭṭiyavarman II, it is stated in the former (v. 25), had a son named Erraya to whom he transferred his kingdom after having ruled the earth for a long time; and the latter, however, does not mention any son of Kuṭṭiya, vassal of Vimalāditya. It is, therefore, probable that Kuṭṭiyavarman II or Kuṭṭiya was succeeded by his younger brother Nannarāja in the rulership of his vassal kingdom. The Drākshārāma record, too, does not mention that Kuṭṭiyavarman II transferred his kingdom to his son Erraya, a fact mentioned only in the Pithāpuram inscription. Nanna, the Pithāpuram inscription states, had destroyed a crowd of

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 35.

² All the records of the family beginning with the reign of Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.) state that Vimalāditya reigned for only seven years. The date of his coronation is known to us from his Rajastipāyāgi grant (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 341-367). Hence it is assumed that his seven year's rule came to an end in 1019 A.C.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 125-39, 377, Vol. V, No. 211.

⁴ C. P. No. 5 of 1937-38; Kalahasti grant of Rājārāja-Narēndra. See above, p. 69 text-line 73.

enemies, and ruled a kingdom which he acquired by the strength of his arm. There is no agreement, however, between the Drākshārāma inscription and the present record with regard to the order of the five sons of Parāja I. The former record mentions Malla V as the second and Gaṇḍa II as the fourth son, while the latter makes their position vice versa. This small discrepancy may be ignored. Of the five sons of Parāja I, Goṅka I was the most distinguished and is also described as the *emē-sakartā*. The Drākshārāma inscription calls him a great hero. He was a trusted vassal of the emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. The Piṭhāpuram inscription (v. 27) states of prince Goṅka I that he was the most distinguished of his brothers and that he ruled the Andhra-magadala as a vassal of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. The present record, too, corroborates that account by stating that Goṅka I having pleased that emperor by his services on the battlefields and by destroying hosts of his enemies, obtained as a reward from him, the rulership of the provinces known as *Shasasakartānāḥ*, 'the Six Thousand District' on the southern bank of the river Kṛishnā (v. 46). Goṅka I was appointed *Samanta-sānādhipati* by Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I according to a stone inscription at Chābrōḥ¹ in Guntur District, dated Friday, the 12th February, 1077 A.C.

Rājendra-Chōla I called merely Chōla in the present record, son of Velanāyṭi Goṅkarāja I and Sahabāmbikā, was the next illustrious prince of the family. Though the present plates do not mention much about him the Piṭhāpuram inscription on the other hand states that he was adopted as his own son by the Chājukya-Chōla emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, who furnished him with emblems befitting his own sons and made him the ruler of the kingdom of Vāṅgimayyala-sixteen-thousand (vv. 35-36). The reason for the Chōla king's adoption of a prince of the *Chaturthakula*, apparently a well grown up person, himself being a full-blooded *lokasriya* emperor, would seem to be imbedded in the history of that troublous period. Perhaps Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had no grown up son at that juncture to take up the burden of ruling the disturbed kingdom of Vāṅgi, apparently in succession to Vira-Chōla. This event would seem to have taken place in 1094 A.C., immediately before the expedition against Kalinga was undertaken. And it would appear that within a short time Rājendra-Chōla had brought the Kalinga war to a successful close. In the words of the Piṭhāpuram inscription prince Chōla "resembled the terrible Bhīma in uprooting crowds of hostile kings (v. 36)." While the *Kābhagattappanṇai* makes the Pallava chief, Karuṇākara, Tondaimān, the sole hero of the Kalinga war, the inscriptions of the Andhra country on the other hand reveal altogether a different story. There are reasons to believe that the supreme command of the imperial forces was assumed by Rājendra-Chōla himself. All the inscriptions of the Andhra country which refer to the war with Kalinga unmistakably bear testimony to this fact.² The stone inscription at Drākshārāma³ of the vassal chief Pallavarāja surnamed Tiruvārāṅga, gives a vivid account of the Kalinga war. It states that Pallavarāja who bore the secondary name Parājavarāja had obtained prosperity by his devotion to the feet of king Rājendra-Chōla who rewarded him with the insignia of royalty and made him a vassal king. The inscription states that Pallavarāja⁴ who is also called Chōḷachandra, having reduced to ashes the whole of Kalinga, subdued the Gaṅga king in battle, and having destroyed Dhāndatasarma and others together with their vast armies

¹ *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 106. There seems to be a slight error in the date. There was no eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Māgha, Saka 988, when Goṅka I is stated to have made a grant to the temple of Mahālakshadēva at Chābrōḥ. If, however, we assume that Phālguna was intended and that the acile by mistake signified Māgha for Phālguna, the date would be regular.

² *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 602 (vv. 8-9), Vol. X, No. 107, Vol. IV, No. 1133, Vol. X, No. 61.

³ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1230. This has been published with notes and translation. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 124 ff. In my opinion Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not properly interpreted the inscription. He has made many doubtful identifications.

⁴ Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer thinks that this Pallavarāja was the same as the hero of Jayamangalā's *Kāṭiṅga-tapani*. The identification is improper. There might have been several Pallavarājas in the Chōla army. Moreover Jayamangalā's hero does not bear any of the names, Tiruvārāṅga, Parājavarāja or Chōḷachandra.

from Kāśala, planted a pillar of victory (*jagatamūḍha*¹) at the meeting place of the boundaries of Odra and Andhra countries in order to proclaim the glory and fame of his overlord, Rājendra-Chōḍa. Dēvāntravarman may be identified with Dēvāntravarman the usurper who, taking advantage of the infancy of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga on the death of Rājaraḍja-Dēvāntravarman in 1077 A.C., occupied Kallāṅga; he was the donor of the Kaṭṭhakaḍya plates, dated Śaka 1003 expired,² and he was the same as king Dēvāntravarman mentioned in the Gāra stone record.³

It is not known when Rājendra-Chōḍa I died; he was certainly living on the date of the Drākṣhārāma inscription of Pallavarāja, wherein he is referred to as living at that time. His death may have occurred, therefore, about 1104 A.C. Rājendra-Chōḍa ruled over Viṅḡimappala from about 1094 to 1104 A.C. He was a devotee of Mokunda or Viṣṇu according to the present record (v. 49) and the Piṭhāpuram inscription (v. 36), unlike his natural father Goṅka I and his adoptive parent, the emperor, who were both *parama-mūḍhārātra*, i.e., staunch worshippers of Śiva. Rājendra-Chōḍa I married Guṇḍāritika and had two sons by her, Goṅkarāja II, who resembled Deha or Kumārasvāmin, and Paṇḍa IV.⁴ On the death of Velanṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa I the emperor was once more confronted with the problem of finding a successor to administer Vēṅgi. Kuḷōṭṭuṅga-Chōḍa I did not, however, nominate Goṅkarāja II but appointed another trusted and powerful vassal, Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa,⁵ the Hailaya ruler of Kōṇamappala, the territory that lay between the two branches of the lower Chōḍavāsi, the Vāṇḍiḍḍi and the Gaṇṭami.

The next important member of the family, perhaps the most illustrious of all, mentioned in the present plates is Velanṭi Goṅka II, or Goṅkarāja II, Kuḷōṭṭuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅkarāja or Kuḷōṭṭuṅga-Chōḍa-Śāṅḡya-Goṅkarāja as he is also called in some inscriptions. He appears as the foremost soldier and powerful vassal in the kingdom during the minority of prince Parāśakti. A stone record from Tripurāntakam⁶ dated Śaka 1028 in the cyclic year Sarvajit, of Mahāmūḍaḍḍaṇḍa Velanṭi Goṅka II, registers the gift of the village of Cetaḷapāḍu in Kanumanḍa on the banks of the river Guṇḍara, to the god Tripurāntakavara-Śiva, on the occasion of the full-moon day of Kārtika. The record is interesting: it gives Goṅka II the title *Chōḷukyaṇḍya-bhuvan-mūḷatumbha*, "the chief pillar supporting the edifice which is the kingdom of the Chōḷukyas", and the epithet, *Samatṭigata-paṭha-mūḍhārātra*, "one who has attained (the status of having) the five great sounds", and speaks of him as the ruler of the *Tiṭṭa-ottara-akṣa-sahasraṇḍam-viśaya*, i.e., "the six thousand and three hundred country". The date is irregular: the cyclic year Sarvajit did not coincide with the Śaka 1028 expired, but with the following year 1029 expired, corresponding to 1107-28 A.C. Be that as it may, from this date roughly till the day of his death half a century later, Goṅkarāja II remained the most important person in the kingdom. He was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom which extended from the Mahāndragiri on the north to Kālābasti on the south, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Chōḷa-Chāḷukya emperor. The kingdom of Vēṅgi which almost slipped out of the hands of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas after the death of Kuḷōṭṭuṅga-Chōḍa I would appear to have been re-conquered by Velanṭi Goṅkarāja II from the commanders of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Trihuvana-malla Vikramāditya VI who had earlier occupied the country, after a protracted struggle, towards the close of the reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa.

¹ Perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned in *SIJ*, Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.

² *Epigraphia*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 115 ff., where Mr. B. Somasekhara Sastri edits the record, C.E. No. 9 of 1937-38. The chronogram recorded in the inscription has to be interpolated as yielding the Śaka 1003 and not 1103 as Mr. Sastri believes.

³ No. 201 of 1932-33; *ARSIJ*, 1932-3, p. 56, para. 9. See also *ARSIJ*, 1934 p. 44.

⁴ *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 1337, text lines 3 and 16, and the present plates.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 63, text line 48.

⁶ *SIJ*, Vol. X, No. 62.

It would appear that during the last years of Kulōttunga-Chōla I almost every one of the vassals of Vēṅgi became hostile to the Chōla-Chālukyas, opposed the policy of the emperor and only eagerly waited for a favourable opportunity to overthrow the Chōla-Chālukya suzerainty. On the other hand, the Durjaya and other clans of the *Chatuvtha-kula* holding fiefdoms and military holdings in the region lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā river would appear to have remained loyal to the imperial throne of the Chālukya-Chōlas and proudly called themselves, *Chālukya-rājya-bhāgīnāmūla-sambhōgānānata*,¹ *Vēṅgi-Chālukya-anātakāra*,² "the champion warriors of the (Chālukya) (of Vēṅgi)," and lastly *Chālukya-rājya-samadhārita*,³ "the uplifter of the sovereignty of the Chālukya." Those who proved refractory and sought opportunity to put an end to the Chālukya-Chōla domination, were the Telugu (Tenuḡu) Chōla clans of the Southern Andhra country, the Haihaya feudatories and other Kāshatriya vassals including the descendants of the junior branches of the Imperial Chālukyas who held principalities all over the country.

Shortly before the death of the aged emperor Kulōttunga-Chōla I, it would appear, Parāntaka, his surviving eldest son, returned to the Chōla country. The Pithāpattam inscription of Mallapa-dēva⁴ states that when Vikrama-Chōla, whose other name was Trāgasamudra, had gone to protect the Chōla-maṇḍala, the country of Vēṅgi became devoid of a ruler. At that juncture, the kingdom of Vēṅgi, it would appear, was divided against itself. The Chālukya emperor, Tribhuvanamalla, who was evidently watching the turn of events in Vēṅgi despatched armies to invade and occupy the country. There are reasons to believe that some of the powerful Kāshatriya vassals in Vēṅgi openly joined the invading armies, now led by *Mahāśāmantādhīpati Mahāprachanda-dāpānāpala Anantapāla*,⁵ and welcomed them. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably *Mahāśāmantādhīpati Kolann-Bhīma* or *Bhīmanāyaka*, the Haihaya ruler of the *Kolann viśaya*, or *Saguna viśaya* which was the other name for the region round the Kollāru lake. He and his confederates particularly the Haihayas of *Palnāḍi* and *Kōṇa-maṇḍala* acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas and quoted the Chālukya-Vikrama year in their records. But Velanāṭṭi Gāṇḍarāja II, as the commander-in-chief (*samanta-sāmantādhīpati*) of the king of Vēṅgi, soon assumed the authority of the ruler of Vēṅgi and stoutly opposed the invading armies. The Western Chālukya invasion resulted in the temporary occupation of the kingdom, from about 1117 to 1135 A.C., roughly for a period of two decades.⁶

During the period of confusion and anarchy an Eastern Chālukya prince, Viśakhavāḍana, probably lord of *Niravadyapatta* (modern Nijalavāḍu), or *Rājamahāndravaram*, crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed imperial titles.⁷ His coronation would seem to have taken place about Saka 1046 corresponding to 1124 or 1125 A.C.⁸ It would appear that he was soon brought to subjection and pardoned.⁹ Yet another prince, Vijayāditya, lord of Pithāpattam and a descen-

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 945, 796318, 946, 1127, 1128 and 1129.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 717, 762.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV Nos. 1167, 1177 and 1249.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verso 24, text lines 60-62.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 102 and 106.

⁶ *SI*, Vol. III, Part II, No. 79, text line 8; *JBE*, No. 40 of 1920, *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 32, verso 45.

⁷ There are numerous records on stone dated in the C.V. era scattered all over the Eastern Andhra country which prove the Western Chālukya occupation of Vēṅgi. Notable among them are those found at *Triperikotabam* (*SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 213), *Kollāru* (*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 193 and 196), *Garimā* (*Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 37) and *Drāśahāṇa* (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 926 (1126 A.C.), 1309 and 1310 (1121 A.C.), Nos. 1216, 1256, 1311 (1122 A.C.), No. 1337 (1123 A.C.), No. 1243 (1124 A.C.), No. 1294 (1125 A.C.), and 1229 (1126 A.C.) and again, *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1166, 1156, 1083 and 1090 dated in the years C.V. era, corresponding to 1123-24 and 1125 A.C., and lastly at *Chālukya-Bhīmavaram* (*SI*, Vol. V, No. 68).

⁸ *Annual Report on S.I. Epigraphy*, 1912, para. 66, page 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ The (Rajamahendray) stone inscription in question is dated the 31st year of his rule, Saka 1067.

dant of Kanchukā-Bēta crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chālukya title Sarvaśakāratya-Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja.¹ His coronation took place on the 14th February 1128.² He was the son of Maḥapadēva II, and his mother Chandallādēvi was the daughter of Kolanu Brāhmarāja³ and probably, therefore, a sister of Mahāmāṇḍalaka Kolanu-Bhīmarāja, the lord of Sagara visaya, whom the Tamil inscriptions call Toluṅga-Bhīman.⁴ It would appear that Vijayāditya was defeated and reduced to submission after a short time, but restored to his principality by Velanāṭṭi Goṅkarāja II.

It would appear that at this period the operations against Mahāmāṇḍalaka Kolanu-Bhīma or Kolanāṭṭi Bhīma⁵ as the present record calls him (v. 55: lines 111-14), who was the most formidable opponent of the Chōḷa-Chāḷukyas, were directed by prince Rājendra-Chōḷa, afterwards Rājendra-Chōḷa II, son and successor of Goṅkarāja II. Unable to oppose Rājendra-Chōḷa in the open field, Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken up his position inside the famous *jala-durga* 'fortress in the water', of Kolanupura or Kollēra-kōṭa as it is called even to-day, in the middle of the lake, Kollēra.⁶ Rājendra-Chōḷa II invested the impregnable fortress, captured Kolanu-Bhīma alive and put him to death instantaneously together with all his sons and other near relations (vv. 55-56). The Piḷāṭṭam inscription of Piṭṭivēlvura⁷ gives a graphic description of the storming of Kolanupura. It is stated that Rājendra-Chōḷa II dried up the water of the lake Kollēra and presumably, by constructing a causeway across the water, reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhīma and killed him just as Rāvana killed Rāvaṇa who terrified the world. The present record speaks of Kolanu-Bhīma as haughty and cruel, full of pride, as a thorn to the gods and Brāhmaṇas, a man of massive strength, of great prowess and force frame of body and as resembling Rāvaṇa. The slaying of Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken place about the beginning of Śaka 1053 corresponding to about April, 1131 A. C., which was the thirteenth year of Vikrama-Chōḷa's reign.⁸ This event paved the way for the final victory of Goṅkarāja II. It enabled the Velanāṭṭi chief to crush the enemies of Vikrama-Chōḷa completely, put an end to the Western Chāḷukya occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas in Vēṅgi (c. 1135 A.C.)

Mahāmāṇḍalaka Velanāṭṭi Goṅkarāja was a great soldier, perhaps the greatest military genius of his day. He is said to have defeated and slain a certain Siddhi-Bēta and acquired the title *Siddhi-Bēta-Chirpuli-kariṇa-mṛgaśāstraka*, 'a lion to the deer Siddhi-Bēta of Chirpuli'.⁹ Siddhi-Bēta would appear to be a Telugu Chōḷa prince of Chirpuli in Rēnāṣa and a subordinate of Tribuvannalla Vikramāditya VI. Chirpuli (now called Chippili) is an obscure village in Chittoor

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff., verses 33-34.

² Ibid., verses 32-34. The date is expressed as *siddhi-jalandhi-vigraha-chaturthi*. Dr. Hultzsch shows his preference for 7 to 8 instead of as the interpreter meaning of the numeral *jalandhi*, on the ground that 'if he (Vijayāditya) had been crowned in 1049 his reign would have lasted for the unusually long period of 75 years. Dr. Hultzsch's view need not be taken as conclusive. For the word *jalandhi* is more often used to denote number 4 in preference to 7. Moreover two inscriptions found at Deḷḷichūrāms (*SIH*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1261 and 1291) dated the 2nd and 6th regnal years respectively of his son Rājendraya-Vishṇuvardhana, show that Vijayāditya ruled for about 50 years and that his death took place in or about 1175 A.C. Vijayāditya was perhaps 20 or 25 years old at the time of his coronation in 1128 A.C.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff., verse 33.

⁴ *SIH*, Vol. II, No. 68 and *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 79.

⁵ *Kolanāṭṭi* is a Telugu expression meaning *Kolanādēvi*, 'of the wife (subdivision) of Kolana'. To meet the exigencies of metre the poet distorted the word into *Kolanāṭṭi* dropping the intermediate syllable.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 1, v. 78. Here the poet distorted the word *Kolana* into *Kanada*.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 25, v. 45.

⁸ *SIH*, Vol. II, No. 68.

⁹ *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 916; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 59.

District, lying within a distance of two miles from Madanapalli. In the numerous inscriptions found at Nijubhōla, Drākshārāma and other places, Velanānti Goṅkarāja II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Marāja, Lāṭa, Karmāja, Kuntala, Andhra, Katakā and Trikalinga, and acquired the rulership of the Andhra country with the insignia of a paramount sovereign (*sāmudrāyīya-chākrasāḥ*) and enjoyed it.¹ A Drākshārāma inscription² states that Kulōttunga-Chōḷa II raised Goṅkarāja II, who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the *Tri-śat-ottara-śat-sakāntāra-nishaga* on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river, to the rulership of the Andhra country which was bounded by the Mahāendragiri on the north-east and Śrīśaila on the south-west, with the insignia of a subordinate king. The former statement is also borne out by the Telugu poem, *Kōyārabāhu-charitramu* of Mañchana.³

Goṅkarāja II married several wives but the chief queen was Sabbāśhikā. To them was born Rājendra-Chōḷa who is described as resembling Kumārasāyamin, the leader of the armies of gods.

It would appear that the latter part of the reign of Goṅkarāja II was peaceful and prosperous, i.e., from 1135 to 1161 A.C. Goṅkarāja was a great builder: he founded temples, established *sattalayas* 'charitable feeding houses'; he encouraged learning and granted innumerable *agrashālas* to the learned and the twice-born, i.e., *Brāhmanas*. He placed pinnacles over temples all over the land.⁴ He set up a massive golden pinnacle for the *gopura* of the temple of Bhīmanātha at Drākshārāma which he had built in 1133 A.C., evidently after he became the king of Vēṅgi.⁵ Goṅkarāja II made a rich offering to god Bhīmanātha for a perpetual light of camphor and for five perpetual lights of ghee; for that purpose and for the purpose of *bahārābhishēchana*, or ceremonial bath to the god with milk, every day, he gave away 500 cows to the temple.⁶ Roughly ten years later, in Śaka 1091, corresponding to 1142-43 A.D., he made a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Drākshārāma, accompanied by his wives, younger brother Paṇḍarāja, his son, prince Rājendra-Chōḷa II and other members of the royal family. On that memorable occasion, every one of the royal household placed four perpetual lights in the temple.⁷ And roughly six years later, Goṅkarāja II visited the temple of Bhīmanātha again and made a grant of 25 gold coins to be paid annually from out of the royal treasury to the temple for the celebration of the annual festival *daman-ōtara* for three consecutive days ending with the full-moon day of Chaitra.⁸ On that occasion, probably he built a *gōḷaka* (a globular roof studded with various kinds of gems in the inner shrine of the temple), a *kāshībhāgāra*, 'store house', and a beautiful *maṇḍapa* 'assembly hall' for the god Bhīmanātha. Further, for burning 25 perpetual lights more, with ghee, Goṅkarāja presented as many as 1000 shu-buffaloes to the temple. The occasion for these priceless gifts was the Karkṣāka-*śukrānti*, which occurred on the 25th June 1158 in the sixteenth or the closing year of the reign of Kulōttunga II. Goṅkarāja II also placed pinnacles of gold on the temples of Puruṣhōttama at Purī in Orissa and Śrī Mallikārjuna-Mahādēva at Śrīśailam on the south-west, which shone like *jayastambhas* proclaiming his victories. On yet another occasion, Goṅkarāja II gave away unlimited number of golden utensils for daily use in the worship of the god Bhīmanātha, and covered the roof of the temple *cināḍa* with a plate of gold.⁹

¹ *SZ*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1113, No. 1164 (Drākshārāma); *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 123 (Nijubhōla).

² *SZ*, Vol. IV, No. 1162, text line 12 (verse 28).

³ *Saravali-grantha-mālā*: Kākināḍa, (1902), canto I, (verse 18).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶ *SZ*, Vol. IV, No. 1132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1140.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1164.

The successor of Goṅkarāja II in the rulership of the Andhra country was his son prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the donor of the present plates. In the records of the family as well as in the present inscription (lines 102 ff.) it is stated that emperor Rājārāja II was pleased to appoint him ruler of the Andhra country which is said to have extended at this time from Mahēśvragiri on the north to Kālahasti on the south. It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa's accession took place towards the end of Śaka 1082 or the beginning of 1161 A.C. For, the last known date on which Goṅkarāja II is said to be alive was the *Uttarāṣṭra-saṁkrānti*, Śaka 1082, corresponding to the 25th December, 1160 A. C., according to a stone record of his minister at Bāpāṭa, Guntur District.¹ It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom from about Śaka 1068 corresponding to 1136-37 A. C.² The subordinates and other vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḍas in the Andhra country would seem to have recognised Rājendra-Chōḍa as their future sovereign even during the rule of Goṅkarāja II and frequently made grants to the temples in the country for his merit as well as for the merit of his father. A stone record from Pamiṇḍipāḍu-agrahlāra, Narsaraopeta taluk, Guntur District, dated Jyēṣṭha, su. 5, Śaka 1077 expired, corresponding to 8th May, 1155 A. C., records the grant of a piece of land for the temple of Cīṣṇakēśava at the village for the merit of the kings Goṅkarāja II and his son Rājendra-Chōḍa, and incidentally states that the latter granted the tolls of the village Pamiṇḍipāḍu (Pamiṇḍipāḍu) and the tax on marriages for the benefit of the temple.³

Though the reign of Rājendra-Chōḍa II appears to have commenced in peace, within a short time it soon became troubled and engulfed in internecine wars among his feudatories and wanton incursions by hostile neighbours. About the beginning of Śaka 1085, i.e., about March 1163 A.C., it would appear, a civil war broke out in Kōṁa-maṇḍala, between the two rival branches of the ruling family, which soon threatened to assume large proportions. Kōṁa-maṇḍala is the ancient name for the region of the lower branches of the Gōḍāvarī, comprising the taluks of Amalapuram and Razole, in the East Godavari District. At the time of the civil war, Kōṁa-maṇḍala was ruled by a powerful clan of Hailayas of the *Ātrēya-gotra*.⁴ After the death of Kōṁa Rājendra-Chōḍa I which would seem to have occurred shortly after 1137 A. C., his elder brother Kōṁa Mummadi-Bhīma II and his younger step-brother Kōṁa Satyāśraya I, according to the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallidēva and Mamma-Satya II,⁵ divided the principality among themselves but ruled it conjointly in peace for a long time. Mummadi-Bhīma II was succeeded by his son Lōka-Bhūpa, who died apparently without leaving an heir to succeed him. Lōka-Bhūpa's death would seem to have taken place just about the same time as the accession of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. There are reasons to believe that Bhīma (III) the younger son of Kōṁa Satyārāja I occupied the whole of Kōṁa-maṇḍala to the exclusion of his cousins Bhaṭṭa and Mallidēva, sons of Kōṁa Rājendra-Chōḍa I,⁶ who would seem to have succeeded in or claimed the principality held by Lōka-Bhūpa. This led to a civil war which necessitated the intervention of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. A large army was despatched under the command of the *Brāhmaṇa* general Dēvana-preggaḍa of Ampalūru, early in Śaka 1085 corresponding to 1163 A. C., with instructions to put down the insurrection and

¹ *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 181. The earliest known date for Goṅka II is Śaka 1029 according to a record at Triparukṭakam. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 82.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 109. See also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C., and *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 109 (Śaka 1063 or 1141-42 A.C.), No. 112 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C.), No. 118 (Śaka 1068 or 1146-47 A.C.) and No. 135 (Śaka 1077 or 1155-56 A.C.)

³ *ASSIE*, 1916, para 49, page 124.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 82 ff. The inscription contains a detailed account of the Hailaya chiefs of Kōṁa-maṇḍala.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1145 dated Śaka 1069 (1137 A. C.) seems to be the last known date of the prince.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 83, verses 18 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 85 (for the pedigree).

restore peace.¹ The military operations in Kōna-maṇḍala lasted about two years. The fragmentary record at Drākṣhārāma² dated Saka 1087, i.e., 1166-66 A. C., reveals that, "having been commanded by his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, general Dēvana-praggaḍa burnt down the disdainful country (Kōna-maṇḍala) of the enemy with the flames of the fire that was his valour". It would appear that he defeated and killed Bhīma (III) and once more restored peace in the region by settling the country between the lawful claimants. The poem *Kāyārabhāṣa-charitraṃ* which has been already referred to and a number of inscriptions reveal the fact that an army of the Sāmantas of the Karpāṭa king, apparently taking advantage of the political unrest in Kuntala and the rise of Kālaki Prōḍa II, in the western Andhra Country, made incursions into the kingdom of Vēṅgi, and that the invaders were completely defeated and forced to retire in a sanguinary battle that was fought at a place called Krottachēruvalakōṭa, Chēruvalakōṭa or simply Kochcherlakōṭa, a village in Vinukonda taluk, Guntur District. These events may be placed about 1164-65 A. C. The king of Karpāṭa was doubtless Kalachuri Bijjala who usurped the Western Chālūkyā sovereignty overthrowing his overlord, Nārmaṇi Teliapa III (1142-1161 A. C.). Some inscriptions refer to Chandraśāya, a feudatory of the king of Karpāṭa who was slain in the battle of Krottachēruvalakōṭa, who may be identified as the Śinda chief of Yellurga, who was the husband of Siriyādēvi, a daughter of Bijjala.³

The Telugu poem, *Kāyārabhāṣa-charitraṃ* gives a vivid account of the reigns of Goṅkarāja II and his illustrious son Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, and of the greatness of their successive ministers Nandūri Gōvinda and his son Nandūri Kōmmana, and the prosperity of the Andhra country. According to a stone record at Bāpaṭa, and the present plates (v. 56) the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa II extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kaliṅga-nagara on the north to Kālakṣi on the south and to Śrīraṭṭam on the west and was bounded by the sea on the east.⁴ It appears that the province of Kaliṅga was governed by the Brāhmaṇa general, Mēḍana-praggaḍa under the orders of the king, Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa in Kaliṅga.⁵ It would appear that on the death of Anantavarman abir Chōḍa-gaḍga, c. 1142 A. C., the kingdom or at any rate the southern portion of Kaliṅga extending as far as the Mahāndragiri was annexed to Vēṅgi. It is stated in the poem that the king's treasury always contained nine carus of gold (caras), that ninety-nine elephants which looked like huge black clouds roamed about the city of Chandraśīli, that a cavalry force of forty-thousand was always ready for service on the field and that seventy-five caruies of rice⁶ were cooked every day for the army and king's household. Such was the prosperity of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The poem gives an account of the king's chief Brāhmaṇa minister Kōmmana-mintra of the Kaṇṇika gṛha, who was a great soldier. Kōmmana was a worshipper of Viṣṇu: he built thirty-two temples of Viṣṇu, at the beautiful towns of Śrīkāṇṇam, Gurubhṛti, Krottacharū, Tripurāntalam, Kōṭyadoma, Boggāram, Yelamāchili and other places. Every day he fed a thousand Brāhmaṇa guests with *pāyasa* (rice-cooked in milk and sugar) at his house, throughout his life, with a religious zeal and devotion. He governed in addition to his office, the province of Pāṇḍya twenty-one-thousand. On the battlefield at Krottacherlakōṭa, it is said, he displayed marvellous strength and heroism.

¹ *SIH*, Vol. IV, Nos., 1086 and 1083.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1083.

³ *Kāyārabhāṣa-charitraṃ*, Introduction, verses 22-23, *SIH*, Vol. X, No. 151, textlines 31-41, *Ibid.*, No. 171: *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1053.

⁴ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 229; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 477.

⁵ *SIH*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1200. The inscription is dated Saka 1097 (1175-76 A. C.)

⁷ One caru or caru is equal to 500 lbs. in weight but as a measure of capacity, roughly 14,000 cubic inches.

Like his illustrious father Goṅkarāja II, Kulōttunga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva. He made liberal grants to temples of Śiva all over his vast kingdom. He made even richer gifts than his father to the god Bhīmanāthasvara at Drākahārāma. He presented golden utensils for the daily worship of the god in commemoration of his victories over his enemies.¹ He gave away on one occasion a *prabhā* (sareola) made of solid gold to god Bhīmanātha and covered the huge *līṅga* with a splendid armour of massive gold. On another occasion he presented a *makara-torapa* of gold, studded with priceless gems.² He built a temple for Śiva under the name of Rūmāśvara-Mahādēva at Siripuram in Śaka 1093, i.e., 1171 A. C., and granted the village of Siripuram together with its twelve hamlets and some more land as *dēvabhōga* for the worship of the deity.³ On the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, a small stream flowing by the side of Appikaṭṭa, a village in Tenali *taluk*, Guntur District, he built another temple for Śiva under the name Viśvāśvara-Mahādēva and made large grants of land in Appikaṭṭa, Marripūḍi and other villages in the sub-division known as Ōṅgēramārge, for the worship of the god.⁴

Rājendra-Chōḍa II would seem to have reigned till a very ripe old age and died about the beginning of 1182 A. C. The last known inscription which mentions the king as still living on that date but indicating his impending death is a record of his Brāhmaṇa officer Mādhyama-mantrin of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra* at Drākahārāma.⁵ It is slightly damaged; it registers the gift of a perpetual light to god Bhīmanātha on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Pūṣya in Śaka 1093, which corresponds to Monday, the 22nd December, 1181 A. C., when there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Rājendra-Chōḍa's death may, therefore, be placed sometime in January or February, 1182 A. C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also called Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ According to the family records found at Drākahārāma and Palasole (Pālakolanu) Rājendra-Chōḍa had at least four queens, Gaṇḍāmbikā, Kuppamā, Paṇḍamā (daughter of the chief of Kōṅga-Kaṇḍravāḍi) and Akkamaḥādēvī or Akkanmahādēvī; the first would appear to have been the consort during the early part of Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa's life.⁷ Akkamaḥādēvī was the daughter of Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Manuṁa-Maṇḍa or Maṇḍarāja II⁸ who took a heroic part⁹ in the war against Kālūga as a follower of Velanāṭṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa I, and the younger sister of Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja III.¹⁰ To King Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa and Akkambikā was born Goṅkarāja III. His son was Prithivīvara of the Pūḥāpuram inscription.

TEXT¹¹

Second Plate : First Side¹²

1 विजयतिस्त्रिपुरारितुल्यः सद्भोगिभोगोपमबाहुसंगान्वरादि-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 37, versus 47-48.

² Ibid.

³ No. 49 of 1903, (same as *SI*, Vol. X, No. 177).

⁴ *SI*, Vol. VI Nos. 124 and 125. Ōṅgēro-mārge appears to be the ancient name for the region lying between Tenali, Guntur and Bapatla *taluk*s extending towards south as far as Ōṅgole, Guntur District.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1266, *Rock*, No. 1037. The last digit in the date of the record is lost but may be read as 3. The details of the date then would yield the equivalent, viz., 23rd December, 1181 A. C.

⁶ No. 181 of 1897.

⁷ *SI*, Vol. V, No. 161, Vol. IV, No. 1127.

⁸ Above, Vol. VI, p. 268 (274).

⁹ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 662, Fr. 7-8.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 274.

¹¹ From the ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hiramananda Sastri.

¹² The first plate of this set is lost.

¹³ Meter : *Śpyajak*. The first pāda is lost on the first plate.

- 2 तो यो वसुमभ्युपैति । [॥१॥*] ¹ततो विवित्रवीर्योभूतस्मात्पादुर-
 3 जायत । येनेवं पृथिवी सर्वा पालिता धर्म्मतः पुरा [॥२॥*] पृथिवि-
 4 रादयः पंच पांडवा² खंडलोपमाः [॥३॥*] अभूवन्विनयोपेताः
 5 खंडितारातिमंडलाः [॥४॥*] तेषु वंशस्य कर्तासीदज्जुनस्तज्जनप्रियः ।
 6 सुमूर्तिः पुष्पचारित्रः कीर्त्तिव्याप्तजगत्त्रयः [॥५॥*] ³तुष्टो य-
 7 स्य पराक्रमेण भगवान्युद्धे पुराणा रिपुस्त्रैलोक्यैकगुरु-
 8 गुरुस्समभवत् बालेन्दुचूडामणिः [॥६॥*] सारव्यधरकारिरादिपुरुष-
 9 इत्तकै च विष्णुः स्वयं । को वा तस्य धनंजयस्य विभूतां शक्तः ⁴प्रवक्तुनरः
 [॥७॥*] त-
 10 स्मादभिमन्युः [॥८॥*] अभिमन्यो परीक्षित् [॥९॥*] ततो जनमेजयः । अथ वतुह-
 11 धिपर्व्यंतवसुधराधुरंधरेषु दिशाहस्तिमस्तकविन्यस्तजयस्तभे-
 12 षु एकोनषष्टिवसुधाधिपेषु तद्वश्येषु गतेषु तत्कुलजो विजिगीषु-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 व्विजयादित्यो नाम महीपतिस्त्रिनयनपल्लवेन युद्धा विधिनि-
 14 योगात्त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥ ⁵आनीतवतस्तदनु प्रधानां तद्वल्लभान्ति-⁶
 15 [॥१॥*] रगवर्भभाराम् [॥२॥*] तन्मविमुक्त्या मुहुर्वेमुताम भूदेवजुष्ट
 16 वरमग्रहारम् [॥३॥*] तद्ग्राममुख्यः छत्तु विष्णुभट्टः पुष्टस्तमृद्ध्या निज-
 17 विद्यया च [॥४॥*] ज्ञात्वा याधा(यधा)वृत्तमतिप्रयत्नात्सम्यग्ररक्ष क्षितिपालपत्नीम् [॥५॥*]
 18 रक्षिता तेन विप्रेण कुमारं लक्षणाश्रितम् [॥६॥*] सुषुप्ते वासवप्रह्वं
 19 ह्वातं वंशकरं वरम् । [॥७॥*] जातकर्म्मोदिकं सर्व्वान्निर्म्ममे कर्म्मकर्मठः ।

¹ This and the two following verses are in *Anushtup* metre.

² Rule of *sandhi* is sacrificed here for the sake of the metre.

³ Metre : *Sandilavikṛiti*.

⁴ Read "प्रवक्तुं नरः".

⁵ Metre : *Upajiti*.

⁶ Read "तद्वल्लभो निर्वभर".

⁷ This verse and the next two are in *Anushtup* metre.

- 20 विप्रो नृपकुमारस्य कुमारसदृशवृत्तेः [॥६॥*] अथ जननीमुखाञ्जतकस्य वृ-
 21 तातं विदित्वा तपःकृतनिश्चयस्तु कुमारश्चात्तुवधरित्रीधरमाहरो-
 22 ह । तत्र देवशारायणं कुमारं दिवाकरम्(रं) भगवतीश्रदां गौरी चारा-
 23 [ध्रु*] वराहसिन्धुतपिच्छकुंतपंचमहाशस्त्रं इष्कामकरतीरणश्चेत-
 24 [च्छ*] त्रसितचामरपालिकैकशंखसिंहासनादीनि चक्रवर्तिनिह्वान्ववाप्य

Third Plate : First Side

- 25 विध्यसेतुमध्यं दक्षिणापद्मम्(धं) परिपालयामास । अथ पल्लववंश-
 26 सभवा मा गुणरत्नाकरविष्णुवर्द्धनस्य महिषी । सुषुवे सुतं सु-
 27 त्रेषा विजयादित्यमद्भुतगुणकीर्तिम् । [॥१०॥*] ततः पुलकेशी तस्मात्को-
 तिवर्मा
 28 ततस्सात्याश्रयो विष्णुवर्द्धनश्च बभूवतु । सत्याश्रयः कुंतविमिश्रवरि-
 29 मत्तेभकुंभो युधि कुंतलानाम् [१*] सात्रायलङ्गीमधिवाम्य सम्यक् पु-
 30 र्ध्वी शशास प्रधि(वि)तप्रतापः [॥११॥*] तयोखरजो बेंगीमंडलं चंडवि-
 31 क्रमः [१*] ररक्षाष्टादश समा विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [॥१२॥*] जयसिंहस्व-
 32 यन्त्रिंशदब्दान्सम्यक्तदात्मजः [१*] अनुवस्तस्य सप्तार्हमिदि(इ)राजो विधेर्वंशा-
 33 त् [॥१३॥*] नववर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [१*] [तत्पुत्रो*] मंगियुवराट् प-
 चविंश-
 34 ति वत्सरान् । [॥१४॥*] त्रयोदशाब्दान्तत्सुनुरालयविला वली [१*] सिंहविजयसं-
 35 पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभूतः । [॥१५॥*] तत्कनोद्यान् क्षिति कीरो ररक्षा
 क्षत्रियाग्रणी-
 36 त् [१*] षण्मासान्कोकिकलिः पृथ्वीमत्तमालंगविजयः । [॥१६॥*] ज्येष्ठोत्था(स्य)
 कोकिकलेः पृथ्वी विष्णु-

* Read "इष्का".

* Metre : Anushtupchhandasika.

* Read सुनेवा.

* Metre : Upanish.

* This and the next six verses are in Shashpala metre.

* Read "ज्येष्ठोत्थ".

37 बद्धेनभूति । षट्त्रिंशदब्दान्बुभुवे भुजवीर्यान्विहामुजः [॥१३॥^{*}] 'तत्पुत्रो
[वि^३]-

Third Plate : Second Side

38 जवादिश्वनामाष्टादशवत्सरान् [१^{*}] तत्तनयो [नरेंद्रो] नृपतिरष्टा चत्वारिं-
शद्वत्सरानि [णि]

39 समरशिरसि [वैरिनिकरं विजित्य] तावन्ति गौरीपतेरायतनानि यस्त्रके । [॥१८^{*}॥]
'तत्सूनुरेतामय' विष्णुवर्द्ध-
-

40 नः षट्त्रिंशदब्दाधिजवंशवर्द्धनः [१^{*}] संगमरमते रिपुभीतिवर्द्धनः क्षोणीमरश्चक्षितिपो
[मशोधनः] । [॥१९॥^{*}] [त]-

41 पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोव्यर्द्धवर्षम् तत्तनयो^१पुणांकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि
। तद्भ्रातृक-

42 नीयमो विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः पुत्रश्चालुक्यभोमस्त्रिशदब्दान्
. संगमशिरसि रिपुगणं जित्वा-

43 नेकपुष्पस्थानेषु भगवतो महादेवस्त्वालयाशिर्म्ममे । तत्सूनुर्विक्रमादित्यो नाम
मास[षट्कमथ]

44 परिपाल्य विरजान्तामपुरी विजित्य त्रिदिवमगमत् [१^{*}] तदात्मजोऽम्मराजः शक्ति-
संवत्सरं वृत्ता[पूरुषान्]

45 कुर्वन्मस्तहायनमवनीमपालयत् [१^{*}] तदायादस्ताड्यो मासमेकस्मही [३^{*}]शास
[१^{*}] चालुक्यभो-

46 ममुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तु स्ता(ता)ड्यं जित्वा एकादशमासान् शिति ररक्ष [१^{*}]
ताड्यस्यात्मजो युद्धम-

47 ल्यस्तान्संवत्सरान् । अम्मराजानुजो राजभोमस्समरशिरसि युद्धमल्लं परिजित्य
द्वादश

48 नृमा वसुमती शशास [१^{*}] 'तस्यात्मजो दीर्घ^२भुजावभूता दानार्णवाम्मक्षितिपो
सुरूपो [१^{*}] पञ्चो-

^{*} Metre : Anushtubh, only case *paḍa*.

^{*} Metre : Anushtubh.

^{*} Read 'भुजगाक' or 'भुजग'.

^{*} Metre : Uṣṣṭi.

^{*} Read दीर्घ.

- 49 तत्रान्विंशतिमव सोब्दान् शोणी शशासाम्मनृपः कवीयान् । [॥२०॥] ^१द्वैमातुरोम्म-
राजस्य ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठो) दानाण्णवो नृपः [१^{*}] २-
- 50 रक्ष क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठस्त्रिंशत्संवत्सरान् क्षितिम् । [२१॥^{*}] ^२तस्मान् दानाण्णवभूमिपस्य वैग्युर्वरेण
रहितेव भ-
- 51 र्जा [१^{*}] रिपूक्षमापालकुलाविलामीतदा समास्सप्त च विक्षतिश्च । [॥२२॥^{*}] ततस्सुतो
दाननृपस्य पृथ्वी श्रीशक्तिवर्मा
- 52 श्रितराज्यलक्ष्मीः [१^{*}] संग्रामरंगे स विजित्य शत्रून्संवत्सरान् द्वादश सशशाम । [॥२३॥^{*}] ^३अनुजस्तस्य वर्षाणि सप्त सप्ता-
- 53 स्वसन्निभः । विमलादित्यभूपालोपालयत्सकलामिलाम् । [॥२४॥^{*}] ^४तस्मादासीद्वाज-
राजस्तनूजो राजीवासो
- 54 निज्जितारातिराजः [१^{*}] कीर्तिं शुभ्रा दिक्षु । सम्पक्प्रसाय्यं लक्ष्म्या युक्तः [कांचणः]
कल्पवृक्षः [॥२५॥^{*}]

Fourth Plate ; First Side

- 55 ^५एकादशाधिकत्रिंशद्वर्षाणि ^६सन्निपायणीः [१^{*}] पालयामास वज्रवानिला-
- 56 मुदधिमेखलाम् [॥२६॥^{*}] ^७तस्मादासीदचिर्वताडैदुवूड पादाकांतदेधिभूपाल-
- 57 वूडः [१^{*}] नानारत्नश्रेणिनडात्मवूडः श्रीमान्वीरः श्रीकुलोत्तंगवीरः [॥२७॥^{*}] ^८हि-
- 58 मवत्सेनुपर्य्यतो पञ्चविंशद्व(ति व)त्सरान् [१^{*}] ^९वन्नुधां वन्नुधानाथः शशाम
- 59 रिपूजासतः [॥२८॥^{*}] ^{१०}तदात्मजो विक्रम^{१०}वीरदेवः पराक्रमे शक्तमस्समामी-
- 60 त् [१^{*}] विनम्रभूपालविलोलमौलिमणिप्रभामामितपादपीठः [॥२९॥^{*}] ^{११}स सप्त-
- 61 दश वर्षाणि दधे भारम् भुवः प्रभुः [१^{*}] उवाह बाहुवीर्य्येण निहत्ताराति-
- 62 महलः [॥३०॥^{*}] ^{१२}तदनु शशिवदुर्चवंसत्समेतः कलावानुदयमगमदस्मा-
- 63 दस्तदोषाधिकारः [१^{*}] अधिकमखिललोकप्रन्दयन्वर्णनीयस्सहजनिजय-

* Metre : Anushtubh.

* This and the next verse are in Upajati metre.

* Metre : Anushtubh.

* Metre : Sôlîl.

* Read : "कांचनः".

* Read : स नृपायणीः.

* One letter was written and erased before us.

* Metre : Upajati.

* Metre : Sôlîl.

- 64 श्री¹ श्रीकुलोत्तुगचोडः [॥३१॥*] ²संतत्यं वसुधाराभिर्व्वं [सु]धां वसुधाधिपः [॥*] स प-
 65 चदश वर्षाणि शशांत ³शिवकिंकरः [॥३२॥*] ⁴तस्मादभूदबुधिमेखलाया वसुन्धरायाः
 66 पतिरप्रकल्पः [॥*] श्रीराजराजो रजनीशवव्रस्संराजराजोवसमाननेत्रः [॥३३॥*]
 67 ⁵लक्ष्मीपति (ते)र्भूवतपावनपादपद्याद्गंगाप्रवाह इव कीर्तिकरः [प*] वित्रः [॥*] धा-
 68 सीत्त्रिलोकजनकस्य चतुर्थवंशः (१) पादारविदमुगलात्कमला-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 69 सनस्य [॥३४॥*] ⁶वर्गेस्मिन्नजनीशनिम्मेलमणिस्स [द्व]स्सत्तुडामणिः . . .
 70 [ध]पराक्रमो जितरिपुः श्रीमल्लभूषोभवत् [॥*] धेनेयं केलात्ताडना-
 71 मविषयस्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह [प्रा*] प्तस्त्र्यंबकपल्लवाद्रणशिरस्म (स्ता)-
 72 हास्यसंज्ञोयितात् [॥३५॥*] गतेषु तद्वंशेष्वनेकेषु जितारिपु
 73 मंडलेशेषु पृथिवीमंडनेषु वशांदिषु । ⁷नेरेंडानुचरः पुर-
 74 स्तद्वंशे मल्लयोभवत् । चंडासिनाशनिर्व्योनाब्धिं खडित-
 75 वैरिणा [॥३६॥*] तस्मात्पिडुवुरादित्यनामास्प⁸ गुणतोभवत् [॥*] एण्णिपयस्स-
 76 त्सुतो जजे ततोभूत्तमल्लियो नृपः [॥३७॥*] ⁹वासुक्कवभोमानुचरेषु
 77 मुख्यो यः कोल्लपांवा¹⁰ विधिनोपयेमे [॥*] ताभ्यामभूता कितयो [प]-
 78 [पन्नो] वीरो सुतावे [स्सि]गकोरणी तु [॥३८॥*] ¹¹एण्णियोभूतयोर्ज्योत्तो वंश-
 79 कर्त्ता मुकीर्त्तनः [॥*] पत्नी प्रिया¹² तस्य कट्टावासीन्मनोहरा [॥३९॥*] ¹³ताभ्यामभूवन् प-
 80 द्पुत्राः पण्णुप्रतिमा भूवि [॥*] मल्लियो कुडियो मंड पन्नो मन्तव
 81 कापनः [॥४०॥*] ¹⁴कुडियाम ददौ तेषु विमलादित्यभूपतिः [॥*] मंडल गु-

* Read ' श्री.

² Metre : Anushtubh.

³ These two letters शिव are written beneath the line.

⁴ Metre : Dīpavālī.

⁵ Metre : Vasantasūkta.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavastika.

⁷ Read ' सुगुप्तो '. Here the letter ण is written below the line after the letter गु.

⁸ This name may also be read as कोयपांवा.

⁹ This and the next four verses are in Anushtubh metre.

¹⁰ Two letters are wanting in this plate.

82 द्वाराक्याक्षिणि मंडलमंडनम् [1811*] तन्नोपि नृत्तचारित्रः

Fifth Plate ; First Side

83 मंडलः [1*] विष्णुवर्द्धन[भू]पाभसेनापतिरभूद्वि [118211*] पद्मयो . .

84 [. . . वाधिप] स्वस्य गुडाविकाभवत् [1*] दयिता 1¹ पांडुराजस्य कुंगीवात्सं-

85 तसुदरा² । [118311*] तयोरथा(था)सन्तमरेकगौडावचंद्रप्रतापा इव पांडु-

86 पुत्रा[1*] पंचेन्द्रकला वेदुरश्च गंडो गोकश्च मल्लश्च तथैव पंडः [118411*]

निज-

87 वंशकरस्य तेव शूर क्षपितारातिकुलः कुलाणवेदुरक-

88 तंकमृगोकतुल्यकोतित्समभूद्गोकमहीपतिम्(म्)णांकः [118511*] पद्म-

89 ह्वावनोद्यत्वं श्रीकुलोत्तुम्गचोडतः[1*] येन संग्रामसा-

90 हाय्यनुटालाप्रप्तं जितारिणा [118611*] तस्य गोकशिखीशस्य मृगां-

91 कवचना वरा [1*] सन्वाविकाभूद्वित् सव्वलक्षणलक्षिता [118711*] पु-

92 वस्तयोरप्रतिमप्रतापः श्रीचोडभूपः कुलरत्नदीपः [1*] जातस्मता

93 रक्षणदशदक्षि(?)वाहुर्मकुदापितचित्तवृत्तिः [118811*] तस्य चंद्रप्रता-

94 पस्य मंडलेशशिखामणैः [1*] गुडाविकाभूद्वित्पा³ चारित्र्यगुण-

95 महिता [118911*] अजनि गतकलंकश्चकरश्रीपदान्वदितयाम्भजन-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

96 ¹⁰[भित्त]स्तस्मृतो गोकभूतः [1*] [विभव]जितधनेशः पालितशेषादेशः

97 समरसमयागौडो [दंडिता]रातिराजः . . [119011*]

98 विमानशिखरेषु वः(1*)शातकुंभमवान्कुमान् जगत्स्यं(स्तं)भानि-

¹ *Dupla unnecessary.*

² Read, ° सुंदरी °.

³ Metre : *Upajhā*.

⁴ Metre : *Aspachchhandasaka*.

⁵ This and the next verse are in *Aspachchhandasaka*.

⁶ Metre : *Aspachchhandasaka*.

⁷ Metre : *Aspachchhandasaka*.

⁸ Read, ° दयिता °.

⁹ Metre : *Aspachchhandasaka*.

¹⁰ Read ° भूत °.

- 99 वाकरोत् [11210*] ¹तद्वल्लभा सकलसद्गुणपात्रगोत्रा तत्त्वांशिका विकसद-
 100 सुजयन्तेशा [1*] लक्ष्मीरिव प्राणतलोकसमप्रदद्या — — — — [वि]-
 101 मन्त्रचंद्रमातवक्त्रा [1122*] ²वाभ्यामृमाशंकरसन्निभाभ्यां कुमारतुल्य-
 102 प्रभुशक्तिपुक्तः [1*] जातो महासैन्धवतिम्मंहीणो राजेद्रचोड्छिद्र³]-
 103 तच्चंद्रचूडः [1123*] ⁴[य]शंखचक्रकलत्राकुशकल्पदक्षवज्राब्जमत्स्याम⁵]-
 104 कर्ताकिंतपाणिपादः [1*] पदचक्रवर्ति[सद्रि(दु)श]शतपत्रपत्रनेत्रसुपूर्णं(णं)[य]-
 105 रदिंदुसमानवक्त्रः [11240*] ⁶यस्मिन्वाते सुखी जातो लोकी वृद्धिमुपा-
 [धम्म]-
 106 एव वृद्धिमगमत्प्रविक्रमपराक्रमे । [11241*] ⁷.....⁸सदृशी को-
 107 दंशिका.....व्रित्तितलप्राणोन्मुखे यत्करे[1*] सेतोर्ध्वोत्....
 108चौरस्तदा.....[11246].....
 109

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 110 त्पादपि यज्ञसाध्वम् [1*] संभोधिर्गभोरपनंतसत्वम्म⁹संप्राप्य तोय-
 111 न बलाद्रसादंम् । [1125*] ¹⁰देवब्राह्मणकटकः पुष्टर[शौ]ष्येण मानी ख-
 112 लो दुर्गातिर्जितयो भयंकरवपुः] श्रीरामतुल्योजसो¹¹[1*] येनाजी-
 113 कोलनाटिभीमनृपतिः[*] पुत्रैश्च मित्रैस्तद् बहुदो] रावणसन्निभो भुज-
 114 क्वा[त्रि]मूर्तमुत्सीलितः [11230*]¹² पूर्वाभोतिधिकालहस्तिशिखरि[श्रीमन्म]-

¹ Metre : Paśantatīkā.

² Metre : Uṇjāh.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ The missing letters may be read as गमत्.

⁵ This may be a verse. Metre cannot be distinguished.

⁶ The reading is doubtful.

⁷ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁸ Read 'सर्वं सप्त'.

⁹ Metre : Śārdūlakṛtīkā.

¹⁰ Read 'स्वीकृतः'.

- 115 हेंद्राचलश्रीशैली^१ अवलंकुताध्वविषय श्रीराजराजस्व-^२
 116 यं [१*] यस्मै विक्रमविस्मितस्समदिशत्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह श्रीम-
 117 च्चामरपुरमसुंदर^३वियच्छाद्रोदयावैभुंदा [॥१८॥*] 'अत्युत्तमो[त्तु]प्तु-
 118 रगवृष(ध)वराप्रसम्भूच्छिंतरेणुजाल [१*] धामतमातंगमदा-
 119 बुद[सैकैः] प्रशाम्यते यस्य जयप्रयागे [॥१९॥*] 'काठिन्यं कुचकुमयो-
 120 स्तरत्ता हा]रे भ्रुवोर्वक्त्रा मंदत्वं गमने वराधितलयोर्निर्भ-
 121 त्येन धामता [१*] वाण्या तैक्ष्णमपा[ग]योश्च समभूत्संगम — —
 122 क्षिति श्रीनोदक्षितितालकीर्तिरशना यस्मिंश्चिरं शासति [॥२०॥*]
 'लक्ष्मीव-

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 123 क्षसि दक्षिणे भुजतटे यो[र]धिय यः परा [१*] वामे चैव [भुजोत्त]-
 124 मे [जव]रमा वाग्देवतामात[ने] । शत्रुव्वंसनकारिणी — —
 125 शिरस्सत्यंत — — — विभ्रन्माधवपंकजासन-
 126 पुरप्रच्यश्चिरं राजते [॥२१*] 'प्रादावदत्त महाप्रहारनिकरं संवर्द्धि[नि]-
 127 स्समृत विप्रेभ्यः कचिपृडरीकनिकरप्रद्योतनशशबुद्धा [१*] भद्रा
 128 राजशिवामणिः क्षितिमिमां शश्वत्समृद्धा जनंममांषाता नृप-
 129 तिर्यंषा(वा) च 'सकरश्रीधर्मगुत्रो यथा(वा) [॥२२*] 'दान यस्य समाग-
 130 [तावि]ज्ञानतादारिद्र्यविद्रावन(ण) शी[व्यं] यस्य विरोधराजवति-
 131 तावैश्वर्यदीक्षागुण[ः] कीर्तिर्दिव्यनदीव यस्य विमला व्याप्तत्रिलोकी-

^१ Read 'श्रीशैलवैलपी'.

^२ Read 'राजराजस्व'.

^३ Read 'सुंदर'.

^४ Metre : Upajhiti.

^५ Read 'मवांसैकै'.

^६ Metre : Shuklānāṣṭupadā.

^७ Metre : Shuklānāṣṭupadā. Read 'लक्ष्मी व'.

^८ Read 'सगर'.

132 [स्थिता] श्रीनोडक्षितिपस्य तस्य महिमा नस्याद्वचोच्चरम् [॥६३॥*] ^१राजेंद्रनोडभूपा-

133 लस्तोयं परपुरजयः [१*] नियोगद्वाजराजस्य तालयत्रंघ्रमंडलम् [॥६४॥*]

इदुनद(६)-

134 विषरुचंद्रगणिते शकवत्सरे [१*] श्रीमतो राजराजस्य त्रयोविंशकवत्सरे [॥६५॥*] कदाचित्पु-

135 न्ने(प्पे)[हनि] घनदगुय्या [स्थितः] [इनुगळ्ळिनामग्रामं] वेदवेदांगपासुंगा-

136 य मोमांसा निजमानसाय षट्त्वं .

137 [Damaged. The rest is lost.]

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By A. N. LAHIRI, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages and n. after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.* = author ; *ca.* = capital ; *ch.* = chief ; *ci.* = city ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *engr.* = engraver ; *ep.* = epithet ; *f.* = family ; *fe.* = female ; *fund.* = fundatory ; *gen.* = general ; *ins.* = inscription ; *k.* = king ; *l.* = locality ; *l.m.* = linear measure or land measure ; *m.* = male ; *min.* = minister ; *mo.* = mountain ; *myth.* = mythological ; *n.* = name ; *N.* = Northern ; *off.* = office or officer ; *peo.* = people ; *pr.* = prince or princess ; *q.* = queen ; *rel.* = religious ; *ri.* = river ; *S.* = Southern ; *s.a.* = same as ; *sur.* = surname ; *te.* = temple ; *Tel.* = Telugu ; *t.d.* = territorial division ; *tit.* = title ; *tlk.* = taluk ; *ta.* = town ; *vi.* = village ; *W.* = Western ; *wk.* = work.]

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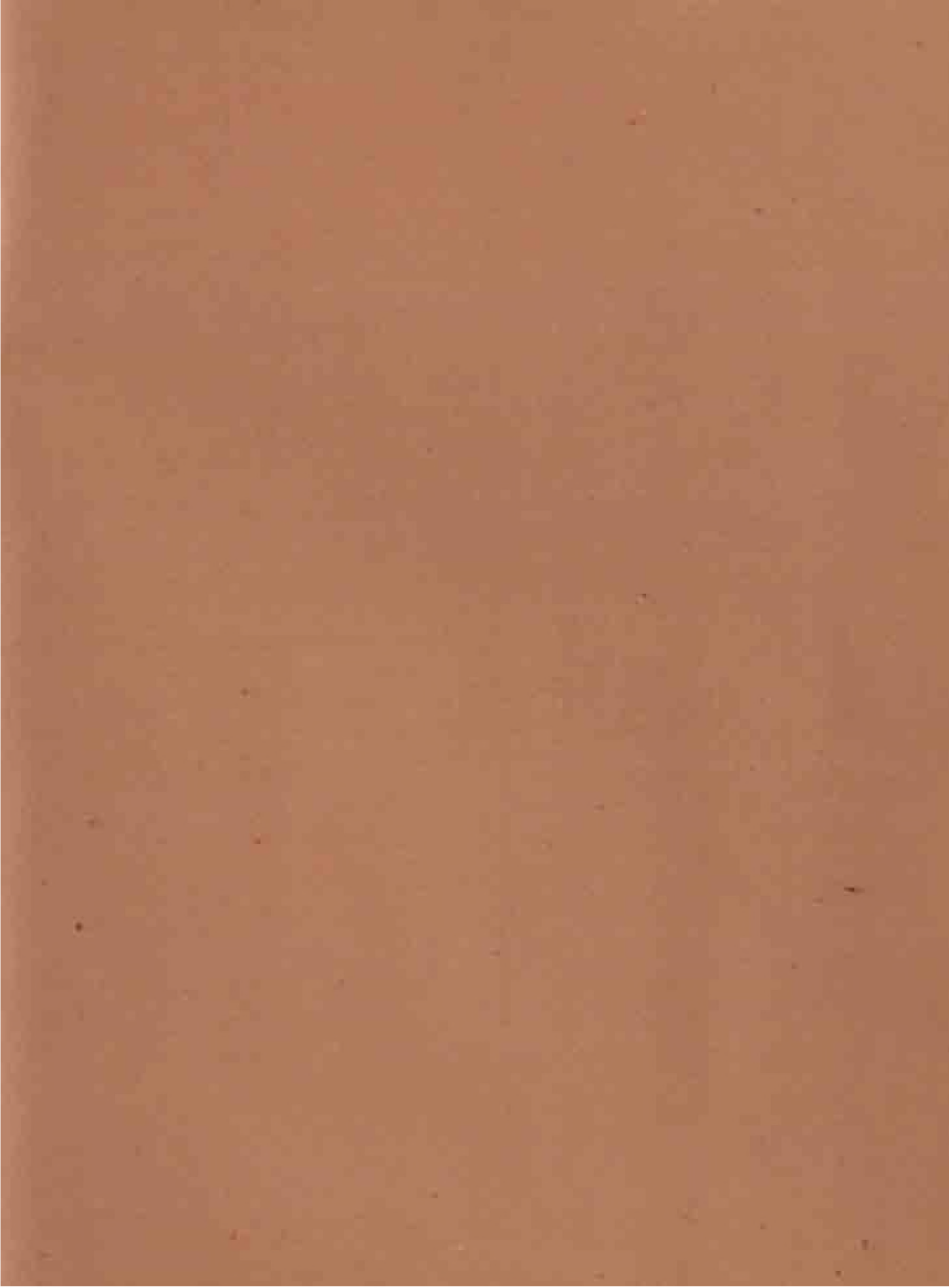
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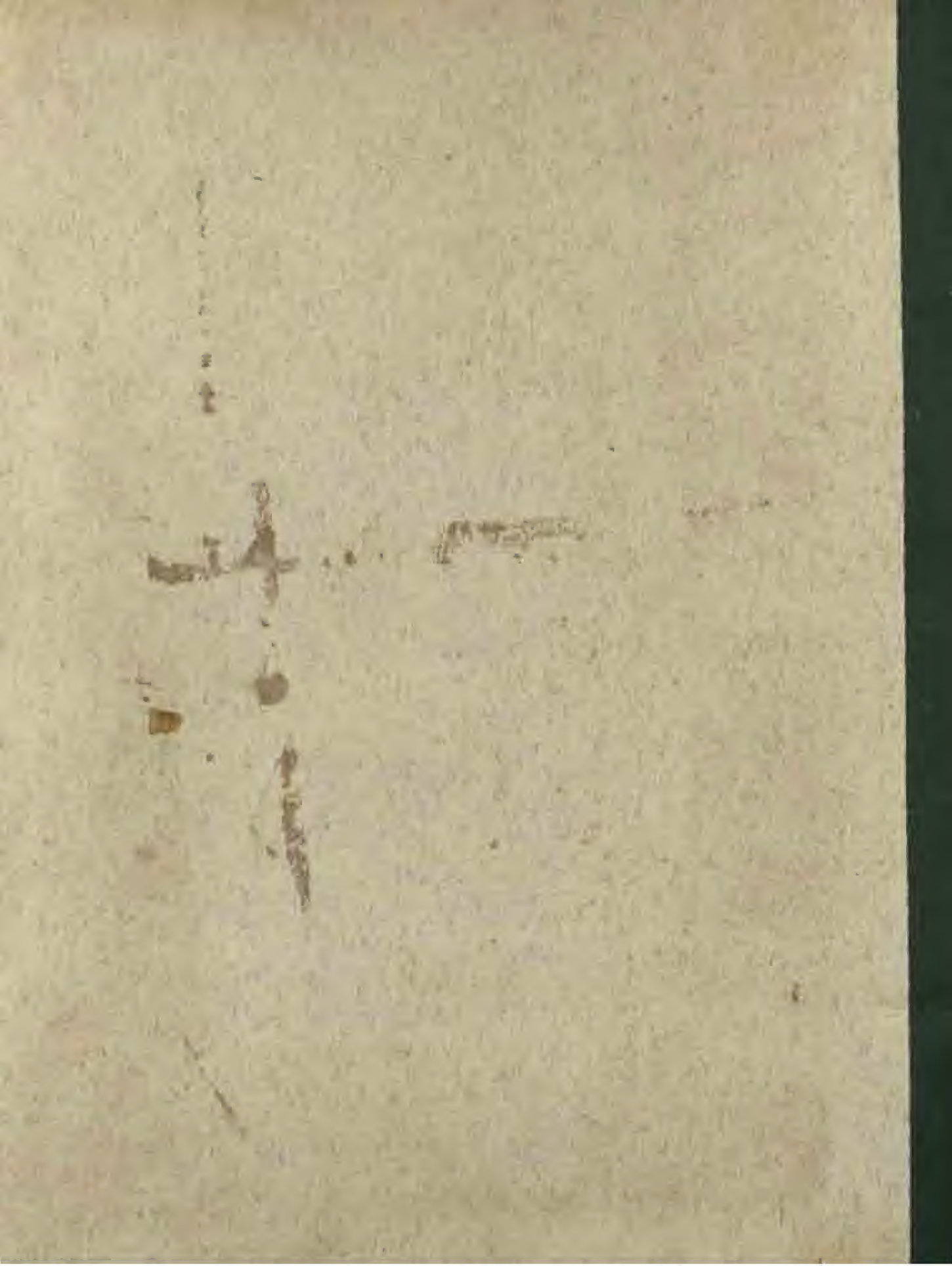
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